

Declaratio

This is a copy of the original document.

Absence of respect: South Sudanese experiences of Australian government and social institutions

Ibolya Losoncz

A thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy of the Australian
National University

November 2013





Declaration

This thesis is an account of research undertaken between September 2009 and November 2013 at the Regulatory Institutions Network (RegNet), College of the Asia and the Pacific, The Australian National University.

Except where acknowledged in the customary manner, the material presented in this thesis is, to the best of my knowledge, original and has not been submitted in whole or part for a degree in any university.

Ibolya Losoncz

Ibolya Losoncz

November 2013

Declaration

I, _____

The undersigned hereby certifies that the information furnished in the foregoing is true and correct to the best of his knowledge and belief, and that he is not aware of any information which would cause the foregoing to be untrue or misleading.

Acknowledgments

My thanks, first and foremost, go to the South Sudanese Australian community, its elders, and the workers supporting the Sudanese community. Thank you for engaging with this research. I am especially grateful for all the participants who paused long enough to relate their experiences, to give invaluable insights and to entrust me with their stories. I hope this thesis justifies that trust.

I express my sincere gratitude to my supervisor Professor Val Braithwaite for her sustained support, encouragement, and critical engagement with my research, while giving me the freedom to explore in my own way. Your professional knowledge and commitment to the highest standards inspired and motivated me to take this extraordinary journey.

I thank my panel members for their professional support. I am especially grateful to Dr Jay Marlowe for his thoughtful and perceptive comments and continuous encouragement. Similarly pivotal, was the exceptional support and advice of Dr Kate Henne, PhD Program Convenor at the Regulatory Institutions Network (RegNet) at The Australian National University. I am enormously grateful to both of you.

These pages contain the invisible work and support of others that I have not explicitly named, including my amazing colleagues at RegNet, and the highly dedicated network of academics, students, activists, artists, and others at the African Studies Association of Australasia and the Pacific (AFSAAP). I am grateful to all of you.

Importantly, none of this would have been possible without the encouragement, patience, love and support of my beloved children and my amazing friends. Thank you for all the scrumptious dinners and for making me laugh when I wanted to cry. I am indebted to you all.

Finally, I owe my appreciation for third party proof-reading and copyediting, in line with the Australian Standards for Editing Practice, to the lovely Marion Mapham of Uwrite**I**edit (ABN 55767364356).

Abstract

This micro empirical research reports on the resettlement experiences of South Sudanese Australians. It develops an argument to explain why the South Sudanese community persistently report a strong sense of disrespect from the Australian Government and Australian society more generally. The study demonstrates that the community's call for respect is a summation of their protest against economic and social exclusion in the public domain and interference from care and protection authorities in the private domain of the family.

Members of the Sudanese community see education and employment as the main pathways to inclusion in their new society and to regaining their dignity lost in forced migration. But their efforts to obtain employment are often thwarted by structural impediments and discrimination from employers. As a consequence they feel robbed of the opportunity to participate and to attain respect in their new environment. The experience of being prevented from fully realising identities to which they aspire in their new society has heightened the importance of preserving heritage values and structures within Sudanese families. These structures, while giving form and meaning to family members, have also become highly contested in their new cultural environment both from within and outside of the Sudanese community.

Care and protection authorities were quick to respond to inter-generational conflict and violence among Sudanese families. Yet lack of cultural knowledge and understanding of the reasons for non-compliance with Australian family law among Sudanese parents has led to inappropriate interventions, undermining Sudanese family structures. Parents at large were left feeling disempowered in their parenting roles and confused about the purpose of government interventions. Rather than engaging with the confusion of Sudanese parents, agencies rebuffed their growing grievance and anger adding to the

emerging narrative in the Sudanese community of their unfair and disrespectful treatment at the hands of authorities. Threatened and distrustful that care and protection were eroding their families' future and the heritage virtues underpinning their cultural and self-identities, Sudanese parents have responded by socially distancing themselves.

The last part of the thesis takes a psycho-social approach to show how the Sudanese Australians' strong sense of disrespect is linked to a range of systemic barriers or threats from the government and its authorities to pursue and cultivate aspects of their selves that are fundamental to their core identity. The community's call for respect was an expression of grievance and resistance to elicit some response of care and concern from those holding economic and social power over them. It was their protest, the purpose of which was to assert their personal dignity and to object to their neglectful treatment. It was an appropriate and responsible demonstration of engagement with their new country: the Australian Government needed and had a responsibility to hear their voices. The research concludes by arguing that a more inclusive and responsive handling of resettlement support by the government will be more likely to result in positive resettlement outcomes, including a sense among humanitarian migrants that their treatment is fair, just, and respectful of their positive understanding of themselves.

Table of Contents

| | |
|---|------------|
| DECLARATION | III |
| ACKNOWLEDGMENTS | V |
| ABSTRACT | VII |
| LIST OF FIGURES | XV |
| CHAPTER 1 – INTRODUCTION | 1 |
| 1.1 Thesis question | 1 |
| 1.2 Contextualising the study | 8 |
| 1.2.1 Humanitarian migration from Southern Sudan to Australia | 9 |
| 1.2.2 Recognising respect | 15 |
| 1.2.3 Research approach of this thesis | 18 |
| 1.3 Overview of chapters | 21 |
| CHAPTER 2 – FROM SOUTHERN SUDAN TO AUSTRALIA | 27 |
| 2.1 The homeland | 28 |
| 2.1.1 The history of South Sudan | 29 |
| 2.1.2 The Republic of South Sudan | 34 |
| 2.2 Forced migration | 38 |
| 2.2.1 The flight from the homeland | 38 |
| 2.2.2 Life in a refugee camp | 39 |
| 2.3 The host country – Australia | 41 |
| 2.3.1 Cultural compatibility | 42 |
| 2.3.2 Population and immigration policies | 43 |
| 2.3.3 Social receptiveness | 45 |
| 2.4 Summary | 48 |

| | | |
|---|---|-----------|
| CHAPTER 3 – HERITAGE VALUES, CUSTOMS AND SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS OF THE PEOPLE OF SOUTH SUDAN..... | | 49 |
| 3.1 | The cultural orientation of the people of South Sudan..... | 53 |
| 3.1.1 | Main social constructs of Nilotic cultures | 54 |
| 3.1.2 | Respect, dignity and contestation..... | 63 |
| 3.2 | Culture under transition..... | 66 |
| 3.2.1 | Fractures in ancestral values and culture..... | 69 |
| 3.3 | Summary..... | 70 |
| CHAPTER 4 – METHODOLOGY: CONSTRUCTING MEANINGS FROM THE NARRATIVES OF THE SOUTH SUDANESE COMMUNITY | | 72 |
| 4.1 | Research design | 73 |
| 4.1.1 | My theoretical lens: critical realism | 73 |
| 4.1.2 | Methodology: grounded theory..... | 75 |
| 4.1.3 | Method: ethnographic fieldwork and interviews | 77 |
| 4.2 | Data analysis | 87 |
| 4.2.1 | Initial coding..... | 88 |
| 4.2.2 | Writing memos..... | 88 |
| 4.2.3 | Focused coding..... | 88 |
| 4.2.4 | Theoretical sampling and saturation..... | 89 |
| 4.2.5 | Sorting categories to concepts and theory generation..... | 90 |
| 4.3 | Integrity and trustworthiness of the study..... | 90 |
| 4.3.1 | Descriptive validity | 91 |
| 4.3.2 | Interpretive validity..... | 91 |
| 4.3.3 | Theoretical validity | 92 |
| 4.3.4 | Generalisability..... | 93 |
| 4.3.5 | Limitations of the study | 94 |
| 4.4 | Summary..... | 95 |
| CHAPTER 5 – UNDERSTANDING AND CONCEPTUALISING RESPECT AMONG SUDANESE AUSTRALIANS | | 97 |

| | | |
|--|--|------------|
| 5.1 | South Sudanese and Western conceptualisation of respect: cross-mapping of main dimensions | 99 |
| 5.1.1 | Human respect and disrespect | 100 |
| 5.1.2 | Achieved respect | 101 |
| 5.1.3 | Status respect | 102 |
| 5.2 | Principles specific to South Sudanese conceptualisation of respectful treatment | 104 |
| 5.2.1 | Respect for parents, family, and elders | 104 |
| 5.2.2 | Gendered roles and respect | 106 |
| 5.2.3 | Respect for government and institutions | 110 |
| 5.3 | Identifying themes of disrespect among Sudanese Australians | 112 |
| 5.3.1 | Economic and social exclusion and neglect | 113 |
| 5.3.2 | Indifference and lack of recognition by the Australian Government | 115 |
| 5.3.3 | Questioning ability to solve family conflicts | 117 |
| 5.3.4 | Being misled and or humiliated by the Australian Government | 119 |
| 5.4 | Summary | 120 |
| CHAPTER 6 – RESPONSES TO RESETTLEMENT AT AN INDIVIDUAL AND INSTITUTIONAL LEVEL..... | | 124 |
| 6.1 | Acculturation theories describing the resettlement process..... | 125 |
| 6.2 | Modes of adaptation by Merton..... | 128 |
| 6.2.1 | Ritualism, retreatism and marginalisation..... | 129 |
| 6.2.2 | Ritualism, retreatism and intervention from government authorities..... | 132 |
| 6.3 | Responses to the resettlement process: self-concepts of worth at an individual level..... | 136 |
| 6.3.1 | Self-identity and cultural values | 137 |
| 6.3.2 | Responses to threats to self-identity..... | 138 |
| 6.3.3 | Motivational posturing | 139 |
| 6.4 | Understanding and managing compliance: responses to resettlement at an institutional level..... | 141 |
| 6.4.1 | Main features of government departments and authorities | 141 |
| 6.4.2 | Regulation and culture | 145 |

| | | |
|--|--|------------|
| 6.4.3 | Responsive regulation | 147 |
| 6.4.4 | Regulatory institutions and institutional legitimacy | 149 |
| 6.5 | Summary..... | 152 |
| | | |
| CHAPTER 7 – SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC EXCLUSION OF THE SOUTH SUDANESE COMMUNITY | | 154 |
| | | |
| 7.1 | Inclusion in the new society | 155 |
| 7.1.1 | Employment and education: the pathway to inclusion | 156 |
| 7.1.2 | Underemployment: skills deficiency or structural exclusion | 158 |
| 7.1.3 | Education | 171 |
| 7.2 | The impact of economic and social exclusion of the South Sudanese community | 175 |
| 7.2.1 | Individual well-being | 175 |
| 7.2.2 | Social costs | 176 |
| 7.2.3 | Respect and dignity | 178 |
| 7.2.4 | Cultural transition and identity construction | 179 |
| 7.3 | Summary..... | 188 |
| | | |
| CHAPTER 8 – AUSTRALIAN RESETTLEMENT POLICIES AND PROGRAMS | | 191 |
| | | |
| 8.1 | Lack of cultural knowledge and understanding among service providers | 193 |
| 8.2 | Capacity-building of new and emerging communities from refugee backgrounds | 195 |
| 8.3 | Lack of government commitment to humanitarian migrant communities | 202 |
| 8.4 | Summary..... | 207 |
| | | |
| CHAPTER 9 – FAMILY CONFLICT AND INTERVENTION FROM AUSTRALIAN AUTHORITIES..... | | 209 |
| | | |
| 9.1 | Family conflicts and disintegration in the context of forced migration..... | 210 |
| 9.2 | Sources of inter-generational conflict within families | 213 |
| 9.2.1 | Shifting responsibility for child-rearing | 214 |

| | | |
|---|---|------------|
| 9.2.2 | Cultural distance between parents and children..... | 215 |
| 9.2.3 | Shifting power dynamics between parents and youth..... | 217 |
| 9.3 | Outcomes of and responses to inter-generational conflict | 220 |
| 9.3.1 | Loss of parental authority..... | 220 |
| 9.3.2 | Young people feeling confused and unsupported..... | 222 |
| 9.3.4 | Lack of effective guidance and mentoring of youth | 224 |
| 9.4 | Government intervention..... | 230 |
| 9.5 | Summary | 233 |
| CHAPTER 10 – INDIVIDUAL AND INSTITUTIONAL LEVEL RESPONSES TO DISRESPECT..... | | 236 |
| 10.1. | Legitimacy of government agencies and authorities..... | 237 |
| 10.1.1 | Pragmatic legitimacy..... | 238 |
| 10.1.2 | Moral legitimacy | 239 |
| 10.1.3 | Cognitive legitimacy..... | 241 |
| 10.1.4 | Unintended consequences of government intervention: Vacuum in the behaviour management of youth | 243 |
| 10.2 | Motivational postures | 246 |
| 10.2.1 | Evidence of resistance | 248 |
| 10.2.2 | Evidence of disengagement..... | 251 |
| 10.2.3 | Evidence of capitulation | 252 |
| 10.3. | Responsive regulation | 255 |
| 10.4 | Summary | 258 |
| CHAPTER 11 – CONCLUSION..... | | 261 |
| 11.1 | Respect in the humanitarian migration context..... | 261 |
| 11.2 | Main themes for policy development and implementation | 266 |
| 11.2.1 | Disconnect between goals and means | 266 |
| 11.2.2 | Responsive government and social institutions | 269 |
| 11.3 | Limitations of the research | 273 |

| | | |
|---|--------------------------|------------|
| 11.4 | Concluding comments..... | 273 |
| REFERENCES | | 276 |
| APPENDICES..... | | 301 |
| Appendix A: Ethics Approval..... | | 302 |
| Appendix B: Letter of invitation to potential participants..... | | 303 |
| Appendix C: Letter of invitation to potential participants..... | | 304 |

List of Figures

Figure 1.1: Humanitarian entrants to Australia from Africa, 1993-20099

Figure 1.2: Sudan-born arrivals in Australia..... 10

Figure 2.1: Map of South Sudan35

Figure 4.1: The major underpinnings of my research design.....73

Table 4.1: Demographic characteristics of South Sudanese community participants 83

Figure 9.1: Family conflict and breakdown: internal and external factors211

List of Figures

| | |
|------------|-----|
| Figure 1 | 1 |
| Figure 2 | 2 |
| Figure 3 | 3 |
| Figure 4 | 4 |
| Figure 5 | 5 |
| Figure 6 | 6 |
| Figure 7 | 7 |
| Figure 8 | 8 |
| Figure 9 | 9 |
| Figure 10 | 10 |
| Figure 11 | 11 |
| Figure 12 | 12 |
| Figure 13 | 13 |
| Figure 14 | 14 |
| Figure 15 | 15 |
| Figure 16 | 16 |
| Figure 17 | 17 |
| Figure 18 | 18 |
| Figure 19 | 19 |
| Figure 20 | 20 |
| Figure 21 | 21 |
| Figure 22 | 22 |
| Figure 23 | 23 |
| Figure 24 | 24 |
| Figure 25 | 25 |
| Figure 26 | 26 |
| Figure 27 | 27 |
| Figure 28 | 28 |
| Figure 29 | 29 |
| Figure 30 | 30 |
| Figure 31 | 31 |
| Figure 32 | 32 |
| Figure 33 | 33 |
| Figure 34 | 34 |
| Figure 35 | 35 |
| Figure 36 | 36 |
| Figure 37 | 37 |
| Figure 38 | 38 |
| Figure 39 | 39 |
| Figure 40 | 40 |
| Figure 41 | 41 |
| Figure 42 | 42 |
| Figure 43 | 43 |
| Figure 44 | 44 |
| Figure 45 | 45 |
| Figure 46 | 46 |
| Figure 47 | 47 |
| Figure 48 | 48 |
| Figure 49 | 49 |
| Figure 50 | 50 |
| Figure 51 | 51 |
| Figure 52 | 52 |
| Figure 53 | 53 |
| Figure 54 | 54 |
| Figure 55 | 55 |
| Figure 56 | 56 |
| Figure 57 | 57 |
| Figure 58 | 58 |
| Figure 59 | 59 |
| Figure 60 | 60 |
| Figure 61 | 61 |
| Figure 62 | 62 |
| Figure 63 | 63 |
| Figure 64 | 64 |
| Figure 65 | 65 |
| Figure 66 | 66 |
| Figure 67 | 67 |
| Figure 68 | 68 |
| Figure 69 | 69 |
| Figure 70 | 70 |
| Figure 71 | 71 |
| Figure 72 | 72 |
| Figure 73 | 73 |
| Figure 74 | 74 |
| Figure 75 | 75 |
| Figure 76 | 76 |
| Figure 77 | 77 |
| Figure 78 | 78 |
| Figure 79 | 79 |
| Figure 80 | 80 |
| Figure 81 | 81 |
| Figure 82 | 82 |
| Figure 83 | 83 |
| Figure 84 | 84 |
| Figure 85 | 85 |
| Figure 86 | 86 |
| Figure 87 | 87 |
| Figure 88 | 88 |
| Figure 89 | 89 |
| Figure 90 | 90 |
| Figure 91 | 91 |
| Figure 92 | 92 |
| Figure 93 | 93 |
| Figure 94 | 94 |
| Figure 95 | 95 |
| Figure 96 | 96 |
| Figure 97 | 97 |
| Figure 98 | 98 |
| Figure 99 | 99 |
| Figure 100 | 100 |

Chapter 1 – Introduction

1.1 Thesis question

Since 1947, when the first group of refugees to be resettled arrived, Australia has accepted more than 750,000 refugees for resettlement (Neumann, 2013). While the total number of humanitarian migrants to Australia has remained steady over the last 15 years, the proportion of refugees from Africa, especially Southern Sudan, increased markedly in the early 2000s. The current South Sudanese population of Australia is approximately 30,000, most of who resettled between 2002 and 2008 (Lucas, Jamali, & Edgar, 2011). The Sudanese community, while positive about the opportunity for resettlement in Australia, is facing a range of challenges. This is shown by a growing body of Australian studies about Sudanese humanitarian migrants resettling in Australia (for example, Atem, 2012; Marlowe, 2010a, 2010b, 2012; Marlowe, Harris, & Lyons, 2013; Murray, 2010; Schweitzer, Greenslade, & Kagee, 2007; Westoby, 2008). One of the concerns consistently voiced by the Sudanese community is a strong sense of not being respected (Australian Human Rights Commission, 2010; Colic-Peisker & Tilbury, 2007; Flanagan, 2007; Pittaway & Muli, 2009). This thesis engages intellectually with the community's repeated call for respect.

The thesis has an applied focus. It asks the question, what does the South Sudanese community mean by their repeated calls for respect? How do Sudanese Australians give meaning to the word 'respect', and what are the main sources of disrespect for the community? How these meanings explain their engagement or lack of engagement with Australian institutions, particularly those associated with government, and the impact it has on their resettlement outcomes?

This thesis shows that the Sudanese community's call for respect is a summation of their protest against the multiple impact of being socially excluded from economic participation in the public sphere, regulatory intervention by the state in the private

domain of the family life, and indifference to their plight by government and other social institutions. Working across these three key domains of South Sudanese migrant experience generated by participant data, the thesis demonstrates how the failure of social and regulatory institutions to develop sufficient mechanisms for accommodating cultural difference and implementing structures responsive to the needs of newly arrived communities leads to frustration, alienation and retreat for the very people to whom such systems should be responding and supporting meaningfully.

On their arrival in Australia, South Sudanese refugees reported a strong desire for work and economic success. They were enthusiastic about educational opportunities in Australia and many willingly improved their educational qualifications with the expectation that their hard work would be rewarded with employment. They were, however, disappointed; experiencing exclusion for a host of reasons that had little to do with their abilities. They believed that the Australian employment system failed to give them the opportunities they deserved, and employment data from the Australian Bureau of Statistics support these claims of economic exclusion. South Sudanese refugees are almost six times more likely to be unemployed than other Australians (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2011a). Even those with professional qualifications from Australian institutes are often underemployed and/or clustered in low occupational status jobs. Failure to find work has led many Sudanese Australians to feel that the government had misled them at the point of their migration to Australia and had failed them once they had arrived.

Exclusion from participation in Australian economic life was one source of disrespect. But while governments have taken little action to address the distance between refugees and the key economic institutions in which they wanted to participate, government authorities had no hesitation in making their presence felt in the family lives of Sudanese Australians. Cultural norms for South Sudanese families differ from Australian norms. Gendered roles within families and respect for family hierarchy play a central role in South Sudanese family life. Parental use of corporal punishment to discipline children is accepted as the norm for socialising children into the role of becoming responsible, independent and hard working adults. Practices of discipline have placed South Sudanese parents in conflict with Australian child protection

authorities. Intrusion and child removals by child protection authorities have created a strong sense of disrespect among South Sudanese parents who resent being told that their cultural practices and beliefs are unacceptable in Australia. Family structures give form and meaning to the lives of parents, children, relatives and other members of the community. The intervention by child protection authorities has undermined family structures, and in the process has robbed parents of a sense of pride in being a good parent.

Representatives and leaders of the Sudanese community, and organisations advocating for the community, had called on the government to show more commitment to the resettlement challenges of the community, including higher cultural awareness among services providers and resources and opportunities to build up their capacities to be better able to support their people in the community. Positive response would have strengthened the community's ability to meet the needs of their members. Importantly, it would have injected goodwill between the community and government organisations, providing positive support for cooperation with government organisations, including organisations in the regulatory areas. But lack of effectual response to the call for a meaningful engagement with the Sudanese community and their needs has heightened the sense of frustration and threat in the Sudanese community and subsequent social distancing from Australian government organisations.

The methodology of this study, critical realist grounded theory design (Bhaskar, 1978; Charmaz, 2006; Oliver 2012), has relied primarily on the analysis of narratives of disrespect from the Sudanese Australian community. 'Grounded theorists start with data', constructed through observations, interactions, and materials that they gather about the topic (Charmaz, 2006, p. 3). Accordingly, it is the data collected through observations, and statements and reflections from the Sudanese Australian community, and those supporting the community, which has formed the foundation of the resulting analytical constructs of this thesis. Simultaneously to collecting data for the project, I considered a broad range of theoretical approaches to make sense of the data and lend rigour to the formation of the constructs. These constructs and the claims made by the community were also related to other available data sources, such as official

government data and policy debate to evaluate the validity of the claims and the trustworthiness (Maxwell, 1992)¹ of my study.

The study was conducted between 2009 and 2013, a relatively turbulent time in Australian and world history. The Global Financial Crisis, rising environmental pressures and military conflicts provided the background to many nations being confronted with increasing numbers of refugees. The arrival of asylum seekers on the shores of Australia generated an intense public and political debate about Australia's responsibility towards refugees in general. The Sudanese community, in particular, was sensitive to the controversy. The community to this day is aggrieved by public comment made in 2007 by the then Immigration Minister Kevin Andrews, claiming that Sudanese refugees were failing to integrate into Australian society (Caldwell, 2007). The political and public discourse on refugees more generally in Australia has been dominated by two themes. The first theme converges on skill deficiencies, such as low English proficiency and lack of formal educational qualifications, and on the traumatic past experiences and memories of refugees, which collectively were seen as impediments to their resettlement. The second theme was concerned with the inferred burden that refugees place on the Australian economy and its social fabric.

This same period saw increasing scholarship on the topic of resettlement of refugees, including studies specific to the resettlement of South Sudanese and other African refugees. Most studies concluded that social and economic inclusion of the South Sudanese community has proven more difficult than envisaged both by the Sudanese community itself and successive Australian governments (see for example: Dhanji, 2009; Flanagan, 2007; Hebbani, Obijiofor, & Bristed, 2009; Khawaja, White, Schweitzer, & Greenslade, 2008; McDonald-Wilmsen, Giford, Webster, Wiseman, & Casey, 2009; Migrant Information Centre, 2008; Milos, 2011; Murray, 2010). The focus of the majority of studies has been on identifying obstacles to successful resettlement. A

¹ Integrity and trustworthiness of the study will be discussed in detail in Chapter 4.

² The 1951 Convention relating to the Status of Refugees (and its 1967 Protocol) defines a refugee as: Any person who owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is

main finding of these studies has been shortcomings within Australian institutions for adequately responding to the particular needs of refugees for resettlement. The main issues dominating the present research, i.e. economic exclusion and intrusion by child protection authorities, are topics which feature in most Australian research into the resettlement challenges of Sudanese Australian families. This reverberation of these topics in the field simply reflects the importance of these issues to the Sudanese community and the complex nature of the subjects.

Where this research endeavours to broaden scholarship is through analysing and understanding the resettlement issues of the Sudanese community through the lens of disrespect. The experience and impacts of disrespect are analysed and theorised by focusing on what is going on in the minds of Sudanese Australians and the meanings they make of their experiences with government and social institutions. This direction of enquiry is driven by the argument that if institutions want to influence people and gain their cooperation, they need to understand and connect with their constructions of institutions and institutional actions and ambitions (V. Braithwaite, 2009a, 2009c, 2010). Thus, instead of taking the path of furthering theoretical growth of ideas identified by previous research done with South Sudanese, this study took the approach of listening to the concerns of the community without preconception while considering a range of theoretical explications around the issues emerging from the data. This approach has led to new explanations for the weak engagement among Sudanese Australians with Australian institutions, particularly those associated with government, and their low social and economic inclusion.

This thesis argues that Australian governance arrangements as far as the Sudanese and likely other humanitarian migrant communities are concerned, are imbued with systemic disrespect. To understand how this disrespect is occurring at the hands of government and to appreciate its consequences, two main theoretical approaches are adopted: Merton's modes of adaptation theory (Merton, 1968) and Braithwaite's motivational posturing theory (V. Braithwaite, 2009a, 2013).

Merton's modes of adaptation theory focuses on the tension between cultural values and goals toward which all people are expected to strive, and a social structure that restricts

access to the approved means of reaching these goals. Merton argues that the prized goals of society, in particular economic success, are valued by all. Opportunities to achieve economic success, however, are not equally distributed. Pathways for some are blocked by inadequate education, low social status, belonging to an ethnic minority and so on. When legitimate pathways to achieving prized social goals are blocked, Merton argues, people adopt non-conforming conduct. Merton's theory offers an explanation for how Australian social structures, interacting with Sudanese cultural structures, have contributed to adverse resettlement outcomes for Sudanese Australians. Merton's theory also provides insight into why South Sudanese refugees have united around their grievance of being disrespected by government. The community came to Australia with the understanding that Australia is a fair country and if they will do the 'right thing' of studying and looking for ways of applying and improving themselves they will be rewarded with jobs and subsequent economic security and social status. Yet they found that despite their best efforts, social structures beyond their control had blocked their advancement. Subsequently they have come to see the government and its institutions as responsible for denying from them the means for establishing themselves as equal to others in their settlement country. Yet, the Mertonian system provides limited analytic account of the dynamics producing individual responses. The main theory used in this thesis to unpack responses within the Sudanese community is motivational posturing theory.

Motivational posturing theory is a psychological theory. It explains how disrespect of the moral self, democratic collective self and the achievement oriented self lead to defiance. A central argument is that disrespect belittles core aspects of the self. The self looks for means to rectify or counter this affront. When pathways for discounting disrespect are denied or are blocked, individuals express anger and frustration and place social distance between themselves and those they see as holding responsibility for providing relief for their problems. In the case of South Sudanese refugees, the government is seen to be the source of the problem as well as holding the answers. Blocked pathways and continual lack of action by those in a position to change them can lead to entrenched resentment in the Sudanese community, which in turn leads to systemic problems of breakdown of social bonds.

It could be argued that experiencing disrespect is part and parcel of social life. We feel disrespect and we deal with it, hopefully in ways that prevent the action from adversely affecting the quality of our lives in the future. This may mean voicing our concerns to the individuals treating us with disrespect, or it may mean moving out of the sphere of influence of the source of disrespect. In a liberal democracy such as Australia, individuals are used to taking action to protect themselves from others' displays of disrespect. In most cases this is an individual responsibility, not the responsibility of government; but not in all cases. Exceptions include when the disrespect is not lawful, or when disrespect comes from government and is systemic in governance arrangements, leading to conflict with the affected community. In these cases, acting on disrespect becomes the responsibility of the government.

This thesis considers the importance of respect; respect for humanitarian migrants by the Australian Government and its authorities. It is a perspective that recognises the importance of respect in our relations and interactions not only at the personal, but also at an institutional level. Disrespect was conveyed institutionally through government developing and administering policies that, albeit unintentionally, has proven exclusionary, humiliating and stigmatising. The individual's sense of disrespect was reported through refugees' perceptions of government offering limited opportunities for economic participation and interfering inappropriately in family life. Humanitarian migrants for the purposes of this thesis are South Sudanese humanitarian refugees, but the findings are not limited to this group. It is hoped that a more inclusive understanding of respect, generated through analysis of the lived experiences of disrespect among South Sudanese participants in this study, will provide a useful foundation to formulate more effective systems and policies for other humanitarian migrant groups.

1.2 Contextualising the study

Forced migration of people as a result of persecution is one of the world's most persistent and pressing issues. The total number of refugees² globally under the mandate of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) was 10.5 million³ by the end of 2012. Finding permanent solutions to resolve the problem of refugees is a concern of the UNHCR and the international community. The three durable solutions supported by UNHCR and the international community are: (i) voluntary repatriation to the home country; (ii) the identification of appropriate permanent integration mechanisms in the country of asylum; or (iii) resettlement to another country (UNHCR, 2012).

While voluntary repatriation remains the preferred solution among refugees and has historically benefited the largest number of refugees, protracted conflict, fear of persecution, or lack of basic services in the areas of return often prevent refugees from returning to their countries of origin. Integration in the country of asylum, the second solution, is a complex and gradual process with legal, economic and socio-cultural barriers. For many refugees, resettlement into a third country is the only way to find permanent safety and to be able to enjoy fundamental human rights (UNHCR, 2012).

Australia is an important supporter of the UNHCR resettlement program. Of the 99,800 refugees that in 2011 were admitted by 22 resettlement countries, Australia resettled 9,200⁴ under its Humanitarian Program⁵ (UNHCR, 2012). This relatively high

² The 1951 Convention relating to the Status of Refugees (and its 1967 Protocol) defines a refugee as: Any person who owing to a 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/her nationality and is unable, or owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself/herself of the protection of that country (UNHCR, 2011).

³ The total number of forcibly displaced people, including those internally displaced, was 45.2 million (UNHCR, 2013b).

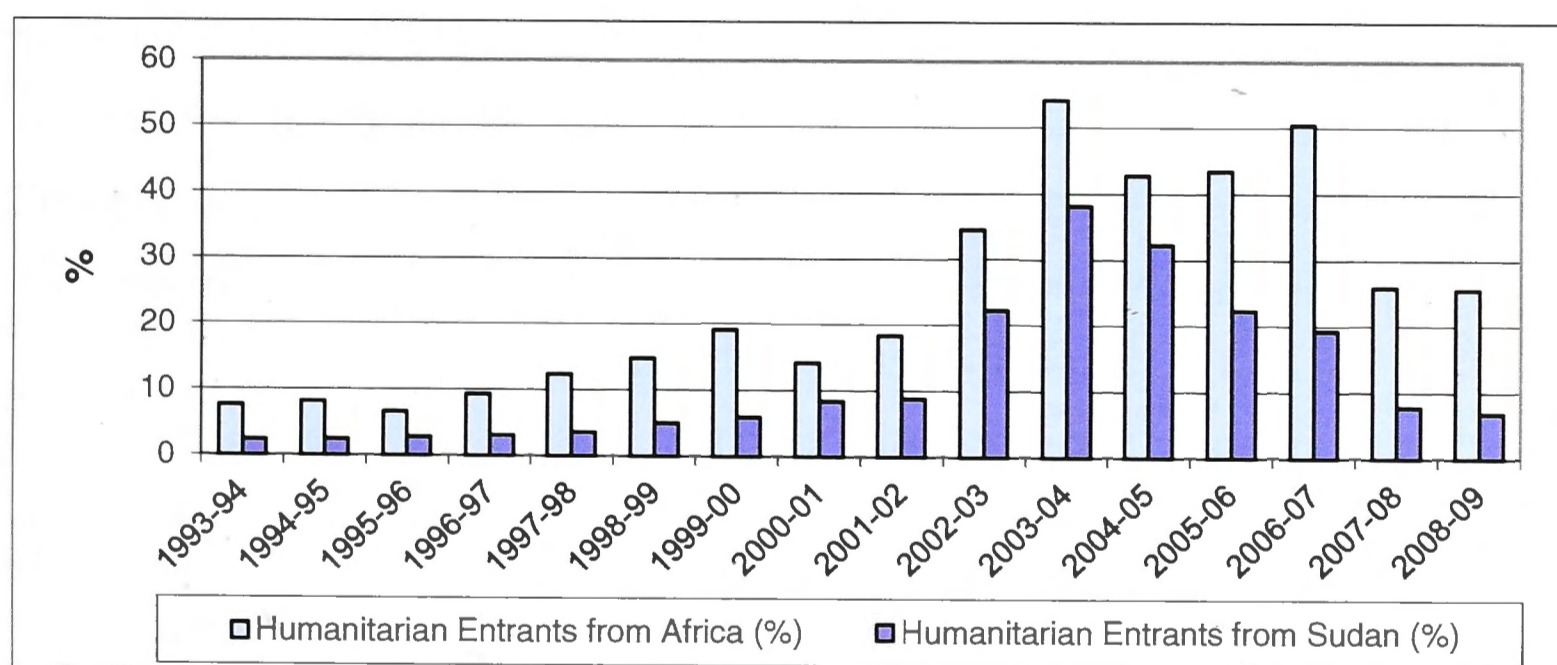
⁴ In 2010–11, an additional 4,828 visas were granted under the onshore component (Department of Immigration and Citizenship, 2011).

proportion of offshore resettlement places offered by Australia is consistent with the Australian Government's position to give resettlement a higher priority within the UNHCR.

1.2.1 Humanitarian migration from Southern Sudan to Australia

While the number of humanitarian migrants to Australia has remained steady in the last 15 years, at around 13,750⁶ a year, in the early 2000s the proportion of refugees from Africa, particularly from Southern Sudan, increased markedly (see Figure 1.1). During the calendar year 2003-2004, nearly 40% of all humanitarian entrants to Australia were from Sudan.

Figure 1.1: Humanitarian entrants to Australia from Africa, 1993-2009



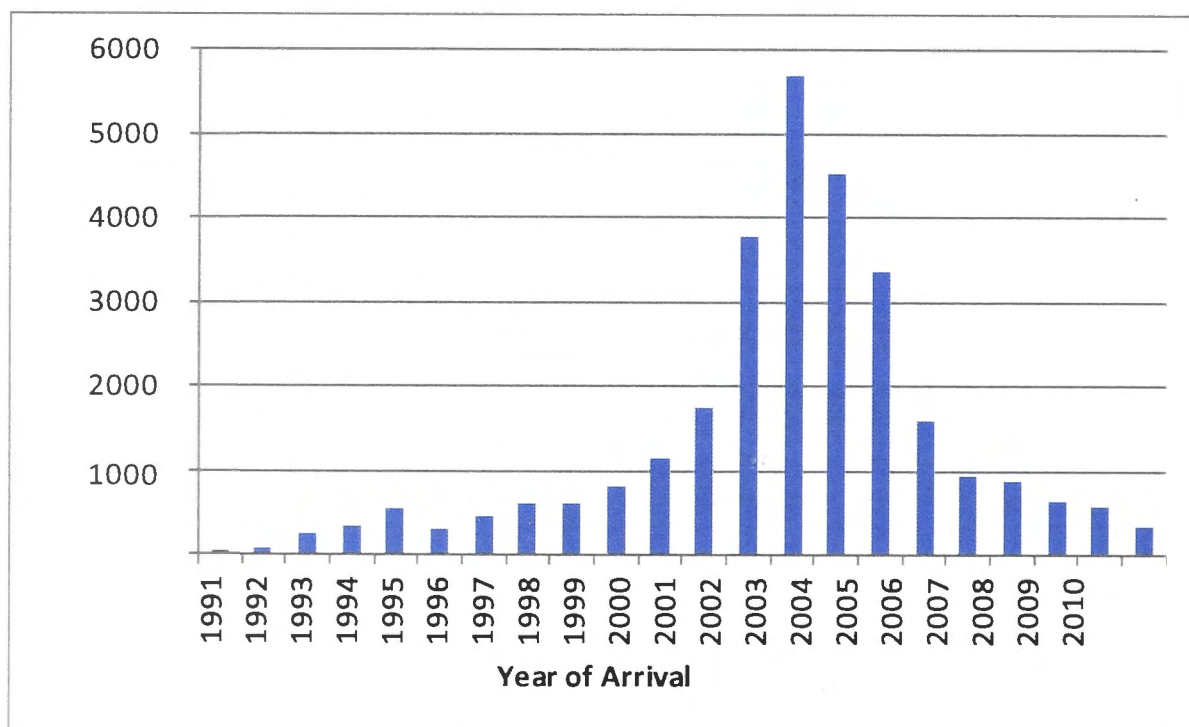
Source: Department of Immigration and Multicultural and Indigenous Affairs (DIMIA), *Australian Immigration: Consolidated Statistics* and (DIAC) *Immigration Update*, various issues.

⁵ The other four countries resettling the highest number of refugees in 2011 were the United States of America (51,500), Canada (12,900), Sweden (1,900), and Norway (1,300).

⁶ In line with the recommendation of the *Report of the Expert Panel on Asylum Seekers* (2012) the size of the program has been increased from 13,750 to 20,000 places (Department of Immigration and Citizenship, 2012).

Figure 1.2 shows that the relatively low number of 300 to 500 annual Sudan-born immigrants to Australia suddenly increased between 2003 and 2006 from 3,000 to 6,000 a year. This dramatic, over ten-fold increase ensued partly from Australia's response to persistent international pressure and requests from the UNHCR to resettle some of the six million refugees in Africa living in protracted refugee⁷ situations (UNHCR, 2006). These early arrivals have often sponsored relatives and friends to follow, creating a chain migration leading to a further increase of Sudan-born humanitarian immigrants (Schweitzer, et al., 2007).

Figure 1.2: Sudan-born arrivals⁸ in Australia



Source: Lucas, D., Jamali, M., & Edgar, B. (2013). A Statistical Profile of the Sudan-born in Australia. In J. M. Marlowe (Ed.), *Sudanese Diaspora in Australia and New Zealand: Reconciling the Past with the Present*.

⁷ In 2004, the Office of the UNHCR defined a *protracted refugee situation* as 'one in which refugees find themselves in a long-lasting and intractable state of limbo. Their lives may not be at risk, but their basic rights and essential economic, social and psychological needs remain unfulfilled after years in exile. A refugee in this situation is often unable to break free from enforced reliance on external assistance' (UNHCR, 2004a).

⁸ Includes both persons who arrived as migrants and persons who arrived as temporary entrants and were later granted permanent resident status onshore.

Prior to 2001, the majority of Sudan-born arrivals were skilled migrants. From 2001, however, almost all of the Sudanese arrivals were part of the Humanitarian Program (Lucas, Jamali, & Edgar, 2013). They arrived under two categories of Refugee or Special Humanitarian Program (SHP). Those under the Refugee category were granted visas solely on humanitarian grounds and were identified and referred by UNHCR to Australia for resettlement. Those who came under the SHP were sponsored by an Australian individual or organisation and thus received some level of support from their sponsor (Department of Immigration and Citizenship, 2011).

By 2010, approximately 28,000 Sudan-born migrants had come to Australia for permanent settlement (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2011b), nearly all of them from southern Sudan, escaping civil war between the north and the south. Unlike arrivals prior to 2000, who were often students from the former British colonies and who were already familiar with the English language and mores as well as urban living, the majority of new arrivals from Southern Sudan had lived most of their lives in remote villages. Prior to their arrival in Australia many had lived in refugee camps in Kenya, Ethiopia and Uganda, while a smaller proportion had stayed in urban centres in Egypt and other African countries (Department of Immigration and Citizenship, 2009).

After their arrival in Australia, the majority settled in larger capital cities with a considerably smaller proportion living in regional areas. The State with the highest intake of Sudan-born residents in 2006 was Victoria (32.6%), followed by NSW (31.4%), Queensland (12.6%), and Western Australia (10.6%) (Lucas, et al., 2011). Partly as a consequence of chain migration and the importance of tribal and kin ties, a distinct geographical concentration is observable in most States. For example, in Melbourne, members of the Dinka tribe tend to settle in the western suburbs, especially Footscray, while a more diverse group of Nuer, Shilluk, Bari and Lotuka have settled in Dandenong in Melbourne's south-east (Schweitzer, et al., 2007).

The Sudanese community of Australia has a young age structure, with 80.6% aged 34 years of age or younger (Lucas, et al., 2011). This has important implications for a community where older male members have a significant role in leading and governing the community. The role of elders in the community will be discussed in detail in

Chapter 3. A relatively large proportion (83.7%) of Sudanese Australians identify as Christian, which may be due in part to church groups sponsoring migrants. The main Sudanese ethnic groups in Australia are Dinka, Nuer, Bari and Nuba, and most speak one or more of the Sudanese languages and/or Arabic at home. Proficiency in spoken English is relatively low in the community, with 21.7% of males and 37.0% females who do not speak English well or not at all. The gender gap is even more marked for education. Of those aged 15 years and above, 11.7% of males and 29.5% of females either did not go to school or had an education of Year 8 or below. In addition, about 13% of both males and females did not state their education, possibly because they possess little education. Most of the former refugees from Sudan came from highly oral cultures in which all significant social transactions are conducted orally, and their first language was often without written forms. Subsequently, illiteracy is relatively prevalent in the Sudanese Australian community. At the same time, a considerable proportion, over 30% of the male population, has attained some sort of qualification (vocational, trade, tertiary) (Lucas, et al., 2011). These numbers suggests a bi-furcation among the Sudan-born Australian population in terms of English proficiency and educational attainment, both of which are important predictors of employability in Australia.

There are other important factors to consider. Most Sudanese refugees have been subject to several traumatic experiences, including deprivation, loss of family members and their loved ones, rape and torture, as well as being subject to open warfare prior to coming to Australia. For example, a study of 63 former refugees from Sudan now living in Southeast Queensland, recruited through community centres, found that all participants had experienced at least one traumatic event, and more than half experienced five or more. The most frequent traumatic event, reported by more than 85% of participants, was forced separation from family members, followed by murder of family or friends (68.3%), lack of food and water (58.7%), or lack of shelter (57.1%). As many as 30.2% reported being close to death (Schweitzer, Melville, Steel, & Lacherez, 2006). Indeed, the dominant media-based representation of the community is one of victims of trauma and violence. But as argued by Marlowe (2010a), while most members of the community have experienced very difficult and traumatic events, they

are not necessarily indelibly traumatised. In fact, the above study by Schweitzer and his colleagues found that the proportion of participants reporting clinically high levels of psychological distress was relatively low (25%) with less than 5% meeting criteria for post-traumatic stress disorder (Schweitzer, et al., 2007). Thus, the undoubtedly high prevalence of severely traumatic experiences within the South Sudanese community should be engaged critically and with reflection by those working with the community.

Another factor is that Sudanese migrants on their arrival have relatively little knowledge about Australia. This is not unusual among forced migrants. While most skilled and family migrants are well-informed about their host country and are spiritually half assimilated prior to leaving their native lands (Scott & Scott, 1989), the primary concern of forced migrants is escaping from persecution or a precarious existence in a refugee camp. Some are just looking for improvement in terms of being able to re-establish what they considered to be a 'normal' life in a better functioning society (Olwig, 2011). Others anticipate that upon resettlement, they will live in a 'Western paradise', a place where they can rebuild their shattered lives. And at first they do feel happy just to be able to walk down the street and feel safe, or not to go hungry. However, their initial feeling of euphoria is often replaced with the realisation of new social and practical problems (Centre for Multicultural Youth Issues, 2006; Macdougall, 2007). Despite their relatively limited knowledge of Australian society and institutions, the South Sudanese humanitarian migrants came with expectations that went beyond being physically able to have access to medical care, secure housing, advanced schooling and gainful work. They held expectations that they would be welcomed and recognised for the proud and respectable people they see themselves to be.

Their expectations, however, have not been met. Instead the community has been the subject of criticism over claims that they are not settling in. Subsequent to the Minister for Immigration and Citizenship's pronouncement in October 2007 that the Sudanese community illustrated African refugees' slowness to integrate (Hart & Maiden, 2007),

the government reduced the intake of African refugees under the humanitarian program from around 70% to approximately 30%.⁹

Political and media-based claims that the South Sudanese community has not settled in, as well as undocumented government and non-government assertions¹⁰ of the difficulties working with Sudanese clients (discussed in Chapter 10), have triggered numerous evaluations and reports. These reports on the settlement challenges of South Sudanese and other African humanitarian migrants in Australia were commissioned by all levels of government between 2005 and 2010 (for example: Australian Survey Research, 2011; Broadbent, Cacciattolo, & Carpenter, 2007; Carrington, McIntosh, & Walmsley, 2007; Macarthur Diversity Services Inc, 2005; Piper, 2007, 2008, 2009; Shepley, 2007; Taylor-Neumann & Balasingam, 2009; J. Taylor & Stanovic, 2005). The findings from these reports were limited and possibly over-simplified. By and large they identified high unemployment, unmet housing needs, English language barriers, health issues, and the effects of torture and trauma as the main settlement challenges facing Sudanese humanitarian migrants. While some of the reports cited the concern of Sudanese participants regarding lack of respect towards the community, the topic has not been followed up as something that needs to be better understood and prevented in the future.

There are a number of reasons why these existing reports have not added to a sophisticated understanding of how better to respond to South Sudanese communities. Among the reasons are the too limited scope to explore issues in detail, the use of data collection methods that were unsuitable for the particular population, and fatigue and suspicion from the community to engage with increasing enquiries into their settlement challenges. Another arguably more important reason was the theoretical positioning

⁹ The government attributed the significant reduction in the quota to improved conditions in some African countries, including Sudan, and an increased intake from the Middle East and South East Asia due to the UNHCR advice on the critical need for resettlement of refugees from Iraq, Burma and Bhutan (Andrews, 2007).

¹⁰ Individuals from various organisations were happy to talk to me about their 'frustrating' experiences off the record, but declined to be interviewed for the research.

taken by these enquiries, often settling for verification of old theories and facts rather than discovery of the new.

The reports did not recognise that although there are a range of settlement challenges faced by all humanitarian immigrants coming to Australia, there are also challenges specific, either by their nature or by their extent, to particular communities. Likewise, similar challenges can evoke different responses in different communities. For example, whereas the gap between reaching socially shared goals through institutionally and socially approved means is shared by most humanitarian migrant groups, their responses to it can be different. It is when their responses are notably different that authorities and organisations working with the community have not known how to respond. Government support of resettlement of current refugee groups, by and large, is shaped by the experiences and issues of previous refugee groups. But the future of humanitarian migrants from increasingly diverse cultures cannot be conceptualised without a systematic understanding of the issues presently confronting them in Australia.

1.2.2. Recognising respect

One of the central issues occupying the South Sudanese community is their strong sense of feeling disrespected and their subsequent calls for respect. Social and human rights groups have endorsed these appeals, and there have been repeated calls from community leaders for more respect and respectful treatment of South Sudanese and other African immigrants by the wider community (Australian Human Rights Commission, 2010). Respect and lack of respect are also recurring themes in the academic literature exploring the settlement experiences of refugees, particularly those from Africa (Flanagan, 2007; Pittaway & Muli, 2009; Sang & Fielding, 2007). However, despite this empirical evidence on the importance of respect to refugees, no attempt has been made to explore it at an intellectual level.

Wanting respect is of course not unique to Sudanese Australians. In his seminal work Kant deduces that respect for all humans is morally and unconditionally required (Kant,

1797). In a more contemporary work on *Integrity and Disrespect*, Axel Honneth (1992) proposes that human dignity and integrity depends on receiving the approval and respect of others. He has developed the work of Ernst Bloch (Bloch, 1961) to propose that the experience of personal disrespect can be a moral driving force for social development. I will explore this proposition in the context of this study in my concluding chapter. Indeed, calls for respect are all around us. They are in our everyday conversations, politics, movies, music or sport. With its general ambiguity and positive-sounding nature, the subject tends to float, somewhat conveniently, between several potential meanings and agents (Balint, 2006). But what is ‘respect’? Despite the widespread acknowledgment of its importance in everyday life and theory, there is no settled agreement in these discussions on how to understand the concept of respect. In fact, the philosophical interest in respect has been largely dominated by how respect should be understood (Dillon, 2014). Some of the main issues in contemporary philosophical discussion relevant to this research are: respect for persons and types of respect.

The most influential position on respect for persons is the moral philosophy of Immanuel Kant (1797). Central to his ethical theory is the claim that all persons are owed respect just because they are persons, that is, free rational beings. This moral recognition of respect is an acknowledgment of the dignity of humans as ends in themselves (Kant, 1797). Many of the philosophical discussions following the work of Kant have been concerned with the persons that are owed respect and the kind of the respect that is owed. Philosophers in general tend to agree that there are different kinds of respect, but there are different thoughts on categorising them. For example, Feinberg (1975) identified three distinct concepts within respect: *respekt*—a watchful attitude; *observantia*—a moral consideration on its own right; and *reverentia*—a feeling of awe. Feinberg has made this distinction according to different forms of ‘power’ (Feinberg, 1975, p. 2) underlying respect. Hudson (1980), on the other hand, made his distinction according to the bases in the features of the object of respect. His four kinds of respect are: *evaluative respect*—an earned or deserved admiration; *obstacle respect*—a regard for an object for its potential to prevent one from achieving one’s ends; *directive respect*—intentional compliance with request or rules; and *institutional respect*—

conformance with roles defined within an institution or practice (Hudson, 1980). Another influential categorisation is the distinction of *recognition* and *appraisal* respect by Darwall (1977). Recognition respect, also referred to as consideration respect (Frankena, 1986), is to give appropriate consideration and to regulate one's conduct in response to some fact or objects, such as social institutions. Appraisal respect, on the other hand, is a positive appraisal of a person or their merits (Darwall, 1977). While the recognition/appraisal distinction has been quite influential, some philosophers (for example, Anderson, 1993; Buss, 1999) have found it to be inadequate.

These multiple views on the elements and kinds of respect in the philosophical context no doubt have contributed to the multiple meanings of respect applied across the social sciences, including social psychology (Buttny & Williams, 2000; Janoff-Bulman & Werther, 2008; D. T. Miller, 2001), sociology and political theory (Armitage, 2006; Balint, 2006; Honneth, 1992; Middleton, 2006; Sennett, 2003; Young, 2000), philosophy (Downie & Telfer, 1969; Frankena, 1986; Hill, 1998), and justice (Tyler, 1997; Tyler & Blader, 2003).

It is evident then that respect is recognised as a basic principle of human interaction and connection. Yet there are a number of theoretical views and debates on how to understand the concept of respect and what are the different kinds of respect. In other words, respect tends to mean various things to various people and in various social settings. In his book on achieving respect in western societies, Richard Sennett proposes that breakdown of respect is the consequence of those who are well-off not understanding the poor, and so there are breaches in the communication of respect from one group to the other (Sennett, 2003). This implies that in order to treat someone with respect we need to understand them. But how much do we, or organisations working with people from other cultures, in this instance people from South Sudan, understand the meaning of respect for them? And without finding out and clarifying their meaning of respect, to what extent can we respond appropriately? Unless we know what respect means to those we wish to build responsive relationships with, our responses will be misguided and will fail to meet expectations.

Accordingly, I took the approach of first ascertaining how Sudanese Australians understand respect and different kinds of respect and then considered how their understanding resonates with the various conceptualisations of respect in the theoretical literature. The categorisation of respect I have decided on to adopt for this study is the three dimensions of *human respect*—the right of all humans because of their intrinsic worth; *achieved respect*—based on one's achievements, success and abilities; and *status respect*—based on one's position in society. These three dimensions of respect have not only resonated the most with the narratives of research participants, but are also generally recognised in the range of disciplines listed above and can be reconciled with contemporary philosophical conceptualisations of respect (S. Gibson, 2006; Kellenberg, 1995; Trigg, 2005; White, 1991).

1.2.3 Research approach of this thesis

As foreshadowed above, the approach this thesis took is to start out with the applied inquiry of unpacking how South Sudanese Australians give meaning to the concept of respect and disrespect and *then* consider how this empirical evidence can be linked to research that has already been done with the South Sudanese. This section explains how I integrated this empirical evidence, grounded in the narratives and interpretations of participants from the Sudanese community, with extant theories to intellectually engage and progressively theorise about the community's experience and understanding of disrespect, and its impact on their resettlement outcomes.

The obvious place to look for meanings assigned by communities is the voices and actions of the community itself; while the obvious methodological approach to guide an unprejudiced enquiry into the meaning making of the community is grounded theory. In grounded theory data form the foundation of the theory and the analysis of these generates the construction of concepts. As explained by Kathy Charmaz, one of the world's leading theorists and exponents of grounded theory: '[g]rounded theorists

collect data to develop theoretical analyses from the *beginning*¹¹ of a project. We try to learn what occurs in the research settings we join and what our research participants' lives are like. We study how they explain their statements and actions, and ask what analytic sense we can make of them' (Charmaz, 2006, pp. 2-3). In other words, grounded theory requires the researcher to take a new lens to his/her research, instead of starting out from a particular theoretical position.

My research is primarily informed by my regular engagement over three years with the community and the narratives and interpretations of study participants—40 South Sudanese community members and community development workers. Their accounts and reflections provide the foundation for understanding the complex experience of involuntary migration and resettlement of the community. Main themes emerging from the field were linked to theories that lend themselves to explain and elucidate participants' experiences at the interpersonal and institutional level. My approach of being totally open to the thinking of Sudanese Australians led me to presenting a more nuanced account of the community's understandings of respect and disrespect which I then integrated with theoretical works which best resonated with the data. For example, on the basis of what participants told me when I asked them about their feelings of being disrespected I decided to focus on three particular forms of respect—human, achieved, and status respect, also recognised in the Western conceptualisation of respect across the disciplines.

Since my research centered on an applied problem—how the meaning of disrespect among Sudanese Australians explained their engagement or lack of engagement with Australian institutions, and the impact it has had on their resettlement outcomes—it has a strong explanatory agenda. Subsequently, rather than testing if a particular normative proposal already existing in literature relevant to this research would receive explanatory support from empirical evidence, this research took the approach of starting out with an explanatory proposal, arising from empirical evidence in data, connected to existing normative ideals. In other words, it was my explanatory findings which took

¹¹ My emphasis

me towards resonating normative ideals, such as responsive regulation. Although such an approach cannot provide irrefutable empirical evidence, connecting explanatory findings to normative theories improves the performance of both. The convergence of the two realms lends deeper relevance to both types of claims (J. Braithwaite & Pettit, 2001), thus providing a compelling evidence base.

Centering my research on an applied problem has also required me to adopt an interdisciplinary approach. Forced migration results from large-scale historical processes, such as war, civil war, or ethnic prosecution. While resettlement is also shaped by the impact of these experiences, the focus in this thesis is on how the resettlement process interacts with the social policy of the receiving country and the identity of those resettling. To unpack the idea of respect in other cultures, the discipline to turn to is the psychological dynamics that lead us to look for respect from others. In other words, to unravel the nature of these complex interactions requires an interdisciplinary approach. Key contributions in this paper include sociology, psychology, regulatory studies, anthropology and history. These contributions, some focusing on the individual and others on society and communities, are brought together to provide a comprehensive understanding of the resettlement experiences, especially experiences of disrespect, of South Sudanese Australians.

In doing so, some aspects of this research display individual accounts of experiences shaping one's identity, while other sections explore 'bigger picture' concepts, such as the politics of recognition and redistribution. This is reflective of the qualitative design of this study. My research has often required me to move between looking at an issue through a telescope, and then through a microscope. Together these different views present aspects of the experiences of humanitarian migrants and the social worlds in which they are situated to provide opportunity for reflection on the specific and the general, and the interaction between the two. It is these interactions and their influence on the lived experiences of refugees that helps to make sense of their resettlement challenges and informs future policy directions.

1.3 Overview of chapters

This thesis, composed of 11 chapters, moves from an analysis of events and historical context to the voice of the Sudanese community on how they are attempting to make sense of their resettlement and experiences with Australian government and social institutions. These narratives invariably reflect the main concern within the community—their strong sense of disrespect. Participant voices, supported by Australian Government data when available, serve as an empirical base and foundation to theorise progressively about the main concern of participants: their exclusion from economic institutions and their vexed relationship with Australian government authorities and agencies.

Chapter 2 locates the journey of South Sudanese Australians, by attending to each of the three phases of refugee movements identified by Kunz (1981): the homeland, displacement, and the host country. The chapter illustrates the persistent fight and determination of the South Sudanese people throughout the last 200 years to preserve their cultural identity. It describes the mass displacement of the people of South Sudan since the 1980s and their collective experiences at refugee camps. The review uncovers how the shared experience of this mass flight has heightened the cohesion and cultural identification of the South Sudanese community. The last section of this chapter focuses on factors related to the host country—Australia. It proposes that the majority of Sudanese migrants arrived in Australia at a time when the dominant view of a culturally pluralistic and inclusive Australia came under considerable challenge in public and political debates, heightening the sensitivities among the South Sudanese community to Australian values being imposed on them.

Chapter 3 describes the heritage values, customs and social institutions of South Sudan and explores how they relate to the resettlement experiences of the community in Australia. As argued by Martin and Nakayama (2008), cultures are learned patterns of perceptions, values, and behaviours shared by a group of people. Thus, understanding the main elements of Sudanese cultures is an important part of realising the sense making process by Sudanese Australians when interacting with Australian society and

authorities. This chapter also signals the inevitable transition of South Sudanese cultural values and practices upon resettlement in Australia, explored in more detail in later chapters. The chapter reasons that recognising and developing an understanding of their cultural norms and values are important signs of respect. Furthermore, it opens up opportunities for utilising their culture to improve the settlement experiences of the Sudanese community.

Chapter 4 introduces the research design and the engagement process used to establish rapport with the Sudanese community. This chapter further illuminates the significance of developing a good knowledge and understanding of the cultural values and norms among people working with the community, including researchers. A main objective of this chapter is to demonstrate how the research design—grounded theory within a critical realist paradigm, provided a methodological approach to integrate vital elements of this research: meanings in the narratives of participants, attributes of government bureaucracies, and the social structures of Australian society. The design provides a robust methodological approach to bring together individual and institutional level analysis even though they exist on different ontological levels.

Chapter 5 conceptualises the meaning of respect among the Sudanese Australian community. Participant narratives are used to uncover the main sources of disrespect within the Sudanese community. While presenting findings from data before introducing theoretical framing is an unorthodox practice, in this thesis it has enabled a more fluent description of the research. Respect is a relatively ambiguous term, with several potential meanings in different social settings and by different agents. Clarity about the meaning and conceptualisation of respect in the Sudanese community prior to discussing extant theories has helped demonstrate how each theory can add to our understanding of how the sense of disrespect in the Sudanese community relates to their settlement outcomes. The chapter presents the proposition that the community's call for respect and respectful treatment is a summation of their protest against their exclusion from participation in Australian economic life, a related theme of indifference to their needs and capabilities, and government authorities interfering inappropriately in their family lives.

Chapter 6 locates the main themes of disrespect, which emerged from the narrative of participants, within a select choice of theories that lent themselves to provide an analytical interpretation of the data. The focus of the first part of this chapter is the examination of social structures generating the main themes of disrespect among the Sudanese community. Merton's modes of adaptation theory (Merton, 1968) is used to explore how Australian government institutions have failed to provide accessible pathways or support to the Sudanese community to enable them to navigate approved means for achieving their main goals of economic and social inclusion and the future of their families. The focus of the second part of this chapter is theories which help to unpack individual responses, and psychological processes producing these responses. At the centre of these theories is Braithwaite's motivational posturing theory (V. Braithwaite, 2009a, 2013) which explains how disrespect of the core aspects of self has led to defiance among Sudanese Australians. The theory explains how blocked pathways, and continual lack of action from the Australian Government and its institutions has led to feelings of resentment and social distancing from the arms of authorities among some members of the Sudanese community. The final part of this chapter focuses on theories framing institutional level responses. A particular focus of this review is the complexity of predicting how people from different cultural backgrounds have respond to regulatory intervention. Each of these theoretical propositions contributes to the following four chapters where I present the results and analytical interpretations of the study.

Chapter 7 unpacks the first theme of disrespect—the community's claim of economic and social exclusion. Two main sections contribute to this chapter. The first section demonstrates that although most members of the community saw education and employment as the main pathway to inclusion in their new country, their desire for economic inclusion remained unmet. The section critically evaluates the claim made by participants that while lack of skill and English proficiency has been a significant barrier to their economic participation, other less recognisable barriers, such as discrimination from employers and structural exclusion, are more critical. The second section of the chapter identifies the personal and social costs of economic marginalisation of Sudanese Australians. By not being able to perform to their

expectations in a labour market, Sudanese Australians have felt robbed not only of economic success but of their self-respect and respect within their families and the community. Blocked opportunities to attaining respect through economic and social participation in the public domain, has also heightened the importance of preserving heritage values and practices within the private domain of families.

Chapter 8 examines a related issue and a source of disrespect—the community's concerns over the Australian Government's indifference to the needs and capabilities of the community. The chapter demonstrates how Australian resettlement policies and programs which were set up to strengthen pathways for immigrants to move towards social and economic inclusion have, on the whole, failed to deliver on these objectives in the South Sudanese community. The chapter argues for alternative approaches, including responsive engagement with the community and shifting the emphasis from service provision to capacity building within the community. Recognising people as participants rather than subjects of decisions and utilising their existing capabilities will also reduce the sense of frustration and distrust currently overshadowing the relationship between the Sudanese community and government organisations.

Chapter 9 explores the other main source of perceived disrespect in the Sudanese community—intervention by Australian government authorities in response to family conflict and violence. Families give important social and financial support to Sudanese Australians. They are also an important source of identity, status and respect for family members. Feeling threatened for the future of their children under the influence of their new cultural environment, Sudanese parents have turned to their long-standing heritage parenting norms and practices. Although most parents are aware that their parenting practices do not fit within the cultural and legal norms of Australia, they could not see how Western parenting practices, of which they had little experience, would help them raise respectable young adults. Care and protection authorities could have supported Sudanese parents in adopting socially and legally approved means to achieve their parenting goals. Instead authorities responded to increasing family conflict and violence within Sudanese families by prosecuting parents, and in some cases, removing children. Parents felt unsupported and ill-served by these interventions, which, in their view, prevented them from accomplishing their parental obligation and responsibility.

Intervention from government authorities is also seen as blocking their pathways to maintaining the continuity of their cultural values and practices. This attack on cultural and self-identity is especially injurious to the sense of respect of the community.

Chapter 10 looks at individual and institutional level responses to the increasingly contested and fractured relationship between Sudanese families and Australian government agencies and authorities. The contribution of this chapter is connecting micro level responses from Sudanese parents to institutional level conditions in their new social environment. The chapter demonstrates how legitimacy of social institutions and processes can become the site of considerable contestation and resistance when these are concerned primarily with perpetuating their own social and technocratic logics at the expense of meeting complex social needs and wants. In addition, lack of real dialogue between parents and care and protection authorities has constrained the awareness among government workers of how Sudanese parents made sense of their interventions and demands. It is argued that within the Sudanese community the issue is no longer lack of knowledge of Australian family law and norms, but rather inability to make sense of them and lack of skills to apply them. Sudanese parents cannot see how the ultimate goal of intervention from care and protection services is to build safety around children. Rather they see it as an attack on their parenting efforts, their families and their heritage culture. Judging that care and protection authorities hold different goals from themselves, Sudanese parents feel that they cannot trust authorities and have distanced themselves from those authorities and their influence. The chapter argues that open dialogue based on trust would help unblock psychological resistance from parents trying new parenting practices, while providing appropriate support can help parents adapt their parenting effort to the new external context.

Chapter 11 provides a final summary by bringing the threads of the previous chapters together and recommending direction for policy and program development. The chapter proposes that the main obstacles of treating Sudanese and other humanitarian migrants in ways that are more respectful and responsive to their resettlement needs lie in two broad systemic malfunctions. One is Australian social structures which restrict their access to approved pathways for reaching their goals. The other area of systemic breakdown is institutional procedures and protocols that in many instances are

dysfunctional and unresponsive to the needs of humanitarian migrant communities. Corresponding efforts in both areas are needed to improve the inclusion of Sudanese Australians, to restore their sense of being treated with respect, and to increase their trust and confidence in Australian Government and social institutions.

Chapter 2 – From Southern Sudan to Australia

This chapter locates the journey of South Sudanese Australians, starting with life in their homeland, followed by their forced migration and their arrival in their resettlement country—Australia. Challenging the popular myth that the ‘refugee journey’ ends on arrival to Australia, the chapter will demonstrate the difficulties and struggles of each part of the journey.

The increased demand for refugee admissions and services in developed countries like Australia makes it important for host countries to understand the refugee resettlement process. While the migration and resettlement experiences of forced migrants are substantively different from that of voluntary migrants (Berry, 1998; Ward, Bochner, & Furnham, 2001), most of what we know about the adaptation of refugees in their resettlement countries comes from migration studies, or studies of specific refugee groups, with occasional attempts to systemise findings into a typology (for example, Colic-Peisker & Tilbury, 2003; Kunz, 1973, 1981; Markovic & Manderson, 2000; Nicassio, 1985).

In his typology of refugee movement, Egon Kunz claimed that refugees were distinct from migrants due to their ‘reluctance to uproot’ and their motivation to seek a new place of settlement (Kunz, 1973, p. 130). Kunz emphasised the kinetic¹² rather than the decisive nature of refugee flight. In his view, the ‘inner [self-propelling] force is

¹² Kunz define *Kinetics* as ‘the branch of dynamics which investigates the relations between the motions of bodies and the forces acting upon them’ (Kunz, 1969, p. 225).

singularly absent from the movements of refugees'. He argued that '[t]heir progress more often than not resembles the movement of the billiard ball: devoid of inner direction, their path is governed by the kinetic factors of inertia, friction and the vectors of outside forces applied on them' (Kunz, 1973, p. 131). Kunz proposed that the three parts of refugee movements, the homeland, displacement and the host-country, all have important effects on refugees and their resettlement experiences.

Critics of Kunz (such as Hansen, 1982) have argued that refugees are not powerless and the refugee flight is not a wholly kinetic process, but one determined in part by refugee decision-making. It should be noted, however, that Hansen based his conclusion on his anthropological fieldwork observing the self-settlement of Angolan refugees in Zambian villages where they had largely drawn upon familiar cultural processes. This is not the situation with the resettlement of Sudanese refugees in Australia, where the originating and host country culture are substantially different and existing social networks are no longer available. Thus, while acknowledging its critics, Kunz's conceptualisation of refugees and refugee movements is worthy of consideration.

Following the typology put forward by Kunz (1981), the rest of this chapter is divided into the following three sections: Section 1 will describe the homeland of the diaspora—South Sudan, including its history; Section 2 will describe the mass displacement of the South Sudanese diaspora during the 1980s, and their experiences in refugee camps in Africa; and Section 3 will look at their host-country—Australia, including its population policies and social attitudes towards immigrants and refugees.

2.1 The homeland

For a comprehensive understanding of the forced migration experiences of people from Southern Sudan, we should start by considering their place of origin. This section describes the history of South Sudan followed by a brief description of its geography, population, economy and security. The following historical account demonstrates the South Sudanese peoples' determination to preserve their cultural identities and values.

2.1.1 The history of South Sudan

2.1.1.1 Nilotic origin, 1820

The Nilotic peoples¹³ first entered what is currently South Sudan before the 10th century. During the 15th to 19th centuries they gradually migrated to their modern location, and lived mainly from cattle herding mixed with fishing and grain cultivation. Of the cattle-herders or pastoralists, only the Shilluk was organised under a king. The Dinka, Nuer and other tribes mostly lived in stateless societies based on the bonds of kinship. Their lineages¹⁴ were grouped into clans, which were grouped into tribes. These groupings were relatively loose and they would divide or unite on the basis of shifting patterns of alliances and feuds, making the groups vulnerable to outside manipulation. However, geographical barriers prevented the intrusions of foreigners and the influence of Islam from the north. As a result, social and cultural heritage as well as political and religious institutions remained well preserved into modern times (F. M. Deng, 1990; Fadlalla, 2004; Nikkel, 2001).

2.1.1.2 'The time when the world was spoiled' – Turkish-Egyptian expansion on the Southern Sudan, 1821 – 1898

The relative stability of the region changed dramatically in the mid-19th century. The spread of Western technology into Egypt made it one of the strongest military forces in the Middle East. But it needed a steady supply of recruits. Since antiquity Egypt had depended on slaves from Sudan to man its armies, and so in 1820, an expedition, leading to the conquest of Sudan, was dispatched. For northern Sudan the primary effect

¹³ In its contemporary usage, 'Nilotic peoples' refers to the ethnic groups in South Sudan, Uganda, Kenya and Tanzania speaking Nilotic languages. Initially it was used as a racial classification, but its current use is based on ethno linguistic affiliation. The term Nilotic derives from the Nile Valley where most Sudanese Nilo-Saharan-speaking people live.

¹⁴ A unilineal descent group, all members of which trace their genealogical relationship back to a founding ancestor (Ayisi, 1979).

of Turco-Egyptian rule was excessive taxation. But for those in the south it brought large-scale slavery, referred to as ‘the time when the world was spoiled’. With the northern Sudanese economy already dependent on slavery it did not take long to establish trade networks to meet Egypt’s need. Those same qualities of aggression, independence, self-preservation and courage which made the Nilotes unattractive for domestic slave traders, made them highly valuable for the new military slave trade. Responding to the new need for large numbers of slaves, and with the support of advanced military technology, slaving expeditions into Nilotic territories began in earnest in the 1830s (Fadlalla, 2004; Jok, 2001; Nikkel, 2001).

2.1.1.3 ‘Empire as a moral mission’ – the British colonisation of Southern Sudan, 1899 – 1955

Imperial intentions to colonise the region were prompted by the opening of the Suez Canal in 1860, which increased Egypt’s and Sudan’s economic and strategic importance, and by the calls of Britain’s anti-slavery activists. With the abolition of the Atlantic slave trade, anti-slavery activists turned their attention to slave trades in other parts of Africa (Daly, 1986). Abolitionists maintained that the only way to save Africa was to open it up to the ‘three Cs’: Commerce, Christianity and Civilization. For the British Government, this provided a convenient opening to a new form of colonisation—‘empire as a moral mission, with anti-slavery as its flagship’ (Scroggins, 2003, p. 45).

After a series of defeats and successes, the most famous of which is the defeat of Charles George Gordon at Khartoum in 1884, British control of Sudan was formalised in 1899 with the establishment of the British and Egyptian condominium. Attempts to eradicate slavery however were largely unsuccessful. It was seen by Sudanese officials, most of whom were slave-owners, as yet another attempt to undermine Islam and was resolutely resisted (Daly, 1986; Jok, 2001). The trade was also supported by tribal hostilities and clashes in the south, often involving the taking of people and livestock, and by more complex forms of traditional transactions involving humans, such as giving

a member of a lineage to another as compensation for a death or for the theft of cattle (Jok, 2001).

In order to regain some control, the British, in 1924, divided Sudan into two separate territories: a predominantly Muslim Arabic-speaking¹⁵ north and a predominantly Animist and Christian south with English as the official language. Southern Sudan received little attention from the British beyond efforts to suppress the slave trade. It remained in relative isolation from the developed world and from the rest of Sudan. Northern Sudanese were barred from entering and working in the south. Instead Southern Sudan was dominated by Christian missionaries. The few Southern Sudanese who received higher education were sent to British East African institutes, where they studied in English. The aim was to eventually integrate Southern Sudan with British East Africa.¹⁶ An inevitable result of this separation politics was the deepening of the rift between northern and southern Sudan (Daly, 1986; Fadlalla, 2004; Nikkel, 2001).

British domination of Sudan continued until the end of World War II. In 1946 at the Sudan Administrative Conference, the British Government decided that all parts of Sudan should be administered as one country. Trade restrictions were abolished and Arabic was introduced as the official administrative language in the south. The people of Southern Sudan were dissatisfied with the outcome of the conference, especially the imposition of Arabic as the official language. This decision deprived most Southern Sudanese, who were trained in English, of the opportunity to enter government positions. After a series of negotiations, on 1 January 1956, the Republic of Sudan became an independent sovereign state with Southern Sudan being part of it (Daly, 1991; Fadlalla, 2004).

¹⁵ In keeping with the broader Arabisation of African cultures in Sudan during this period.

¹⁶ Present day Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania.

2.1.1.4 The First Sudanese Civil War, 1955 – 1972

The first civil war broke out in response to the inequities between the north and the south. The civil war, aided by foreign weapons and supplies on both sides, lasted 17 years and resulted in the death of more than half a million people. The Addis Ababa agreement, signed in 1972 gave partial sovereignty for the Southern Sudan Autonomous Region. However, peace was short lived; it lasted only for a decade (Fadlalla, 2004).

2.1.1.5 The Second Sudanese Civil War, 1983 – 2005

The second civil war broke out in response to serious violations of the 1972 peace agreement by the Sudanese (Khartoum) Government including the introduction of Sharia law in the south. The intention was to exploit the south's natural resources, primarily oil; but by declaring Sharia law, the government transformed the civil war into a Jihad, arousing deep-seated northern religious passion to sustain the fight between the government and the Sudan People's Liberation Army (SPLA) (Collins, 2008; Fadlalla, 2004).

The SPLA and its political wing, the Sudan People's Liberation Movement (SPLM), was formed in 1983 when Dr John Garang de Mabior, at the time a Lieutenant Colonel of the Sudanese People's Armed Forces (SPAF), was sent to Bor, his hometown in Southern Sudan, to quell a mutiny of 500 southern troops. Instead, he encouraged other mutinies, which eventually turned into a rebellion against the Khartoum Government. Under his charismatic leadership, the SPLA had grown into a small army of 60,000 by 1991, equipped mainly with small arms (Collins, 2008; Fadlalla, 2004). Foreign assistance, including military weapons to both sides, sustained the war for decades. The continuing war destroyed the economy of the whole country and resulted in serious neglect, lack of infrastructural development, and enormous destruction of human lives.

2.1.1.6 The Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA), 2005

In the end, continuing the war became too costly to both sides, particularly in terms of loss of oil revenues. After years of international pressure, a peace agreement was signed on 9 January 2005 between the Khartoum government and the SPLA/M, and the Autonomous Government of Southern Sudan was formed. The agreement provided for an oil wealth sharing and a power sharing arrangement under which Garang, an advocate of a unified *secular* Sudan, would become the first vice-president of Sudan during the term of the agreement. An important part of the CPA was a referendum scheduled to take place in six years in Southern Sudan on whether the whole of Sudan would federate or whether the south would separate. In July 2005, not long after signing the peace agreement, John Garang died in a helicopter crash. Salva Kiir Mayardit of the Dinka people, the head of the SPLA/M's military wing and an advocate of secession, was chosen to succeed Garang in his post as the first vice-president of Sudan and the president of the Autonomous Government of Southern Sudan. After formal independence he became the president of South Sudan (British Broadcasting Corporation, 2011a; Collins, 2008).

2.1.1.7 Formal independence of South Sudan, 9 July 2011

In accordance with the conditions of the 2005 CPA, a referendum was held from 9 to 15 January 2011 in which nearly 99% of voters, including those displaced to the north and surrounding countries in Africa, and expatriates living overseas, chose secession from the rest of Sudan (British Broadcasting Corporation, 2011b). This led to formal independence, and on 9 July 2011 South Sudan became an independent state. But this young nation, full of high expectations, is one of the poorest and most underdeveloped countries in the world (The World Bank, 2013).

2.1.2 The Republic of South Sudan

2.1.2.1 Geographical position and population characteristics

The Republic of South Sudan lies in East Africa. The landlocked country traversed by the White Nile (See Figure 2.1) is largely covered in swamp and grassland. The estimated population of South Sudan is 8.3 million (The World Bank, 2013). South Sudan has more than 200 ethnic groups and is one of the most linguistically diverse regions of Africa; many of the languages have only a few thousand speakers. The Dinka and the Nuer, the two largest tribes, are both estimated to be between one and two million people. Because of their numbers and leading role in the fight against the north, they are the majority in exile and are often the face of the South Sudanese diaspora. The official language of South Sudan is English, although a relatively small proportion of the population can speak it. Colloquial Arabic is also spoken. The majority of South Sudanese maintain traditional beliefs,¹⁷ followed by Christianity and Islam (Fadlalla, 2004). The majority, 83%, of the population live in rural areas, depending on animal husbandry and crop farming as their primary source of livelihood (Southern Sudan Centre for Census Statistics and Evaluation, 2009).

South Sudan is among the most poorly performing countries in terms of world health indicators (World Health Organization, 2014). The under-five infant mortality rate is 135 per 1,000 live births, while maternal mortality is the highest in the world. In 2006, the percentage of births attended by a medical doctor, nurse or midwife was just 11%. As many as 30% of births were completed with no attendant whatsoever. Of the women aged 15-49 who had been pregnant in the two years prior to the study, only 62% gave birth to a live baby. Largely because of the impact of the civil war, as many as 16% of children aged 0-17 have lost one or both parents. Malnutrition among children is widespread, and as many as 13% of children are severely underweight (Ministry of Health Government of Southern Sudan, 2006).

¹⁷ Sometimes referred to as Animist

Figure 2.1: Map of South Sudan



Families arrange for most women to be married at a very young age. As many as 17% of women are married before their 15th birthday, and an additional 31% are married before they turn 20 years of age. Nearly half of the married women (48%) are in a polygamous marriage or union (Ministry of Health Government of Southern Sudan, 2006).

Educational opportunities for children are limited. In 2009, only 15% of potential grade 1 pupils attended¹⁸ grade 1. Figures on adult literacy rates are inconsistent, but according to even the most favourable figures, only 27% of the 15 year olds and over are literate. As school attendance is much higher among boys than girls (Ministry of Education, 2009), the literacy rate is much higher among men (40%) than women (16%) (Southern Sudan Centre for Census Statistics and Evaluation, 2009).

¹⁸ The net enrolment rate, which is considerable higher than actual attendance rate, was 48% in 2009 (Ministry of Education, 2009).

2.1.2.2 Economy and security

South Sudan is one of the poorest countries in the world. Its gross domestic product (GDP) per capita in 2012 is estimated to be around US\$800. The economy is predominantly rural and relies chiefly on subsistence farming, although the last ten years has seen some transition from this rural dominance with extensive development in urban areas. The main natural resource of the country is oil, but in 2012 South Sudan suspended its oil production because of a dispute with Sudan over transshipment fees. This had a devastating impact on the economy of both countries (The World Bank, 2013). South Sudan has very little infrastructure, with less than 100 kilometres of sealed road and a 248 kilometre single track railway line (Ruati, 2011). Electricity is rare and is provided by diesel generators since there is no national grid (Mulama & Bimenyimana, 2011).

South Sudan is still beset by violence and insecurity. Areas such as the oil rich Abyei, or the Nuba Mountains, still experience high tension and military conflict between the Army of Sudan and the SPLA/M. Interethnic warfare between armed groups, and killing and forced displacement of civilians are also widespread (Human Rights Watch, 2009).

Ethnic loyalties and tribalism are deep-rooted in South Sudan and often preceded the war of independence. Resolving these conflicts is a serious stumbling block to the stability of this new nation. Another important dimension of control over resources is the power struggle between those who fled Sudan and subsequently obtained higher education in their transit or resettlement countries, and those who stayed behind to engage in the freedom struggle, but who often lack the education to participate in the affairs of the new state.

In this first section of the chapter I provided a brief description of the historical and homeland-related factors of the South Sudanese diaspora, with a special emphasis on elements likely to have important influences on their settlement experiences in Australia. There are two main themes running through my historical account, each of which I will consider in detail in later chapters. First is the theme of slavery,

experienced by the South Sudanese on their first contact with foreigners. In Chapter 10 I will argue that this historical assault is highly relevant to how South Sudanese families experience removal of their children by child protection authorities who purportedly had been responding to reports of family violence. It also explains the considerable distrust towards people outside of the community. As rationalised by one of the study participants, 'secrecy is our way of survival'.

The second strong theme in the history of the South Sudanese people is their continual fight and determination through the last 200 years to preserve their cultural identity and practices. Christian missionaries frequently lamented and criticised the Dinka and Nuer for their stubbornness to change or convert to Christian religion and way of life. But in 1964, during the First Civil War, all missionaries were expelled from Southern Sudan by the Khartoum Government. In an effort to propagate Islam in the south, thousands of educated clergy, school teachers, and respected Christian opinion-leaders were killed. But most Nilotes resisted religious conversion to Islam as defiantly as their fathers had resisted evangelism early in the missionary era. Ironically, missionary observers now commended the Nilotes for their stubbornness (Nikkel, 2001). From this historical theme it is evident that the people of South Sudan strongly identify with, and are resolutely protective of, their heritage and identity, especially when they feel them to be under attack. Thus, questioning the value and dignity of their heritage and culture will only lead to indignation, rather than cooperation, in the community. What is also revealing from this story is that the dispositions of pride and defiance, though often not easily appreciated in the Australian context, in fact can be positive qualities if harnessed in the right way.

The next section will describe the mass displacement of the people of South Sudan during the 1980s and their experiences in refugee camps in Africa.

2.2 Forced migration

2.2.1 The flight from the homeland

The second civil war had a devastating effect on Southern Sudan and its people. To tap the vast oil reserves, the northern army cleared extensive areas of Southern Sudan and uprooted thousands of people. In addition, it provided arms to 'militias' among traditional enemies of the Dinka to destabilise their territory. In Northern Bahr al Ghazal, 'scorched earth' tactics were combined with systematic looting and the re-emergence of slavery. It is estimated that between 3,000 and 7,000 Dinka were enslaved during the 1980s (Mahmud & Baldo, 1987). The narrative below gives a moving account of the desperate flight of South Sudanese refugees.

One night, in August 1987, the Sudanese government army attacked our village. It was an awful event. My sisters, Alnang and Akoi, and my brother went missing during the attack. Our houses were burnt. The attackers destroyed everything. Women were raped and children were abducted. The bombs that came from the aircraft overhead killed and injured innocent civilian people, especially women and children. (Awulian Community Development Association, 2010, p. 46)

Most people did not have time to think if they should leave their home. It was an instinctive response; a desperate flight from certain death. Those who had a chance to think for a few hours or days whether to stay or leave, in the end fled reluctantly to unknown destinations, with no solution or plan in mind. Refugees wandered sometimes for months, covering thousands of miles through forests, marshes and deserts through southern Sudan, Ethiopia, Uganda and Kenya, before finally reaching one of the refugee camps.

The continuing war, lasting over 22 years, resulted in enormous destruction to the region and of human lives, including widespread malnutrition and starvation. In addition to the war between the north and south, in 1991 a split occurred within the SPLA/M leading to years of infighting and further casualties. On the whole, more than two million people, one out of every five Southern Sudanese, have been killed. In

addition, more than 4.5 million became displaced either internally or into the neighbouring countries of Ethiopia, Kenya, Uganda and Egypt; some in refugee camps, the majority in urban centres (Collins, 2008; Fadlalla, 2004). The majority of Sudanese humanitarian immigrants to Australia lived in refugee camps, often for five to ten years.

2.2.2 Life in a refugee camp

Most of the participants in this study stayed at Kakuma refugee camp in north-western Kenya, about 100 kilometres south from the Sudanese border. It is a vast expanse of dry country speckled with low vegetation, originally settled by the Turkana. Most of the participants in this study stayed at Kakuma refugee camp in north-western Kenya, about 100 kilometres south from the Sudanese border. It is a vast expanse of dry country speckled with low vegetation, originally settled by the Turkana. Daily temperatures are never below the high thirties. The camp was erected between two seasonal rivers. As described by Peter Run in his auto-ethnographical work ‘[w]hen it rained, the land became slippery, the normally dry brooks the locals like to call rivers would flood the camp and the houses of mud-bricks and palm leaves would collapse putting the poor refugees back to square one of shelter construction at a rate almost equal to sandcastle building – only that the rain came slower than the sandcastle destroying ocean tides. When it didn’t rain, whirlwinds raided the camp taking with them most of the poor refugees’ belongings. The largest demographics in this camp were emaciated women and children dressed in rags and looking grey from dust sticking to their sweaty black skins’ (Run, 2012). It was into this place that the first Sudanese refugees started to arrive in 1991.

By the year 2000, the size of the camp had reached an estimated 110,000 people. The sudden increase of refugee numbers, often of different nationalities or from rival ethnic groups, and shortages of food rations led to violent conflicts among refugees. Armed fights were also common between refugees and the local people who often lived under

worse conditions than those inside the camps, and who were naturally resistant to the refugees' claims on land and resources (Schweitzer, et al., 2007).¹⁹

Yet most of the violence experienced by refugees in Kakuma was inflicted upon them, especially on women and children, by members of their own family and community. For example, Sudanese girls and women were known to be abducted for the purposes of forced marriage in Southern Sudan. Abuses also arose from the administration of justice in the camp. Although Kakuma is formally located in Kenyan territory and therefore subject to its legal system, in practice, disputes, violence and criminal activities were often settled by 'bench courts' and 'traditional judges' of the refugee population in question. These courts had an immense and often arbitrary power which according to some NGO and UNHCR observers added further insecurities to the life of some refugees, especially women (Crisp, 2000).

An important implication of the dominant application of customary law at the UNHCR-administered camp is the minimal exposure to and subsequent knowledge of modern Western law among refugees prior to their arrival in their resettlement countries. Additionally, some humanitarian migrants to Australia, when confronted with Australian family law, have argued for the right to maintain their own customary family laws and dispute resolution on the grounds that if the UNHCR has afforded them with this right, so should the Australian Government. The main differences between South Sudanese customary law and modern Australian law, and implications for family law authorities working with South Sudanese families, will be explored in Chapter 9.

Within the context of chronic violence and insecurity, refugees had tried to create some sense of normality including attending primary and secondary school classes provided by the UNHCR, and tertiary and vocational courses provided by various NGOs. Some refugees may also have had access to limited employment within the camp. Many South

¹⁹ The village of Kakuma and its surrounding area had a population of about 7,000 Turkana pastoralists. In the years to follow, the village had grown and diversified significantly, but it is almost entirely sustained by a flow of aid from outside Kenya.

Sudanese Australians spent their formative childhood and adolescent years in this environment. As reflected and theorised by Peter Run, although the refugee camp provided for their basic survival needs such as food and shelter, at the same time it threatened their ‘sense of belonging, self-esteem and the potential for self-actualization that naturally follow basic human needs’ (Run, 2012, p. 6).

In this second section I described the mass displacement of the people of South Sudan during the second civil war and their collective experiences at refugee camps with a particular focus on Kakuma refugee camp. The mass displacement of the South Sudanese diaspora was a large-scale shared experience, an unplanned and reluctant flight from their homeland. Based on his observations and study of past refugee movements, Kunz proposed that acute refugee movements of reactive fate-groups tended to heighten the cohesion and cultural identity of refugees after settlement (Kunz, 1981). Although the predictive hypotheses of Kunz received little empirical testing and verification, results from this research presented in later chapters found that Sudanese Australians are a highly cohesive group, despite the tensions experienced within their communities. All participants in the study have exhibited high identification with their community and with their cultural values and identities.

2.3 The host country – Australia

The final section of this chapter will look at the host-country—Australia. Following the typology of host-related factors proposed by Kunz, this section will examine cultural compatibility between the heritage and the host society, followed by Australia’s population policies and social attitudes towards immigrants and refugees.

Although memories of the homeland and the experience of forced migration have had an important influence on the resettlement experiences of forced migrants, their resettlement country, including its physical and cultural dimensions and the attitudes of the host government and people, would become increasingly important. While these features of the new country are all important considerations, refugees are seldom aware of them, and in any case, rarely are they able to exercise a choice.

2.3.1 Cultural compatibility

Kunz placed a strong emphasis on the cultural compatibility of the heritage homeland and the resettlement country. Although contemporary discourse on cultures tends to be more sensitive to the transitional realities of cultures (a topic which I will explore in Chapter 10), it is still prudent to consider the cultural compatibility between South Sudan and Australia as an essential factor in the resettlement process. In short, Sudan-born refugees coming to Australia face a linguistically strange environment coupled with unaccustomed values, practices, lifestyle, political views, food habits, and political and government institutions. Chapter 3 will discuss in detail important elements of Southern Sudanese cultures and social institutions.

Indeed recent studies on adaptation to Australia among former refugees from Sudan found that acculturation, together with homesickness and separation from family were the main constraints to participating in Australian society and adapting to their new life in Australia. Acculturation difficulties included difficulties with language and communication, making social connections, relating to Australian law, cultural framing of parenting and gender roles, and independent living and social isolation. The homesickness and sense of loss expressed by participants was not limited to a sense of loss due to separation from family and loved ones, but was extended to their sense of loss of their homeland and Africa (Shakespeare-Finch & Wickham, 2010).

Another Australian study reported similar findings. Adapting to a new set of cultural values, fear of losing the culture of Sudan, and social isolation due largely to limited knowledge of English were all identified as significant difficulties (Khawaja, White, Schweitzer, & Greenslade, 2008).

2.3.2 Population and immigration policies

The population and immigration policies of the host country constitute another important factor influencing resettlement outcomes. Kunz (1981) classified countries as self-sufficient, or augmentative.²⁰ He proposed that augmentative countries, such as Australia, tend to hold more opportunities for refugees in terms of employment, especially in low skill fields. At the same time, there is an expectation that refugees, like other immigrants, will rapidly contribute to the economic capacity of the country.

Indeed, an important element of current and preceding Australian governments' positions on immigration is enhancing Australia's social and economic prosperity (Bowen, 2010). Within this context, humanitarian migrants are often seen not only as part of Australia's humanitarian commitment to the UNHCR, but as immigrants who will contribute to the country's economic capacity. This overall context has implications for the services designed for humanitarian migrants.

Historically, the Government's approach to refugees is part of its broader approach to immigration. Although in the late 1970s Australia developed a separate refugee policy and introduced a quota for admission of refugees within the UNHCR, the dominant ideological framework and the national mentality that above all, settlers should economically benefit Australia has not changed (Jupp, 2007). Focusing on this sole consideration is unreasonable when it comes to the most recent humanitarian migrants to Australia. In fact, there have always been contradictions in policy in analytical terms, but in practical terms the contradiction did not surface until recently. Because of the 'white Australia' policy in place until the late 1970s, refugee intake was restricted to European refugees who integrated in a more rapid fashion.²¹ But with the increase of non-European refugees in the world, and Australia's agreement with the UNHCR that it

²⁰ Augmentative countries actively support population growth through immigration.

²¹ For example, in 1947 when Australia agreed to recruit settlers through the International Refugee Organisation (IRO) it was only because the IRO enabled Australia to recruit settlers among European refugees on its own terms and very cheaply (Neumann, 2004).

would resettle refugees identified for resettlement by the UNHCR, the characteristics and subsequent needs of humanitarian migrants to Australia have changed dramatically. Although Australia is recognised for its leading role at international forums on post-arrival support of resettled refugees,²² in the domestic context, Australia still does not have a distinct and openly articulated ideological framework on how to respond best to the humanitarian objectives of resettlement for forced migrants. Without a distinct framework for policies and programs, refugee settlements are advanced from the general framework for voluntary migrants. The result is that programs focus on the economic benefits migrants offer to Australia, whereas the primary consideration should be long-term support to refugee families to ensure that they will have ‘access to civil, political, economic, social and cultural rights similar to those enjoyed by nationals’ (UNHCR, 2004b).

An example to explicate my argument is the strong policy and program support between 2003 and 2007 by both the Commonwealth and state governments for the resettlement of refugees in regional and rural areas²³ ‘in order to address the demand for less skilled labour in regional economies and to assist humanitarian entrants to achieve early employment’ (Department of Multicultural and Indigenous Affairs, 2003).

While the assumption that employment and economic participation has a number of benefits and is an important contributing factor to successful resettlement, a critical evaluation of a number of case studies from the above programs found that the envisaged employment opportunities did not materialise as was anticipated (McDonald-Wilmsen, Gifford, Webster, Wiseman, & Casey, 2009). Issues of underemployment among South Sudanese Australians will be explored further in Chapter 7.

²² For example, in 2012, Australia was the selected chair for the Annual Tripartite Consultation on Resettlement (ATCR) and Working Group on Resettlement (WGR) UNHCR-NGO consultations (Refugee Council of Australia, 2012).

²³ In the 2004-05 Budget, the Australian Government committed \$12.4 million to increase humanitarian settlement in regional areas (Department of Multicultural and Indigenous Affairs, 2003).

Another proposition of Kunz (1981) is that since augmentative countries view refugees as permanent settlers, they tend to be unsympathetic to homeward-oriented refugees. The implication of this proposition is explored under the next theme—social receptiveness.

2.3.3 Social receptiveness

The third influential factor of the host country in the typology of Kunz is *social receptiveness*—the degree of conformity expected of immigrants. Kunz proposed that pluralistic, as opposed to monistic, societies are more tolerant and accepting of migrants maintaining their cultural identities (Kunz, 1981).

Australia is a culturally plural country and multiculturalism is a public policy stance adopted by various Australian governments. It was devised to respond to the increasing ethno-cultural diversity of Australian society ensuing from the mass immigration in the decades following World War II and the lifting of the racially restricted immigration policies of Australia in the 1970s. Over time the word ‘multiculturalism’ became more than just a reference to the demographic reality of cultural diversity and a set of policies and policy orientation. It became a concept conveying normative ideals about society, and during the 1980s and 1990s it became an element of Australia’s nation-building narratives (Jupp, 2011).

Despite its dominance in the 1980s and 1990s, multiculturalism has been a contested concept and policy since its inception, and in the past ten years it has been the subject of public criticism and political debate. The main focus of these debates is whether policies of multiculturalism were inhibiting integration and social cohesion. The declining popularity of multiculturalism was also reflected in Australia’s policies and programs. Government leadership and enthusiasm for multiculturalism withered under the Howard Coalition Government (1996-2007), and multicultural programs were gradually run down. In 2005, the term was eliminated from the name of the department which became the Department of Immigration and Citizenship (DIAC), and emphasis on integration, citizenship and values had become official government policy. Many elements of this

official policy (such as tests for citizenship) remained in place after the 2007 election of the Labor Government (Jupp, Nieuwenhuysen, & Dawson, 2007). Although the first Rudd Government (2007-2010) committed itself to developing multicultural policies, there are concerns about the direction multicultural policy could take under the recently elected Coalition Government. For example, the Abbott Government does not include a Multicultural Affairs Minister. Multicultural affairs and settlement services will be managed by the newly-created Department of Social Services with Kevin Andrews, who made insensitive comments in 2007 about the resettlement of Sudanese humanitarian migrants, as the Minister. There are also concerns that the Coalition Government is likely to axe a number of multicultural program initiatives, such as the National Anti-Racism Strategy (Special Broadcasting Service, 2013). Professor Andrew Jakubowicz, from the University of Technology, Sydney, believes that many migrant services could be overlooked in the Abbott Government. He thinks that the Coalition Government's approach towards multiculturalism will be guided by the views of the Prime Minister Tony Abbott, which he described as 'fairly assimilationist' (Special Broadcasting Service, 2013).

As noted by Tavan, paradoxically the concept of multiculturalism, introduced in response to the increasing diversity of Australia, was marginalised during a decade of marked increase in Australia's migrant intake from culturally diverse origins (Tavan, 2006). The past ten years has seen the emergence of new challenges relating to the growth of new and emerging communities. Some of the examples include the events of Cronulla²⁴ in 2005; violence against Indian international students and subsequent protests in Melbourne and Sydney during 2009; the Australian Human Rights Commission (AHRC) reporting on experiences of widespread racism against African Australians in a range of areas of employment, housing, education and their connection with the justice system (Australian Human Rights Commission, 2010); and the United Nations Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination (UN CERD)

²⁴ In December 2005, alcohol-fuelled violence against people of 'Middle Eastern appearance' by demonstrators clad in Australian flags followed by violent reprisal attacks were reported widely in the Australian media.

highlighting multiple forms of discrimination experienced by Indigenous, African and Muslim Australians, international students and asylum seekers in its response to Australia's fifteenth to seventeenth periodic reports to the Committee (United Nations Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination, 2010).

These examples suggest that the Australian Government's strategy of avoiding the discourse on multiculturalism and evading its role of leading a national conversation on diversity and cultural pluralism is likely to further increase, rather than lessen public concerns about the management of Australia's ethno-cultural diversity (Povinelli, 2002).

In summary, in the past ten years the view of a culturally pluralistic and inclusive Australia has come under considerable criticism in public and political debates with calls for greater emphasis on conformity to 'Australian values'. According to Kunz (1981), demands for assimilation and conformity are likely to exert greater stress on the majority-identified, homeward-oriented refugees by forcing them to make premature decisions. Within this analytic framework, these recent changes to Australian multiculturalism may have contributed adversely to the resettlement experiences of South Sudanese Australians. The concern and the sense of threat that Australian values are being imposed on the community, especially in the context of government programs and interventions, will be explored in later chapters.

This last section of the chapter considered the host-related factors identified by Kunz's typology of forced migration and resettlement. Undoubtedly there is a considerable gap in cultural compatibility between South Sudan and Australia. An important implication of unaccustomed values and processes is that it makes it difficult for both sides to anticipate and evaluate each other's action and response. I argued that Australian Government policies and programs for humanitarian migrants have been dominated by the larger ideological position that all immigrants should economically benefit Australia. While humanitarian migrants can often bring important economic and other benefits for Australia, especially in the longer term (Hugo, 2011), these need to be secondary considerations to following through on Australia's commitment to the UNHCR of providing the appropriate services, infrastructure and support necessary for

integration of refugees. Finally, I argued that recent public and political sentiments on assimilation and conformity have created an atmosphere that has made new arrival communities sensitive to Australian values being imposed on them.

2.4 Summary

The journey of refugees from Southern Sudan from their forced migration to resettlement in Australia is illustrative of how the 'refugee journey' does not end at resettlement. Following the three phases of refugee movements by Kunz (1981), the chapter described the homeland and the history of the South Sudanese diaspora, followed by accounts of their mass displacement during the 1980s and their experiences in refugee camps in Africa. The chapter concluded with a critical look at Australia's policies and social attitudes towards humanitarian migrants. The chapter demonstrated the South Sudanese diaspora's long and proud history of Nilotic origin and a more recent but equally proud record of resolutely protecting their heritage and identity. Their shared experience of large scale, acute flight from their homeland has further enhanced their identification with their heritage origin. They arrived in Australia for resettlement at a time when the dominant view of a culturally pluralistic and inclusive Australia came under considerable challenge in public and political debates, heightening sensitivities among the South Sudanese community to imposed Australian values.

The next chapter will describe the heritage values, customs and social institutions of South Sudan and will explore how they relate to the resettlement experiences of the community in Australia.

Chapter 3 – Heritage values, customs and social institutions of the people of South Sudan

This chapter describes the heritage values, customs and social institutions of people from South Sudan and explores how they impacted on, or are impacted upon, by the resettlement experiences of the community in Australia. The chapter was prompted by a number of considerations. Firstly, one of the main concerns raised by participants in this study is the lack of cultural knowledge and understanding among people working with the community. Accepting my participants' concern as valid and acting on it by approaching my research with an awareness of their cultural values, norms and practices, and with a genuine curiosity for their cross-cultural views and perspectives, is a fundamental element of my research project.

Additionally, there is a growing recognition that culture, together with other key aspects of a person's life, are critical to how forced migrants make sense of their lives, including their resettlement (Goodkind, 2006; Ryan, Dooley, & Benson, 2008). Heritage culture is especially critical in the African context. A number of renowned African intellectuals have commented on the importance of culture as 'a whole way of life' for Africans (Wakholi, 2007, p. 7). In the words of Kwame Gyekye, a Ghanaian philosopher and an important figure in the development of modern African philosophy, culture has 'taken root in the entire way of life and thought of the African people' (Gyekye, 1995, p. xii).

While I had important reasons to reflect on the relevance of heritage culture in my thesis, I wish to acknowledge that culture is a tenuous concept in both academic and everyday debate. Recent debates, internationally and in Australia, about

multiculturalism and claims that cultural plurality inhibits integration and social cohesion gave rise to a 'new racism' where cultural, rather than biological, attributes are used as an explanation for outcomes (Hanson-Easey & Augoustinos, 2010). I wish to clarify that the above reasoning is not my motive for the exploration of South Sudanese cultural values and institutions. Rather, I propose that despite being disavowed by some academic literature, culture still has a 'real' meaning for the participants of this study. Exploring this meaning and fostering an awareness of the heritage values and norms of Sudanese Australians enhances the understanding of their resettlement experiences in the context of their cultural identities. Engaging with the meaning of culture among participants can also inform some of the concerns debated in the academic literature. At the same time it needs to be acknowledged that as a troubling consequence of colonization and the two civil wars and subsequent destruction, many of the Sudanese communities have lost the connections, histories, and transfer of the more underlying and nuanced part of their culture. With forced migration, traditional institutions upon which conceptions of justice, group solidarity and personal dignity were based have largely eroded. As argued by Francis Deng, what has remained, is practised and has been fiercely protected is the more basic and economically-focused elements of the original culture rather than a whole integrated system (F. M. Deng, 1998b).

Before I describe the cultural orientation of South Sudanese people, I define the presentation of culture in this study. The dominant definition of culture in sociology is a set of shared understandings which makes it possible for a group of people to act in concert with each other (Becker, 1982). Some social anthropologists, for example Piddington (1950) tend to emphasise the ultimate purpose of culture—survival. That is, we do things the way we do to survive. Thus in its narrowest definition, culture is a sum of material and intellectual means to satisfy one's biological and social needs to adapt to the environment in order to survive (Piddington, 1950). This environment includes geographic factors; indeed, most cultures have a symbiotic affinity with their environments (Ayisi, 1979). A wider definition, such as the one from Bronislaw Malinowski, includes not only knowledge, competencies and practices, but also beliefs, art, law and morals, which people acquire by being a member of society (Firth, 1957). Thus, a more holistic interpretation of culture comprises physical as well as sociological

factors. Another important feature of culture is its distinctiveness. While culture is a part of every society, most groups have a shared understanding unique to themselves, transmitted from generation to generation (Friedl & Pfeiffer, 1977). This makes the term 'South Sudanese cultures' somewhat problematic as there are many diverse cultures in South Sudan. But culturally nearly all tribes of South Sudan are part of the Nilotic culture. Undoubtedly there are minorities in most cultural divisions and there are many variations among the many Nilotic tribes; but there is also a strong unifying essence. Thus the presentation of South Sudanese cultures in this thesis is the dominant shared understandings among the Nilotic peoples of Africa, particularly those originating from Southern Sudan, of how to act towards each other.

A unique aspect of South Sudan cultures is their isolation from modernity until most recently, in part due to the legacy of British colonial administration. However, as a result of intensive cross-cultural interactions in the last couple of decades, South Sudanese cultures have been under increasing transitions of late. This brings me to my next point, the transitional realities of cultures. While I am well aware that culture is not a static or uniform concept, I start this chapter by first exploring the traditional social systems of the Nilotic people. The reason for this approach is to demonstrate the meaningfulness of Sudanese heritage systems, values and practices in their original context. However, progressing through my thesis I explore some of the main cultural transitions in the South Sudanese diaspora. I also provide a more nuanced conceptualisation of culture and identities among Sudanese Australians using the works of Homi Bhabha (1990) and Nikos Papastergiadis (2000). Papastergiadis calls on the concept of hybridity from Bhabha to conceptualise the disjunctive identities among migrant communities. Bhabha proposed the term 'hybridity' to interpret the juxtapositions of space and 'time lag' out of which the sense of oscillating between the axioms of foreign and familiar, is being constructed (Bhabha, 1990, p. 307). It is important to note Bhabha's differentiation of the term from earlier miscegenistic interpretations of hybrid as something that is impure. Instead it refers to adaptability to uncertain and evolving situations. As explained by Papastergiadis, it is a way of holding together divergent sources of identity through 'separateness and unity in a single semantic field' (Papastergiadis, 2000, p. 194). According to Bhabha, identity never

coheres into a fixed absolute form; rather it is restlessly constructed in the context of politics and culture, responding to locations and relationships with others. The analysis presented in the thesis demonstrates Sudanese Australians' attempt to affirm their identities in their uncertain and unfamiliar setting which often remains 'incomprehensible' to many of them (Run, 2012, p. 7).

Finally, although I often refer to the collective term of South Sudanese cultures, the information presented in this chapter will look at the specifics of the Dinka and to a lesser extent the Nuer cultures, the general principles and attitudes are shared across other Nilotics of South Sudan. The reasons why I discuss these two groups are two-fold. Firstly, the majority of South Sudanese people living in Australia are from these two tribes. The second reason is availability of reliable information. To explore the culture, values and social systems of the Dinka I have drawn predominantly from the work of Dr Francis Mading Deng (1971, 1972, 1978, 1990, 1998b), the son of a former paramount chief of the Ngok tribe of the Dinka and a renowned author, scholar and advocate for international peace. Dr Deng is recognised as a leading interpreter of, and authority on, customary Dinka social systems and their change in the last 50 years. The work and contribution of Deng is also highly acclaimed among many of the participants of this study. Thus deep engagement with the work of Deng throughout this thesis is an important aspect of my research approach. Information presented here on the culture and social systems of the Nuer was drawn from the work of Sharon Hutchinson (1996) and to a lesser extent the work of Sir Edward Evans-Pritchard (1940, 1951, 1969).

When considering the relevance of the above authors, I remained mindful of the circumstances in and around their writing. Specifically, the work of Deng is to a large extent specific to the peaceful existence of the Dinka Abyei region. This region was not as much affected by the first civil war (1955-72) as some of the other regions, such as the Bahr el Ghazal region. Subsequently, important elements of his work such as the role of chiefs, are not as dominant in Dinka communities where civil wars and targeted extinction of community leaders eroded the social structure of the communities. With respect to the work of Evans-Pritchard, his trilogy was written between 1930 and 1960 for the British Government for the purpose of documenting Nuer political institutions so that they could be more effectively brought under British rule. His connection with the

colonial administration when working in Southern Sudan has importantly impacted on his anthropological research and claims. The work of Hutchinson was written in the 1990s against the backdrop of civil war in Sudan, and in light of past British colonialism. The principal objective of her book is to convey the understanding of Nuer men and women of their contemporary culture under the influence of recent political and social changes. Throughout the chapter I remained conscious of these contextual influences and their impact on my three main sources of references.

Two main sections will contribute to this chapter. Section 1 will look at the cultural orientation and customs of South Sudan and their important roles in regulating society. Section 2 will introduce the main transitional themes of South Sudanese cultural values and practices upon resettlement in Australia. I conclude the chapter with the proposition that Australian authorities and organisations working with members of the Sudanese community should recognise how importantly culture contributes to the core identity of Sudanese Australians. Acknowledging their culture and developing an understanding of their unique customs are important signs of respect. Furthermore, it would open up opportunities for utilising culture to improve the settlement experiences of the community.

3.1 The cultural orientation of the people of South Sudan

There are over 200 ethnic groups in South Sudan. The largest ethnic groups include the Dinka, Nuer and Shilluk followed by the Murle, Toposa, Didinga, Lotuko, Acholi, Bari, Pojulu, Mundari, Kuku, Kakwa, Azanda, Balanda, Ndogo, Kresh and the Nuba (Arnold & Le Riche, 2012). To the world, the people of South Sudan are known for their suffering, destitution and starvation while civil war raged intermittently over five decades in their land. But for the tribes of South Sudan, and for those who came into close contact with them, they are known for their dignity, self-esteem, cultural pride and cattle wealth.

The Dinka, the largest tribe in South Sudan, are one of the tallest people in the world and, as noted by several anthropologists and missionaries, they are very proud and

fiercely independent. They call themselves *Monyijieη*, meaning ‘the Lords of Men’, an expression to indicate that they see themselves as the standard of what is the dignity of man (F. M. Deng, 1972). The second largest tribal group in South Sudan is the Nuer. Similar to the Dinka, they are proud and they call themselves *Naath* – ‘the people of the people’ (Evans-Pritchard, 1940).

The Dinka and the Nuer, like most Nilotic tribes, are primarily pastoralists relying on cattle herding at riverside camps in the dry season and growing millet in fixed settlements during the rainy season. Their social life is focused in the cattle camp, and people only assemble in their permanent homesteads during planting and harvest. Their migration is determined by the local climate, and the periodic flooding and dryness of the area in which they live. From living in a harsh environment, on a narrow margin of subsistence, vulnerable to disease and natural disaster, evolved an egalitarian, independent, yet highly regulated social life, where most human activities are organised by social structures and customs (F. M. Deng, 1972; Evans-Pritchard, 1969; Hutchinson, 1996). What follows is a description of the main social structures and customs commonly observed among South Sudanese tribes.

3.1.1 Main social constructs of Nilotic cultures

3.1.1.1 Cattle wealth

Most Nilotic tribes of South Sudan rely on cattle for almost all aspects of their daily lives and this is a source of collective pride in their interaction with the outside world. Their cattle are integral to their economic, social and religious life. For example, their use as payment for bridewealth, and its distribution among a wide circle of relatives, cements the network of human ties so highly regarded by Nilotic peoples.

The culture of Dinka and Nuer are especially dominated by cattle to which they attach a social and moral significance well beyond their economic value.²⁵ According to Francis Deng, their distinctive identity, cultural values, and social and socio-economic system derive from their 'preoccupation with cattle' (F. M. Deng, 1998a, p. 104). Cattle are a major feature in their songs,²⁶ either in terms of need for cattle if one is to marry or for sacrifice, or in terms of young men exalting themselves and their lineage²⁷ through identification with their personality oxen.²⁸ Even one's social standing and self-esteem are linked to ownership of cattle. Francis Deng is not the only source attributing such a strong significance to cattle in the Dinka culture. Mark Nikkel²⁹ described the relationship between the Dinka and their cattle as a 'virtually symbiotic relationship' (Nikkel, 2001, p. 25). Similar to the Dinka, the Nuer's way of life revolves around their livestock. The Nuer are also well known for their cattle wealth and feared for their cattle raiding which is an accepted practice among the Nuer even though it creates a lot of instability (Evans-Pritchard, 1969; Hutchinson, 1996).

²⁵ So significant is the social and socio-economic value of cattle that in his recent empirical study of the impact of civil war on social capital in Sudan, L. Deng (2010) used trends in cattle ownership to assess the level of social capital. The element of trust in social capital was measured by level of kinship support compared to pre-war periods, while 'building and supplying social capital' was captured by the number of wives in the family compared to pre-war periods.

²⁶ The songs of the Dinka are important in this context. Unlike modern Western songs that deal with constructed situations, Dinka songs concern known facts, known people and defined objectives. They have a functional role in everyday life (Nikkel, 2001).

²⁷ A unilineal descent group, all members of which trace their genealogical relationship back to a founding ancestor (Ayisi, 1979).

²⁸ Individual oxen with which young men /women identify themselves, and are identified by the society.

²⁹ Mark Nikkel, an Episcopal priest, immersed himself in the life of Sudan's Dinka people as a Christian teacher and minister in Southern Sudan from the 1980s until his death in 2000. He often spent weeks or months in cattle camps and villages where he saw first-hand the lives and customs of the Dinka. His missionary accounts have been balanced with studies of Dinka ethnography.

It becomes evident through the chapter that in South Sudan, the social and economic significance of cattle-wealth coupled with customary laws to regulate its transaction provided an important mechanism for control of women and behaviour management of youth. In Australia, in the absence of this mechanism, Sudanese families and the community had to identify alternative means for negotiating and regulating social relationships within families and the community.

3.1.1.2 Marriage

The other important element of most South Sudanese cultures is the continuity of one's name beyond one's life-time. It is an approximation of the concept of eternal life in Christianity. Pregnancy is viewed as a sign that the ancestral spirits on the man's side are sending a representative into the community, and the newborn is seen both as a gift from the ancestors, and as family wealth (F. M. Deng, 1972; Nikkel, 2001). In traditional South Sudanese cultures having children can only be achieved by marriage.

Marriage has a high prominence in Nilotic societies. At an individual level, it provides a formal man-woman relationship, which outside of marriage is not socially sanctioned. It marks adulthood, as in most Nilotic societies one is not considered to be an adult until married. Marriage is also an investment; the more children you have the richer you are. At a collective level, social relations are largely determined and nurtured by marriage. Marriage with someone outside of one's tribe is rare and when it occurs it is often disapproved of. Yet, because of clan exogamy,³⁰ Nilotic marriage customs tend to create affinal links across broad political and geographic spaces. Girls usually marry in their late teens and early twenties, while most men marry in their mid to late twenties. The engagement is usually prolonged for the practical reason of collecting the payment of bridewealth. While many Dinka and Nuer men have only a single marriage, the cultural ideal is polygamy, as increased number of formal ties, through marriage, is seen as increased social relations, wealth, and prestige (F. M. Deng, 1972; Nikkel, 2001).

³⁰ A social arrangement where marriage is allowed only outside of a social group.

As with many other social relationships in South Sudanese cultures, marriage entails clear division of roles. Mixed companionships between boys and girls are permitted. In fact, popularity, courteousness, courtship, care for good looks are esteemed. But promiscuity, while accepted in men, is unacceptable in women who are subject to rigorous codes on sexual ethics. But while courtship is the concern of young people, the business and formalities of marriage, and often the selection of the future wife/husband, is done by senior men (F. M. Deng, 1972; Evans-Pritchard, 1951; Hutchinson, 1996). In contrast to Western societies, where marriage is usually an agreement between two people, in Nilotic societies marriage is an agreement secured and maintained by two extended families, each concerned with its own prestige and wealth. Especially among the Dinka and Nuer, marriage involves a series of obligations that usually engulf the entire lineage and communities. Not surprisingly, the relationship is regulated through relatives. This traditional conceptualisation of marriage often creates conflict in Sudanese families in Australia, especially when young people become aware that the laws and values of their resettlement country do not enforce and support the arrangements of their parents and elders.

Marriage is legally defined through the exchange of bridewealth, a legally enforceable collective contribution, usually in the form of cattle, from a wide circle of the groom's family. The main contribution is traditionally made by the father and distributed among a large circle of relatives on the bride's side with the main beneficiary being the father or, if he is deceased, the uncles. The exchange of cattle is an important display of respect to the family of the bride. Importantly, it provides social status within the community. It is also the means to legitimise children. That is, the exchange of cattle ensures that the children will be considered to belong to the husband's lineage and to his line of descent. The disproportionately high value of bridewealth is one of the main reasons for the typically deferential behaviour of the wife within her new family.³¹ Should 'troublesome behaviour' on her part result in the dissolution of the marriage, the

³¹ Other reasons why women can be kept in subservience in South Sudan are the lack of basic education, such as literacy, the lack of access and the right to own resources to maintain a livelihood independent from her husband and his family (Sommers & Schwartz, 2011).

family of the bride is obliged to return the bridewealth. Given the complexity of the transaction and the number of people it will impact, the proposer of the divorce always needs to gain the support of relatives and the community (F. M. Deng, 1972; Evans-Pritchard, 1951; Hutchinson, 1996; Kirwen, 2010). However, recent Western influence on family life in Sudan, but more dominantly in the diaspora, has undermined the stability of marriages, leading to an increasing number of divorces.

The ideal number of cattle to be paid as bridewealth varies in the different tribes and regions, but a number between 30 and 40 is common among the Dinka and the Nuer (F. M. Deng, 1998a; L. B. Deng, 2010). Families living outside of Sudan generally pay the bridewealth in currency. The average amount quoted to me during my fieldwork in Australia and while working as a volunteer in Kakuma refugee camp (Kenya), is between U\$30,000 to U\$40,000. The practice of bridewealth is only possible through kinship ties. Thus to maintain the practice of bridewealth, kinship harmony is important. At the same time, bridewealth has the important function in Sudan of stabilising family and kinship connections. However in Australia, it is often the source of disputes and violence as the repayment of bridewealth in the event of divorce³² is not reinforced by Australian law and as a rule it does not happen.³³ Nevertheless the practice of bridewealth is still relatively prevalent among the South Sudanese community in Australia, and it was a central topic of many formal and informal conversations during my fieldwork.

Given the complexity and sometimes volatility of economic obligations and exchanges, Nilotic people have highly developed codes of customary law³⁴ and systems of local courts to maintain order (F. M. Deng, 1971). The next section is a brief description of

³² The relatively high divorce rate within the South Sudanese Australian community will be considered in later chapters.

³³ I was told by some of the participants that men who marry a wife from Africa and pay the bridewealth to her family living in South Sudan feel more assured that they bridewealth will be returned to him, or to his family in Africa, in the case of divorce, through the intervention of customary law and appointed authorities in South Sudan.

³⁴ Those rules of custom/social norms that have become a recognised law in a given community.

some specifics from South Sudanese customary law selected for their relevance to this research.

3.1.1.3 Customary law

The dominant form of dispute resolution in the matters of family and property disputes in South Sudan and in most refugee camps is customary law. Although severely damaged, the traditional structure of South Sudanese society remained tribal and the application of customary law remained dominant until now. This is especially true in villages and rural areas, where the governmental court system did not reach these areas or is ineffective.

There are a number of fundamental differences between customary and modern Western law. Firstly, in modern law, the laws are already on the books. Under customary law, decisions are made through a process of consultation and debate by elderly tribe members and tribal chiefs until an agreed outcome is reached³⁵ (Fadlalla, 2009). In later chapters I will describe how participants in this study found it unreasonable and disrespectful that Australian law authorities and crime prevention agencies do not give the accused an opportunity to argue their case to the extent they considered appropriate.

Prior to their resettlement in Australia, most Sudanese Australians had little experience with law enforcement and crime prevention agencies. This is because the main function of customary law is not retribution, but maintaining the social balance and status quo, and arriving at a material compensation to remedy the loss caused to a person and his or her family (Makec, 1988). As penalties are largely restricted to material compensation instead of imprisonment, most tribal communities lack law enforcement and crime

³⁵ Although through repeated use, particular solutions become a rule to solve future similar conflict.

prevention agencies³⁶ (Makec, 1988). Having little previous experience with Western formal legal systems and crime prevention agencies to regulate family disputes has important implications on how the interactions with these authorities are experienced among the Sudanese community. Prior to their immigration to Australia, Sudanese refugees are told that they will have to conform to new laws and authorities. However, their conception of what is fair and how the law is to be delivered and applied is still largely informed by their experience with customary law and institutions. Subsequently, in many cases they perceive their experiences with Australian law authorities and agencies as unfair, inappropriate and lacking sense. In short, they question the legitimacy of the action of these agencies—an issue that I will explore in detail in Chapter 10. The next section looks at Nilotic family structures and roles of individuals within these structures. Extended family has, from generation to generation, been supported and perpetuated by Nilotic cultural values and remained a crucial economic and social support for many African societies (Weisner, 1997).

3.1.1.4 Family structures and roles

Family is a main feature of Nilotic societies, and it is the principal focus of, and reason for, social co-operation and responsibility. It also acts as social security for its members. In Nilotic societies, extended families are patrilineal and are formed by the sons remaining in their father's family group. Thus after marriage the new wife will join her husband's family group. The nuclear family/household consists of a number of wives of the same husband and their children. At times it may also include additional members, such as cousins and nieces. Each wife has her own hut where her husband visits her and where he usually stays for the night. Although it is the wife's responsibility to cook her husband's meals, they do not eat together. The cooked meal is taken to the husband and he will eat it in the company of his male contemporaries by age and social status.

³⁶ Although, with recent escalation of serious crimes and the increase in law enforcement agencies in the urban areas, local courts have at times requested of the state the imprisonment of offenders for serious crimes.

As soon as marriage has taken place, the contrast between the flattery of courtship and the status of a married woman will emerge. No one disputes that the duties of spouses are neither identical, nor equal. Some argue however that although their duties are not equal, they are reciprocal. Nilotic men and women are aware of the inequities (F. M. Deng, 1972) Some men, including participants of this research, have argued that women are prone to jealousy and not educated or wise enough to be afforded equal status in the family. Also, in Southern Sudan, the law holds the men responsible for their wife's behaviour, which, while no longer the case in Australia, for some men still justifies their ultimate control over their family and their wife. Some women accept these inequities as part of their status, while others rebel against it in various ways, especially when they realise that the law, social institutions and values of their resettlement country do not support the inequities of their customary culture.

The upbringing of Dinka and Nuer children, while hard, is always very egalitarian and centres on personal pride. In Sudan, Dinka infants spend the first two years of their life with their mother. After being weaned, the child goes to live with the maternal kin, usually the grandparents. In many respects this symbolises the return of their daughter, and both the children and their maternal kin tend to demonstrate much love and affection. Around the age of six, children return to their original home. Girls stay with their mothers, while boys stay with the men in the cattle byres or in the open around a fire with the other men. The important function of this segregation is to cultivate the sense of solidarity expected of them as the core of family unity, harmony and continuity. Solidarity is also encouraged in the form of fighting in defence of family honour. Indeed much of the violence in Nilotic societies is directed towards this end (F. M. Deng, 1972; Evans-Pritchard, 1951; Hutchinson, 1996).

Experience of forcefulness during childhood is quite common in Dinka and Nuer cultures. It is argued that reasoning is more limited among children and controlled violence is permitted. Limited reasoning is also used as a justification for physically punishing, usually caning, children who commit a wrong. The consequences of this practice upon resettlement in Australia will be explored in detail in Chapter 9. Both boys and girls are expected to perform domestic work, and they are seen as important contributors to domestic tasks. In most Nilotic tribes, the life of boys will change

dramatically after their initiation which takes place between the ages of 16 and 18, after which they are allowed formal dating, dancing and flirting, and competition for young women (F. M. Deng, 1972; Evans-Pritchard, 1951; Hutchinson, 1996). The erosion of these rites of passages in Australia means that behaviours are more fluid and more contestable among young men, leading to inter-generational conflict in families. This will be explored in Chapter 9.

In most Nilotic societies, the primary economic unit is the extended family. Among the Dinka this practice is derived from their relationship to their divinity (*yieth*). All wealth and property belong to *yieth*, and selected individuals, i.e. the patriarch of the family, are entrusted to control it (Lienhardt, 1961). Dependent members of the family are economically sheltered by the patriarch of the family. Their obligations are his obligations and he will assume their liability. At the same time, their rights are his rights and any payments due to them will be recovered and taken by him.

On arrival in Australia most Sudanese families are placed on various income support benefits for extended periods. Centrelink transfers a large proportion of this benefit to the primary caretaker of the children, i.e. the mother. Adult children can also arrange to receive part of the money apportioned to them. These arrangements, coupled with a new external reference on negotiating economic rights within a family, often lead to an intense contest between family members over the control of family wealth or how it is being distributed. Income benefit payment arrangements are also a main source of frustration among Sudanese men who see them as an attack on their role of administering the economic resources of their family, and the status attached to it. Their main obligation as the patriarch of the family is to continue the genealogy and wealth of the family through work and business opportunities as well as by arranging good marriages.

This traditional conceptualisation of the roles of fathers has important implications in the resettlement context. Exclusion from the labour market prevents Sudanese fathers to act on their breadwinner obligations. Also, youth in Australia are given the liberty to move away from home should they wish, or start their own formal or informal romantic relationships. Some Sudanese youth act on these liberties, thereby preventing their

fathers from acting on their traditional obligation to arrange for a good marriage and thus cultivate the wealth and the genealogy of the family. Fathers experience these external impacts as an attack on their authority as head of the family. As these roles in families provide an important sense of identity to family members, fathers and parents also see these influences as an attack on their cultural and self-identity. This issue will be explored in detail in later chapters.

It is evident from the above descriptions that some of the main elements of South Sudanese cultures are located in social codes stratified by age, sex and one's relative position in the family and the community. Observing these social codes is an important part of securing self-respect and respect from others. The topic of the next section is respect in traditional Dinka cultures and how it relates to the evident dignity and readiness for contestation among South Sudanese people.

3.1.2 Respect, dignity and contestation

Respect is highly esteemed in Dinka, Nuer and other Nilotic societies and is critical to maintaining one's good name and subsequent identity and influence in the community. There are two main aspects of respect in Dinka: respect for oneself and others; and respect as a shared value system to acknowledge the dignity of all humans. Respect for oneself is often manifested in the striking pride of the Dinka, Nuer and to a lesser degree the other tribes, and raised sensitivity to insult on their dignity (F. M. Deng, 1971; Evans-Pritchard, 1969; Hutchinson, 1996). In later chapters I describe how unintentional attacks from government workers on the dignity of Sudanese Australians led to a strong sense of disrespect among the Sudanese community. Respect for others has two main strands. One is the concept of good manners, emphasising self-control and non-aggression. The other main strand could be summed up as avoidance³⁷ (F. M. Deng, 1971, 1998b).

³⁷ For instance between relatives-in-law, or avoiding menstruating women because of fear of spiritual contamination.

The second main aspect is respect for human dignity and it is an 'integral part of principles of conduct that guide and regulate human relationships and constitutes the sum total of the moral code and the social order' (F. M. Deng, 1990, p. 45). It is based on kinship, property and welfare ties and thus the degree to which one would have it varies. However, it is also related to various rituals. For example, when a Dinka youth is initiated into adulthood he becomes known as *adheng* (gentleman) and his virtue is *dheeng*. Any demonstration of aesthetic value, such as singing, dancing, physical appearance, the way a man walks, talks, eats, drinks or dresses are considered *dheeng*. It also encompasses hospitality, generosity, good manners, discretion and kindness (F. M. Deng, 1990). Thus while access to respect through one's position in society is diverse, the broad range of cultural rituals will give virtually everyone some avenue to dignity, honour and pride. Hence upholding cultural structures and values has important implications for the Sudanese diaspora. These structures and rituals give form and meaning to their lives and an important sense of identity. Holding their valued identities is a critical issue for forced migrants who typically lose a broad range of belongings, structures and connections that provide form and meaning to people's lives.

Human dignity has a dominant significance in the moral principles of the Dinka and Nuer, and it is reflected in values such as pride, hospitality and generosity. Another central theme is the value of continued identity, both as an individual and as a member of the community. These values are group solidarity, consensus building, unity, harmony, persuasiveness and cooperation (F. M. Deng, 1971; Evans-Pritchard, 1969; Hutchinson, 1996). Yet aggression among the Dinka and Nuer is a recurring theme in the literature,³⁸ and the special challenges the Dinka and Nuer had posed to missionaries and workers in refugee camps is evident both in the literature and in practice. For example, Nikkel noted that as displaced people, the Dinka 'could be demanding and aggressive, sometimes dominating centres intended for multi-ethnic use' (Nikkel, 2001,

³⁸ For example, the Dinka custom known as *biok*, in which the dominant age-set provokes the newly graduated age-set into a play fight, can result in severe casualties (F. M. Deng, 1990), while the Nuer are known to be 'ferocious warriors' engaging in cattle raiding, which happens frequently (Fadlalla, 2009).

p.236). Similar observations were conveyed to me by workers of the UNHCR and non-government organisations while I was working as a volunteer in Kakuma. These comments however need to be considered in their context. That is, contestation and the readiness to assert one's right is a necessary process of protecting individual and collective rights in the absence of an established authority and of institutions and processes by which rights can be maintained. In places where there is limited judicial authority, such as countries wrought by civil war or in refugee camps, law and justice take different forms. Private wrongs are avenged by private individuals and their friends and lineage, all of whom will help them to attack or resist attacks.

Another explanation relates to the segmentary structures of Nilotic societies. Evans-Pritchard was intrigued as to how a society without the conventional institutions of governance can have law and order. He proposed that social regulation in segmentary structures is based on three simultaneous principles: the diffusion of power over balanced segments, the maintenance of the balance, and a supportive thought system that values each individual self (Evans-Pritchard, 1940). An important feature of this power diffusion over balanced segments is a certain level of opposition between all the segmented parts (Doss, 2000). Thus the issue is not just the recent lack of governing institutions and judicial authority due to the impact of civil wars, but also a historical governance structure that is based on a certain level of balanced opposition and competition.

From these accounts it is evident that people from South Sudan have a strong identity; they are a proud people and not one to adapt readily to the demands of authoritarian hierarchies. Their readiness to question authority is not looked upon favourably by Australian government organisations and law enforcement agencies, which tend to prefer submissive and obedient clients. In fact, some workers delivering services to the community did admit in our private conversations³⁹ of not treating Sudanese clients equally with other clients at times. As workers often came under challenge from

³⁹ These conversations were of a private nature as the organisation they worked for did not consent to an interview.

Sudanese clients, at times it was easier to send them away than to explain their actions, which had then triggered further contestation. Defiance and unwillingness from the community to conform at a first request has often led to a lack of appropriate engagement from authorities and organisations. This in turn has led to feelings of exclusion, being ignored and a strong sense of disrespect among the Sudanese community. This issue will be explored in detail in Chapters 10.

This first section described the cultural orientation and customs of South Sudan and their important roles in regulating society. Group cohesion through kinship relationships is the centrepiece of the social and economic fabric of South Sudanese tribes. These networks and their ties provide a sense of identity and social recognition of the individual. At the same time, the action and obligation of an individual is dominated by the interests of these networks. On arrival in Australia, the regulating power of these cultural values and practices is weakened and comes under challenge from within the community as well as from external sources. At the same time the cultural values and legal rules communicated to the community by Australian authorities and organisations tend to lack relevance and coherence to the Sudanese community. In the next section of this chapter I look at the transition of South Sudanese cultural values and practices upon resettlement in Australia.

3.2 Culture under transition

Much has been made of Nilotic people's pride in their culture, especially Dinka and Nuer, and it has been extensively used to explain their conservative attitude (Butt, 1952; F. M. Deng, 1971, 1972; Evans-Pritchard, 1940).⁴⁰ Yet we should not generalise about the cultural conservatism of South Sudanese people, and we should consider whether Nilotic people were sufficiently motivated to change their way of life and emulate

⁴⁰ Even Deng accedes that *cieng* (morals, behaviour, custom, law and culture) and related values are seen as a sanctified and elevated heritage even when it has negative aspects (F. M. Deng, 1998a).

foreigners. Their contacts with foreigners were largely limited to Arab tribes, who often came with the intention to dominate or enslave them, or missionaries who ultimately demanded an inroad into the soul of their society. The limited social services delivered by the missionaries in the form of health care and education were initially seen as threatening to tradition. Modern medicine was feared as an affront to the ancestral spirits and therefore dangerous. Education was seen as a challenge to the principles of veneration and age as the only source of knowledge. Education for girls was particularly rejected, as it was believed to be morally corrupt, and thus would dramatically reduce the bridewealth they can attract. And importantly, children were needed at home and in the cattle byres for their labour contribution. Furthermore, not only were the messages of missionaries seen as alien and irrelevant, if they were delivered by men who by Nilotic standards were impoverished, lacking both wives and children, leaving the locals unimpressed, if not offended. This limited contact with foreigners did little but confirm the superiority of ancestral values and pride in their culture (F. M. Deng, 1998a; Nikkel, 2001).

However, as a result of intensive cross-cultural interaction and modern education, the process of adopting foreign ways has accelerated in the last couple of decades. Francis Deng claims that the Dinka are demonstrating much higher levels of adaptability than in the past (F. M. Deng, 1998b). He believes that civil wars and extreme deprivation, and the relegation of the Dinka to a more precarious existence, may have destabilised their confidence in the superiority of their traditional culture and way of life. Also, with the intensified impact of the outside world, such as NGOs, missionaries, World Bank, and UN agencies, their traditional pride has begun to give way to a quest for self-improvement through development. As Deng observed, even the principle of veneration and age as the only source of knowledge began to be reconceptualised, giving way to a new outlook emphasising the education of youth as the necessary skill to acquire wealth and status. In his paper on Dinka cultural perspectives on wealth and poverty, Deng claimed that development among the Dinka is now widely accepted and valued (F. M. Deng, 1998b).

Attitudes toward other customs, such as bridewealth, and the disproportionately large value of it, remain unaffected however (Sommers & Schwartz, 2011), despite some

leaders opposing high bridewealth as early as in the 1970s.⁴¹ While in recent times the Dinka and the Nuer have relatively easily converted from cattle to cash bridewealth, the custom of paying bridewealth has not changed substantively (Hutchinson, 1996). I would argue that this lack of change is largely related to the absence of alternative economic opportunities in present day South Sudan.

For this research, the question is to what extent are the claims of Nilotic (especially Dinka) conservatism and disinterest in development well-founded in the Australian resettlement context. During my fieldwork I found enthusiasm and willingness for education and professional development right through the community. At the same time, most participants have exhibited great pride in and commitment to their Nilotic culture. But, as suggested by William Twining, 'the values of pride and dignity that made them resist change may well provide them with the motivation to enhance their status and self-image through modernization' (Twining, 2009, p. 20). South Sudanese Australians are confident about their human resources and their abilities and qualities, especially when further developed through education. It is a strength that organisations working with the community can build on. However, this potential strength within the community is currently not utilised. In Chapter 7 I demonstrate that despite their desire for employment, the Sudanese community at large is excluded from the labour market.

At the same time, the willingness and commitment to development described above does not extend to cultural practices within the private domain of family life. The reasons for this will be explored in later chapters. As acceded by Francis Deng (1990), the inequities in the logic of the lineage system and its stratification on the basis of age and sex cannot be reconciled with universal human rights standards. It is therefore inevitable that on arrival in Australia cultural practices specific to the treatment of women and youth become challenged both from within the community and by Australian law and authorities.

⁴¹ For example, Chief Ayeny Aleu and Chief Makuei Bilkuei both opposed high bridewealth and foresaw a time when the Dinka would no longer exchange cattle for marriage (F. M. Deng, 1998a).

3.2.1 Fractures in ancestral values and culture

The role and status of women in Southern Sudanese societies is a reflection of a culture that places a premium on the cohesion and strength of the family as a basis of society. Marriage is a means of strengthening the bonds between families and clans within tribes. While women are the least favoured by ancestral values (F. M. Deng, 1990), functioning of the system depends on them as sources of income through the custom of bridewealth, and their important educational role as mothers who will inculcate ancestral values in their children. Women have no formal legitimate voice in the open channels of decision-making, yet their indirect participation through their influence over their children and husband is considered as most influential. Because of their general subordination, such as the inequities of polygamy, women are often seen as jealous, divisive and disloyal to clan ideals and therefore any informal influence that they have must be formally controlled and curtailed (F. M. Deng, 1990). These contradicting and conflicting realities can easily threaten the stability of the system and marriages. Although suppression of women is explained in terms of culture, it can only be maintained through the institutionalised mechanisms still largely present in South Sudan. However, once institutionalised mechanisms are no longer in place, and other mechanisms to protect the rights of individuals such as police intervention in response to reports of family violence are available, as is the case in Australia, some women will inevitably challenge their unequal position and their husband's use of physical violence. A consequence of women seeking more equality in their relationships is a high prevalence of marital separation in the Sudanese Australian community.

Although young men are future beneficiaries of the ancestral continuity, they are subordinated during their youth. To keep the system stable they are compensated in various ways. For example, while the consent of the father for a marriage partner is essential and he performs all social and legal formalities, sons preoccupy themselves with the aesthetics of the courtship. Or while the control of family wealth lies with the

elders, young men preoccupy themselves with the euphoric life of the cattle camps⁴² (F. M. Deng, 1998b, p. 48). However, while the use of aesthetic values, as compensation for material values, is well established in most Nilotic communities, it is not always effective. Often there is intense competition between male youth reaching their adulthood and the elders of the family. An effective way of controlling male youth is through fathers and kinsmen giving or withholding cattle and/or bridewealth, which they can do according to a complicated set of rules. This places the father and the elders in a very powerful position. However, in Australia young people may start romantic relationships and may move in with each other without formal marriage and exchange of bridewealth. Such actions, while widely accepted in the broader Australian context, are seen as extreme challenges to patriarchal control and authority in South Sudanese families and may cause immense conflict and disharmony. Inter-generational conflict within Sudanese Australian families will be explored in detail in Chapter 9.

3.3 Summary

The highly integrated order of life of the Nilotic people evolved in the harsh landscape of Southern Sudan where each component was dependent upon the other. But the function of this systematic order was not only mere survival, but also to provide aesthetic, moral and spiritual values. Importantly, these structures had also provided respect and identity of valued self for each member of the community. There are over 200 tribes in the region of Southern Sudan, each with their unique customs, practices and beliefs, which have developed over time. We need to recognise how profoundly proud these ancient ethnic groups are of their origin, history and ethnic identity. Their unique customs, practices and beliefs collectively embody what they have fought for in the last 50 years and which they are determined to preserve. Additionally, understanding of their indigenous framework, values and social institutions can inform government authorities and organisations working with the community of the origins and motivations steering the community's patterns of behaviour.

⁴² A place not only of grazing grounds and water resources, but courtship, singing and dancing.

While recognition of the cultural pride and ethnic identity of South Sudanese people is imperative, preservation of some of their unique customs, practices and beliefs, especially those in conflict with Australian laws, is not sustainable. Additionally, the real benefits for the community lie not in preserving their culture, but rather in utilising it to better engage and explore the opportunities in their new country (Sennett, 2003). To do this however, requires policies and programs that facilitate and structurally support the economic and social integration of new arrival communities. This will be the major focus of Chapter 7.

Furthermore, Sudanese Australians cannot truly realise the opportunities to evolve elements of their cultures if they are preoccupied with resisting attempts to undermine their cultural practices, or fighting values imposed on them by others. If new cultural values are difficult to understand or threaten old cultural values, capacity and motivation to adopt new values will be dramatically reduced. For example, if Sudanese parents see Australian parenting practices as threatening to their existing parental power, they will understandably show reduced interest in learning of and engaging with Australian parenting skills. Cultural transition and identity development in the context of humanitarian migration will be explored further in Chapters 6 and 10.

In the next chapter I introduce my research design and the process of engaging and establishing rapport with the Sudanese community. The chapter will further illuminate the significance of developing a robust knowledge and understanding of the cultural values and norms among people working with the community, including researchers.

Chapter 4 – Methodology: Constructing meanings from the narratives of the South Sudanese community

This chapter introduces the design of my research. The initiating enquiry was the strong sense of disrespect within the South Sudanese Australian community. I recognised at an early stage in my fieldwork that the principles of respectful treatment are substantially different between the Australian and Southern Sudanese conceptualisation of respect. Thus imposing preconceived and culturally inappropriate theories upon research participants' stories and accounts would have led to limited results in my understanding of respect among Sudanese Australians. At the same time, the limited literature on the Sudanese conceptualisation of respect, which has focused on its archaic elements often unfamiliar to the Sudanese diaspora of Australia, would have also led to inadequate results. I therefore approached my research from an inductive perspective, guided by Sudanese voices, to understand how members of the South Sudanese Australian community create a sense of meaning and coherence in life within their new surroundings.

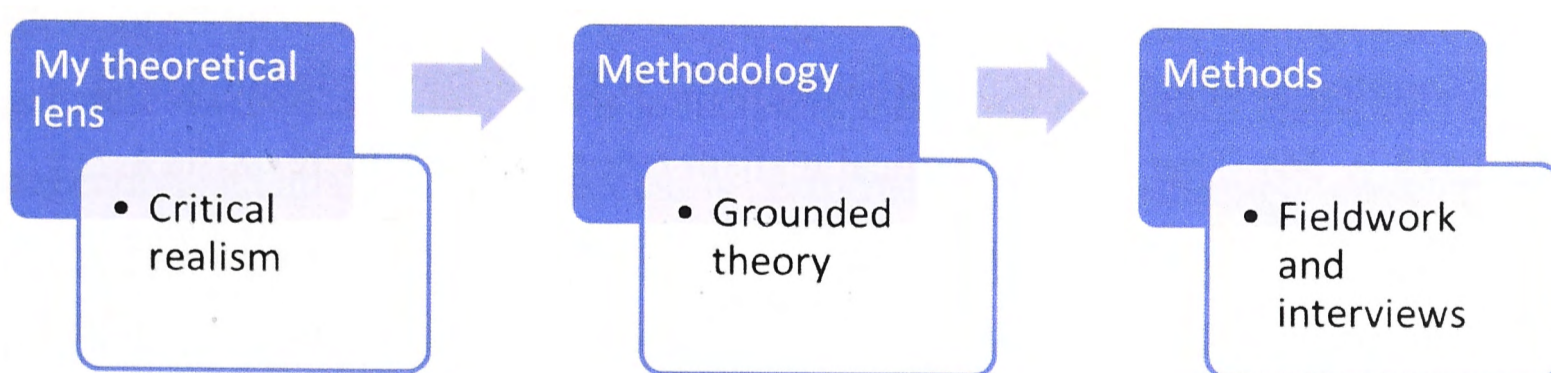
The chapter is divided into three main sections. Section 1 will outline my theoretical lens as a researcher, and the methodology of the study. Central to this section is giving voice to study participants from the Sudanese Australian community. Section 2 will report on how a grounded theory approach was applied to analyse and interpret the participant interviews, community events, and informal interactions with members of the community. The aim of this section is to describe how each set of data was related to emerging ideas and analysis. Section 3 notes some considerations and limitations of

the research design and the methods employed to reduce its impact. Consideration of research validity, bias, and representation are further explored within this section.

4.1 Research design

This section outlines the three major underpinnings of my research design: my theoretical lens; methodology; and method, as depicted in Figure 4.1 below. The focus of this section is to demonstrate how critical realism and grounded theory have provided an approach to attend to evidence and meaning of individual—yet shared—experiences within the Sudanese community, the social structure of government organisations, and theory building. My design provides a methodological approach that considers and brings together the individual and social structures, even though they exist on different ontological levels. Although the use of grounded theory within a critical realist paradigm has not yet received extensive application, it has been critically evaluated (for example, A. Clarke, 2003; Oliver, 2012). Detailed assessment has supported its use as a coherent theory/method package.

Figure 4.1: The major underpinnings of my research design



4.1.1 My theoretical lens: critical realism

I approached my research project with the fundamental assumption that the world and reality are interpreted by people in the context of their social and historical experiences. Thus the experience of the world is subjective, and before I could look for plausible

causal relationships between events, I needed to understand the experience of these events in terms of people's subjective meanings (Charmaz, 2006). At the same time, I believe that social phenomena exist not only in the mind but also in the objective world, and some lawful and reasonable stable relationships are to be found among them. The lawfulness comes from the regularities and sequences that link together phenomena. It is the analysis of these patterns that can lead us to constructs underlying individual and social lives (Miles & Huberman, 1994). However, human relationships and societies are more likely to have peculiarities. For example, people's behaviour, or the meanings they attach to events, is worked out within the framework of social structures that people reproduce and transform.

While I believe that social phenomena, such as conflicts between regulators and regulatees, exist objectively, I will also argue that common values and historical influences shared by a group of people have a strong and unique influence on how they construct particular social phenomena. The philosophical base to best acknowledge and identify construction and conception unique to particular populations, without the solipsism associated with postmodernism and interpretivism, is critical realism (Hammersley, 1992; H. Putnam, 1990).

The key feature of critical realism, founded by Roy Bhaskar in the 1970s, is the rejection of 'epistemic fallacy' which conflates reality with our knowledge of reality (Bhaskar, 1978, p. 36). That is, while critical realism recognises that there exists a reality independent of our representation of it, it acknowledges that our knowledge of reality is subject to a range of social constructions. Critical realism allows researchers to go beyond identifying generalisable goals (as per positivism), or identifying the lived experiences of social actors (as per interpretivism), to develop deeper levels of explanation and understanding (Oliver, 2012).

One of the main analytical challenges for qualitative researchers is finding coherent descriptions and explanations that still include all the peculiarities inherent in social life. As commented by Miles and Huberman '[t]he risk is forcing the logic, the order, and the plausibility that constitute theory making on the uneven, sometimes random, nature of social life. Yet without theory we can be left with banal, unilluminating description.'

(Miles & Huberman, 1994, pp. 14-15). Critical realism allowed me to go beyond uncovering and describing phenomena and their meaning making by the South Sudanese community and the regulatory community in Australia, to applying theories accounting for events. Importantly, critical realism provided a framework to challenge surface appearances by examining the structures that generate them (Collier, 1994).

4.1.2 Methodology: grounded theory

Understanding how South Sudanese humanitarian immigrants experience their settlement and their dealings with Australian authorities, and the meanings they assign to these experiences, became an important component of my research. As reasoned by Bogdan and Biklen, the meaning which people give to their experiences is ‘not accidental or secondary’, rather it is ‘essential and constitutive’ (Bogdan & Biklen, 1998, p. 25). I expected that this meaning would emerge from the raw data and the research context, and accordingly I selected grounded theory for my methodology.⁴³

Grounded theory is one of the most widely used methodologies in social sciences. It is ultimately about developing theory that is grounded in the data. While in the last fifty years, grounded theory has seen numerous modifications from its original form (developed by Glaser and Strauss in 1967), all approaches share core characteristics—to generate theoretical explanations inductively through a process of concurrent data collection and analysis. This process is performed iteratively through constant comparative analysis of moving back and forth through progressively focused data. The researcher progressively links initial codes into increasingly abstracted higher level categories and conceptual themes (Charmaz, 2006; Glaser, 1992; Glaser & Strauss, 1967).

⁴³ Within the academic literature, grounded theory is referred to as a method, methodology, and a method/methodology. To reconcile these inconsistencies of terminology, I used Crotty’s definition of methodology which describes methodology as a strategy or plan of action which provides a rationale for the choice of methods (Crotty, 1998).

The power of grounded theory is in its primarily inductive analytic process that leads to theorising how actions, meanings and social structures are constructed. Rather than forcing preconceived ideas upon the data, extant theory has to 'earn' its way into the analysis based on extensive inductive analytical work (Charmaz, 2006).

My use of grounded theory facilitated the development of increasingly sophisticated research questions as the research process continued. For example, I expected that my research on the strong sense of disrespect in the Sudanese community would be related to 'street racism' and would focus largely on human respect—the right of all humans because of their intrinsic worth. Yet it quickly became apparent that the main concerns among participants centered on status respect, relating to their position in society and their families. Employing the grounded theory approach allowed me to follow the data and modify the research questions accordingly.

While the numerous modifications of grounded theory⁴⁴ share the same core characteristics, and preoccupation with what approaches to use may distract from the purpose, which is to generate a theory from the data that fits, clarity of one's approach is always desirable. The methodology applied in this research was informed by the constructivist grounded theory approach articulated by Kathy Charmaz (2006). I chose this approach as it allowed me to bring my pre-existing theoretical knowledge of concepts, such as threats to self-identity, as necessary 'points of departure' (Charmaz, 2006, p. 17) to think analytically of the data. It allowed my findings to move beyond describing data and adding analysis to it. At the same time I was conscious that all concepts had to 'earn their way' into the final analysis through evidence of grounding in the experience of the Sudanese community contained in the collected data.

An additional benefit of the constructivist approach is explicitness about how researchers can have inherent preconceived ideas and biases. As phrased by Charmaz (2006, p. 180) '[w]e stand *within* the research process rather than above, before or outside it' (original emphasis). The social processes of understanding the Sudanese

⁴⁴ Denzin (2007) identified seven different forms of grounded theory.

Australian community emphasises the important relationship between the researcher and the participants. To access and be given the data necessary for my research required me to conduct prolonged fieldwork and to receive welcome invitations to community events. Similarly, it required the development of trust between me and community members to enable me to conduct interviews, often of a personal nature, with people whose position in the Australian community was under contest by the media and some politicians. This trust grew out of ongoing interpersonal and engaged relationships with the Sudanese community. These relationships and their influence on me as a researcher have to be recognised and monitored.

Additionally, I cannot deny that my long-standing activism in refugee advocacy and personal history as a humanitarian migrant have had an impact on the values I hold. Rather than dismissing the scrutiny of my values by claiming ‘scientific neutrality and authority’ (Charmaz, 2006, p. 15), constructivist grounded theory has provided methods, such as reflexivity, to minimise or incorporate these realities. This is explored further in the next section.

4.1.3 Method: ethnographic fieldwork and interviews

Data was collected through ethnographic engagement with the Sudanese community and individual interviews with Sudanese men and women, as well as Sudanese and non-Sudanese community workers. I recruited participants from Canberra, Sydney, Adelaide and Melbourne. In Melbourne, Sydney and Adelaide interviews were conducted within a period of weeks, while in Canberra they were conducted over a year.

My ongoing engagement with the community allowed me to sometimes conduct more than one interview with several participants. These additional interviews and discussions provided an opportunity to further enquire into participants’ narratives and confirm or correct my interpretations. Guerin and Guerin related their long-term participatory research with the Somali community of New Zealand to peeling layers of an onion and making new cuts into what they knew. They found that while early material and findings based on brief interviews and surveys can be useful ‘in general’, it

can also lead to limited and possibly over-simplified answers. Later cuts, or deeper enquiry, can often add more diversity and complexity, and at times may change the whole way of conceptualising the question and therefore the 'generally true' answer (Guerin & Guerin, 2007, p. 152). Similarly, I found that my additional interviews and regular private conversations after community meetings provided me with a deeper, more nuanced understanding of the experiences of the community.

4.1.3.1 Triangulation of methods and data sources

While interviews were the primary source of data, this information was augmented and informed through regular attendance at community meetings, celebrations and church services as part of my ethnographic fieldwork. Important additional data sources to my research were autobiographical and other written works (Awulian Community Development Association, 2010; A. Deng, Deng, Ajak, & Bernstein, 2005; Eggers, 2006) documenting the life of the community in Southern Sudan, their forced immigration and resettlement experiences. The use of multiple methods and data sources brought layered, yet convergent meanings (Lincoln & Guba, 1985) to my research topic.

4.1.3.2 Ethics

Before I commenced fieldwork in 2010, approval was sought and given by the Human Research Ethics Committee, The Australian National University, on 16 September 2010 (see Appendix A). An important ethical consideration beyond the ethical procedures of collecting data, described in the subsequent sections, was selecting a topic that was of real concern for the community. Members of the South Sudanese community are under considerable time pressures. Many of the men who took part in this research were working, studying or both, while Sudanese women typically tend to look after relatively large families. Most families have limited access to a car and their dependence on public transport tends to create further time pressures. Additionally, many members had previously participated in some kind of research related to their forced immigration.

Therefore, it was an important ethical consideration for me that the research project should focus on a topic that is relevant, useful and of interest to the community.

4.1.3.3 Access to the community

Getting access to the community was a relatively lengthy process. It included extensive preparatory work to gain the trust and collaboration of the community, particularly community leaders. As emphasised by Kenneth Miller, 'Those of us who are outsiders to the communities that are the focus of our research cannot simply waltz in unannounced and start gathering data.' (K. Miller, 2004, p. 217). Instead there is an essential process of developing trust and thereby gaining access. This is not unusual when working with refugees and former refugees and it is often related to difficult histories, earlier bad experiences with researchers, or a lack of a tangible outcome for participants (Marlowe, 2009; K. Miller, 2004). In this instance the community was also cautious because of real concerns that providing information might adversely impact on them. As described in Chapter 1, since 2007 the community has been the subject of political and media claims of not settling into Australian society. These claims no doubt contributed to the cutback on the number of Africans admitted under the humanitarian program.

Based on the documented reflections of Jay Marlowe (2009) on his fieldwork with the Southern Sudanese community of Adelaide for his doctoral research, I took the approach of being as transparent as possible about my research project and my role as a student. I explained the scope of my research and presented my proposal to several community leaders, and to leaders of specific or community organisations, at all four research sites and asked for their feedback and subsequent approval to conduct my research. I always conveyed clearly to community leaders and participants that as a researcher and a student I was there to learn, to seek knowledge and to improve my understanding.

Community leaders were always attentive to my presentation. They took care to explain to me why such a presentation was necessary. Below is the transcript from one of the

panel after my presentation to four leaders representing the community at one of the sites.

'We have come across a lot of research about our people and our settlement issues in Australia, and in other parts of the world, and many of these research papers and reports were misleading. We have a responsibility as leaders towards our community to ensure that the research in which they will participate will represent their issues in a correct manner.' (South Sudanese male community leader)

Some community leaders invited me to make a public announcement directly at their church service, while others preferred to make the announcement themselves. Following the announcement, a letter of invitation to participate in an interview (see Appendix B) was made available to all adult members of the organisation. Some participants approached me directly while others indicated their interest to participate through their community leader. Informed consent and permission to record interviews was sought from all participants, and as a gesture of appreciation all participants were offered a \$30 supermarket gift voucher.

4.1.3.4 Observations through fieldwork

Contrary to my initial plan to collect all data through interviews within a fixed timeframe, prolonged contact with the Southern Sudanese community including at community and church activities, became an important part of my research. This approach was initially adopted out of necessity. Despite the endorsement of my fieldwork from community leaders, few members from the community were inclined to take part in an interview. At the same time, they often extended their invitation for various cultural festivals and social events, such as celebrations or bridewealth negotiating parties and they appeared to be pleased with my attendance and participation. It was their view that the best way to learn about their resettlement issues and their culture is by spending time with them. In Canberra, over the last three years I attended over 50 Sudanese community events and church services which I was invited to by members of the community. This was a lengthy process during which I built many relationships and gained a deeper understanding of the cultural context. At the same time many of the community members became more relaxed and comfortable with the

idea of being ‘interviewed’ by a *khawaja* (white person) about their family and community matters.

This prolonged contact with the community has given me a more holistic overview of my topic and has provided a contextual framework for analysis of the data collected through interviews once people became more amenable to ‘formal’ interviews. The direct experience of interactions, conversations, and topics of concern within the community has helped me to understand the context of their lives; it provided an inferential key to their culture and social norms (Patton, 2002; van Manen, 1977). Details of these meetings and community events, describing the setting, activities that took place, the people participating in these activities, their appearance and conversations as well as my thoughts, feelings and responses were recorded in a journal for future reference and as contextual information.

Another important influence on my analysis and interpretations was the two weeks I spent in 2011 at Kakuma Refugee Camp as a volunteer at a vocational training centre. Most Sudanese refugees lived in this camp for five to 10 years prior to their arrival in Australia. My day-to-day contact with Sudanese refugees in the camp, not as a researcher but as a volunteer⁴⁵ who could engage in a natural, unguarded, free-flowing dialogue, provided me with a unique understanding of the people from various parts of Southern Sudan, their culture, customs and pre-settlement experiences. Some of the most valuable insights came not from the stories they shared with me at tea breaks or after church meetings, but from the questions they asked me about my life in Australia, and their reactions to the descriptions of my life, especially my family life. These responses helped me to recognise the layers and deeper meanings captured in the data I collected in my interviews.

⁴⁵ When meeting with people, I would introduce myself as a volunteer worker from Australia taking a break from my PhD studies on the resettlement of former refugees from Southern Sudan in Australia.

An unexpected benefit of my volunteer work in Kakuma and in other parts of Kenya has been an improved acceptability and trust within the community. The community recognised it as evidence of my genuine care and interest in their life and the life of their community in Africa. It also helped to ‘break the ice’ in our conversations. Exchanging information about particular buildings, markets or hospitals we visited, comparing the new and old zones in the camp, or just talking about the ‘magic’ of umbrella thorn trees have provided a shared landscape to start our conversations.

4.1.3.5 Interviews of Sudanese community members

‘An interview is literally an inter view, an interchange of views between two persons conversing about a theme of mutual interest’ (Kvale, 1996, p. 101)

Through necessity, snowball and convenience sampling procedures were used initially, based on the broad criterion of adult humanitarian immigrants from Southern Sudan who arrived in Australia less than 10 years ago. As my research progressed, growing familiarisation within different sub-communities made purposive sampling possible.

The initial focus was on stratified sampling based on the parameters of ethnic background, gender, age, and education level if possible. The purpose of a stratified sample was to establish major variations rather than to identify a common core (Patton, 2002). Yet an interesting finding of the research was the emergence of the latter, indicating a common concern across the socially diverse South Sudanese community in Australia. As the research progressed, the focus of purposive sampling became inviting participants qualified for a more directed inquiry to add theoretical depth and insight to the analysis—an important phase in grounded theory.

Altogether 41 people were interviewed for this research, 32 of whom are from the South Sudanese community. The number of participants was determined by the scope of the project and theoretic saturation—a point where clear and consistent themes began to emerge from the participant responses (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). Participant demographics are displayed in Table 4.1. The majority of participants were Dinka or Nuer, while a smaller proportion were from the Acholi, Bari, Luo, Mardi, Nuba, or

Shilluk tribes. About one third of the participants were women. The age range of participants was between 21 and 50 years old. All participants lived in urban areas at the time of the interview, although some had lived in regional Australia in the past.

Table 4.1: Demographic characteristics of South Sudanese community participants

| | Male (22) | Female (10) | Total (32) |
|---------------------------------|--------------|----------------|---------------|
| Tribal affiliation | | | |
| Dinka | 9 | 6 | 15 |
| Nuer | 6 | 2 | 8 |
| Nubian | 3 | - | 3 |
| Acholi | 2 | - | 2 |
| Luo | 1 | 1 | 2 |
| Bari | - | 1 | 1 |
| Mardi | 1 | - | 1 |
| Age | | | |
| Less than 25 years | 4 | 4 | 8 |
| 25 to 39 years | 15 | 3 | 18 |
| 40 years and over | 3 | 3 | 6 |
| Education | | | |
| Primary or less | 7 | 4 | 11 |
| Secondary | 7 | 3 | 10 |
| Tertiary | 8 | 3 | 11 |
| English | | | |
| Very good | 10 | 6 | 16 |
| Good to average | 8 | 2 | 10 |
| Below average | 4 | 2 | 6 |
| Marital status | | | |
| Married | 4 | 3 | 7 |
| Separated | 5 | 4 | 9 |
| Single | 13 | 3 | 16 |
| Engagement in work/study | | | |
| Employed | 7 | 4 | 11 |
| Full-time student | 8 | 3 | 11 |
| Part-time student | 5 | - | 5 |

All of the nine non-Sudanese participants, interviewed for their expert voices, had a close connection with the South Sudanese community. In addition, seven of the 32 participating South Sudanese community members also identified as community leaders or were employed as community workers.

Participants were interviewed at a variety of venues ranging from private rooms booked at universities and libraries, to their home. Almost all interviews began informally for 10 to 20 minutes during which time we talked about general aspects of our lives. After

describing in full detail the purpose and nature of the proposed interview and associated safety and confidentiality protocols, and having established the participant's consent, the formal interview began. Appendix C provides the documents that participants received detailing the study design and their associated role. Interviews were between 30 and 90 minutes long. All participants were interviewed in English, which most could speak well. The majority of interviews were recorded with the participant's permission and subsequently transcribed. For those that were not recorded, notes were taken during the interview and expanded into field notes after the interview was completed. While I was keen to retain the participants' 'voices' in the text, I made minor grammatical corrections to some direct quotations to ensure that meaning was not lost during the transcription process.

The aim of the interviews was to gain an understanding of how the South Sudanese community of Australia make sense of their lived experiences. Allowing their personal reflections and perspectives to come across was an important objective. Accordingly, interviewing involved a few open-ended questions on their resettlement experiences, their understanding of respect, and their experiences of disrespect in Australia. The interviews were sympathetically framed and questions were presented in a conversational manner aimed at eliciting relaxed and open responses. The intent of this informal conversational style of interview was to capture the perceptions of my participants through attentiveness, empathetic understanding and by suspending my preconceptions about the topics under discussion. The main aim was to explicate how members of the community came to make sense of, account for, and manage their situation (Miles & Huberman, 1994). Although a range of possible questions was drafted, not all questions were asked in all interviews, as interviews were undertaken reactively to be sensitive to each participant's willingness to talk about particular topics. Participants could choose to stop the interview process at any time and decline to answer any individual questions.

I have adopted elements of Frederic Schaffer's ordinary language interviewing technique (Schaffer, 2006). I was particularly interested to understand how people from Southern Sudan made sense of the concept of respect and disrespect; how do they see it and experience it. This technique centres on follow-up questions to respond to what

participants had just told me, with occasional clarifications of a point made in the conversation. While each interview evolved independently from every other interview, I found that responses from each session helped me to interact with participants more effectively over time (Holstein & Gubrium, 1995). Additionally, the flexible interview framework allowed for the development of questions of deeper theoretical scope and usefulness as the study progressed. Discussions could be steered towards emerging categories from the analysis—an important component of the constant comparative method of grounded theory.

4.1.3.6 Interviews of Sudanese and non-Sudanese community leaders and community development workers

Another important data source was interviews with expert voices—Sudanese and non-Sudanese community leaders and workers—who had a good insight or were particularly knowledgeable about the resettlement experiences and challenges of the community. The aim of the interviews was to seek their expert knowledge, thoughts and opinions. While the experience, knowledge and insight of expert voices is critical, their perspectives can also be selective, and biased (Patton, 2002): Through the analysis and interpretation of the information from expert voices I have remained conscious about these aspects of the data.

Of the 16 people selected for this research for their expert voices, seven were from the South Sudanese community. Some of them were employed as community or youth workers, while others were recognised as community leaders. All non-Sudanese participants had a close professional connection with the community in the capacity of community worker, refugee counsellor, or school counsellor supporting migrant students.

Community leaders and workers were recruited from Canberra, Sydney, Adelaide and Melbourne. Interviews were between 60 and 90 minutes long. All interviews except one were recorded with the participant's permission and subsequently transcribed. The first part of the interview typically involved providing a brief description of the research project, followed by a few open-ended questions of their understanding of the

community's resettlement experiences, including experiences of disrespect in Australia. The second part of the interviews focused more on discussing specific themes or seeking their insight on specific questions, some of which have arisen from interviews with community members.

4.1.3.7 Interviewer – locating myself in the research

Central to grounded theory analysis is that preconceived ideas cannot be forced on the data. As a researcher, this required me to be critically aware of how my reality is constructed. This called for reflexivity, in which the researcher must work towards recognising their personal constructed meanings, interpretations and potential bias (Charmaz, 2006). As part of this recognition, I had to be aware of my relatively blended place in Australia. On the one hand I came to Australia as a humanitarian migrant. If the opportunity presented itself, I mentioned to my participants that I migrated to Australia from Eastern Europe during my young adult years. My disclosure was acknowledged with acceptance, but did not appear to bear relevance to our discussions. Yet on the other hand, relative to participants, I am positioned within the dominant culture (Benhabib, 2002). Thus, I have had to take a reflexive and critical position to understand what it might mean to be dominant. How my position as a social observer from a privileged situation may impact on participants' narratives, I elevate as important and significant (Marlowe, 2010b). Keeping memos after each fieldwork event and returning to these memos and textual data during the process of analysis has allowed for increased reflexivity around the interpretive process to conceptualise the sense of disrespect within the Sudanese community.

4.1.3.8 Closures

Recognising that much of the research was based on cultivating a relationship with the South Sudanese community, the process of leaving the field for the purpose of research required careful deliberation with the assistance of Sudanese community leaders. In the last three years I have developed a relatively close connection with the community both as a researcher and as a person. While I have always remained mindful and as much as

possible specific about these two roles, I do not think that this division was equally well-defined by the community. Such a division would be unlikely to resonate with their conceptual framework of social relationships. The trust they afforded me and the rapport we established was given to me as a person and as a researcher without a distinction. As a result although I have now completed my fieldwork, I still attend some of the community functions I receive invitations to. Whenever it is appropriate I make a brief statement to confirm that I am no longer doing research but attending in my capacity as a board member for one of the Canberra-based NGOs working with refugee communities in Canberra.

After the submission of my thesis I will arrange, in consultation with the Sudanese community leaders, to deliver an open presentation to the Sudanese community of Canberra. The intent of this presentation is to discuss my conclusions and how these match with the perspective of the community. The presentation will also provide an opportunity for the community to ask questions and consider where they might want to take the study findings. Importantly, it will be an occasion to express my gratitude to the community for making my research possible and bring my connection as a researcher with the community to a more formal end.

4.2 Data analysis

This section outlines the process of concurrent data analysis and collection of participant narratives as part of the constant comparative process of grounded theory. It describes how I remained close to the data and abstracted it theoretically. Below is the description of the step-by-step analytical process that was followed to analyse data from interviews. Although the process is presented in a relatively linear form, in experience it was a journey of concurrent data collection, analysis, refining research questions, and cultivating my relationship with the community. Under this constant comparative process I was continually revisiting each step as the data collection and analytic process progressed.

4.2.1 Initial coding

Immediately after the completion of each interview, data was transcribed and each line of the text was hand coded line by line—known as initial or open coding. The initial codes tend to be more descriptive than conceptual. Key principles during this initial coding process are staying close to the data, keeping codes simple and precise, moving quickly, coding actions, and comparing data with data (Charmaz, 2006). Initial line by line codes were compared and examined throughout the interview transcript and between interviews as per the constant comparative process. Using this constant comparative process was particularly useful for understanding human phenomena within the context in which they are experienced (Glaser, 1992), such as understanding the meaning of respect among the Sudanese Australian diaspora. This initial coding process was the first step towards conceptualising ideas from the ensuing rich data. From these initial codes memos were written debating salient, powerful and frequently noted themes.

4.2.2 Writing memos

Memo writing prompts the analysis of the data and the development of codes throughout the research process. After finishing the initial coding of interviews, memos were used to stimulate my analysis. At the early stages of my analysis, writing the memos had two main functions: it helped to conceptualise the incidents by keeping track, and to refine my developing ideas about naming concepts and relating them to each other. In addition, it prompted me to ask particular questions at subsequent interviews to support increasing abstraction of the data.

4.2.3 Focused coding

Focused coding is the second distinct phase in coding. Prior to commencing focused coding, I imported my transcripts into the qualitative software analysis program HyperRESEARCH. This software facilitated not only the process of focused coding, but also the generation of data queries and reports not possible through hand coding.

The main purpose of focused coding is to synthesise and explain larger segments of data around my developing analytic directions. Thus focused codes are more directed, selective and increasingly conceptual. This was achieved by taking the most useful and salient initial codes, relating them with initial memos written about these codes, and testing them against the data. At this point ‘hunches’ as well as existing theories or concepts, which had ‘earned’ their way into the data, had also started to enter my analysis (Charmaz, 2006).

The purpose of memo writing changed too. The memos became increasingly analytic to further explicate the meaning of each focused code. Some focused codes were expanded into several codes to refine their analytic potential. For example the initial code of ‘connection with others’ was expanded to ‘connection with Sudanese community in Australia’, ‘connection with wider Australian community’ and ‘connection with family and community in Africa’. Newly–developed codes were then applied to previous transcripts to see if the new codes had relevance across the data.

4.2.4 Theoretical sampling and saturation

The next important instrument for theory generating in grounded theory is theoretical sampling. The main purpose of theoretical sampling is elaborating and refining theory constituting categories. It is achieved by sampling to develop the properties of those categories until no new properties emerge. Once categories have been ‘saturated’ with data they can be sorted and elevated to concepts (Charmaz, 2006, p. 96).

Theoretical sampling provided a technique to develop a deeper understanding of various forms of respect in the community. Along with subsequent interviews, I used information from community events, informal conversations with people from the community, and academic and autobiographical literature. Theoretical sampling also led me to ask additional study questions leading to rich and insightful conversations with community members and expert voices.

4.2.5 Sorting categories to concepts and theory generation

The next step of my data analysis was aimed at grouping together the most significant categories for developing broader concepts. These concepts provide the interpretive frame to offer abstract understanding of relationships that remain grounded in the data (Charmaz, 2006). These major categories and concepts are foundational to forwarding a comprehensive theory across interviews and other field data. For example, ‘understanding the system’ is a major data-derived concept. It has been a powerful metaphor communicating the exclusion of the Sudanese community by subjecting them to protocols and processes that are either inaccessible to them or lacking in meaning and moral values.

In the final section of this chapter I will argue the rigour of my research as well as stating the potential limitations and important considerations.

4.3 Integrity and trustworthiness of the study

In the broad field of qualitative research there is a considerable debate about validity—a key issue when assessing the integrity of a research study. Application of quantitative approaches with rigorous adherence to methodological rules and standards would not only find qualitative work too subjective and unscientific but, as argued by many qualitative researchers, would be misguided (Guba & Lincoln, 2005; Miles & Huberman, 1994; Patton, 2002). Other qualitative research authorities reject the concept of validity altogether, preferring instead the notions of understanding and generating meaning (Wolcott, 1994). This research project is framed by critical realism and as such, its validity will depend on how well my account relates to those things that the account claims to be about, rather than depending entirely on the features of the account itself. In other words, it is not data that is valid or invalid, rather validity pertains to the accounts and conclusions reached by using a particular method for a particular purpose (Hammersley & Atkinson, 1983).

I have followed the approach suggested by Maxwell (1992) to ensure validity and thus integrity and trustworthiness of my study. The important feature of this approach is that validity refers primarily to accounts, instead of data or methods. Accordingly, Maxwell considers the following four types of validity: descriptive validity, interpretive validity, theoretical validity, and generalisability⁴⁶. Below is my account of the steps I took during the lifetime of my research to ensure validity in these four categories.

4.3.1 Descriptive validity

Descriptive validity, or factual accuracy of the accounts of the researcher, is the first concern of most qualitative research (Maxwell, 1992). I ensured descriptive accuracy by precise recording, either digital recording and subsequent transcription or field notes, capturing the exact words and expressions of the participants. In addition, my regular attendance at cultural and community events and regular engagement with the South Sudanese community in their social environment allowed me to make accurate inferences from these recorded words.

4.3.2 Interpretive validity

Interpretive validity is the degree to which data interpretations and conclusions accurately reflect participants' or the phenomenon's reality. While accounts of phenomena can be constructed from a variety of perspectives, initial accounts of meaning should be based on the framework of the people whose meaning is in question (Maxwell, 1992). Efforts have been made throughout the research to ensure interpretive validity in the four dimensions of usefulness, contextual completeness, research positioning, and reporting style, as identified by Altheide and Johnson (1994). For example, I fostered usefulness of the research by publishing and presenting findings throughout the lifetime of the research to inform and stimulate further or parallel

⁴⁶ Maxwell (1992) also notes evaluative validity, but concludes that it is not central to qualitative research.

research on the topic. Contextual completeness was maintained by aiming for full and rich descriptions throughout the report. Research positioning was accounted for by being continually aware of the centrality of the researcher in the research and my direct and indirect effects on participants. Finally, I attempted to maintain an authentic reporting of the study and its findings.

4.3.3 Theoretical validity

Theoretical validity refers to an account's validity as a theory of some phenomenon. Thus it goes beyond ensuring accurate description or interpretation of the phenomena, to concerning accurate explanation of the phenomena. There are two main aspects to theoretical validity: the validity of the concepts applied to the phenomena, and the validity of the postulated relationships among the concepts (Maxwell, 1992). The three main techniques used in this study to ensure theoretical validity are: triangulation within the project, feedback from stakeholders including participants in the research, and feedback from peers.

Data was collected using multiple methods and a range of data sources. Data collected at interviews and observations of community events was compared and re-considered as a check of the credibility of the observations and interpretations. Data from one source, such as community members, was checked for consistency with data from other sources, such as community leaders and community development officers.

Comments and/or assessment from participants and other people with specific interest in the research or research findings and interpretations were also important towards strengthening the credibility of my findings. For example, participants and community leaders who expressed an interest were provided with copies of final drafts of journal and conference papers produced during the lifetime of the thesis and were asked for their comments. In addition, informal conversations with members of the Southern Sudanese community and people who have worked with, or had a close association with the community, were used regularly to check my interpretations and findings.

Another significant approach I took to ensure theoretical validity was feedback from peers. This ranged from seeking feedback on draft chapters from colleagues within my department, to presenting my emerging ideas at conferences⁴⁷ and publishing my preliminary findings in a referred journal.⁴⁸ Feedback from academics and practitioners from a Southern Sudanese background attending the conferences, together with critical assessment from referees reviewing my submissions, were especially important and useful in their contribution to confirm the validity of my interpretations.

4.3.4 Generalisability

As qualitative studies are usually not designed to allow systematic generalisation to some wider population, generalisability usually refers to the extent to which the accounts of a particular situation, or the theory postulated to explain that particular situation, can be useful in making sense of similar persons or situations.

A potential problem posed by interviewing for generalisability is that the accounts inferred by the researcher may only be as valid as the person's actions and perspective in that interview, but may miss other aspects of the person's perspective that were not expressed in that interview leading to the making of false inferences (Maxwell, 1992).

⁴⁷ *Respect and community inclusion – post-settlement Sudanese experiences*. 33rd Annual African Studies Association of Australasia and the Pacific (AFSAAP) Conference, Victoria University, 2-4 December 2010, Melbourne.

South Sudanese cultural identities in the context of government departments and authorities. 34th Annual AFSAAP Conference, Flinders University, 30 November-2 December 2011, Adelaide.

“We are thinking they are helping us, but they are destroying us.” – Repairing the legitimacy of Australian government authorities in the South Sudanese community. 35th AFSAAP Conference, ANU, 26-28 November 2012, Canberra.

The unintended consequences of government intervention on intergenerational relationship within South Sudanese Australian families. 5th European Conference of African Studies, 27-29 June 2013, Lisbon.

⁴⁸ Losoncz, I. (2011) Blocked opportunity and threatened identity: Understanding experiences of disrespect in South Sudanese Australians. *Australasian Review of African Studies*, 32, 121-145.

The likelihood of making false generalisations from data collected at interviews was reduced by the use of triangulation and my long-term involvement with the community. Interviews in multiple cities within Australia and at different types of community organisations helped me to recognise and acknowledge situation-specific influences (Patton, 2002). My long-term engagement with the community provided rich contextual information. I routinely checked my interpretations of data collected in interviews against this contextual knowledge for consistency.

4.3.5 Limitations of the study

A considerable limitation of the study is my cultural disparity. I am a middle-aged white woman with a European heritage. Reluctance, puzzlement and an initial rebuff was a natural response from the community. On the other hand, my sustained involvement of just 'being' with the community (Gorman, 1995; Marlowe, 2009) led to a greater level of acceptance. No doubt my involvement with the Sudanese and other refugee communities through my volunteer work at an NGO assisting refugees and former refugees in Canberra, has also contributed to being partially admitted into the community both as a person and as a researcher.

Nevertheless I have no doubt that some views and certain stories were not shared with me, and that certain domains of family and community life remained the exclusive knowledge of individuals and the community. Furthermore, participants undoubtedly shaped some of their responses according to their perception of the relationship between me and the participants. Some may have shaped their response to safeguard or help their community (K. Miller, 2004). I have remained mindful of these possibilities throughout the analysis and interpretation of my data. Once again, my long-term involvement with the community at everyday activities, such as workshops to arrange dance routines for cultural events or planning sessions to assign responsibilities in the church community, did allow me to see beyond what Miller referred to as rehearsed 'frontstage' responses.

Another limitation of the study is its considerable reliance on participants with relatively high educational attainment and English proficiency compared to the wider

Sudanese community. While attempts were made to include some participants with relatively low formal education, only participants who could be interviewed in English were included. While this study has no direct account of the experience of those with low English proficiency, I did query my participants on what extent the issues they raised are held by others in their community. In their view, the issues and experiences identified in this study are shared across the community especially among those with greater cultural gap and a lower English proficiency.

4.4 Summary

This chapter outlined the research design of the study and the analytical process of using grounded theory. The first section of the chapter presented the theoretical approach, methodology, and the method used to inform the study's theoretical orientation. I applied critical realist grounded theory. Grounded theory methodology provided a method to attend to evidence and meanings within the Sudanese community, while employing a critical realist enquiry allowed me to go beyond describing meanings, to examining and analysing the structures that generate them. Of the range of grounded theories, I chose the constructivist grounded theory as it allowed me to recognise myself as a researcher with agendas and biases. Methods, such as reflexivity, provided means to minimise or incorporate these realities. This section also described the intensive process of accessing the South Sudanese community. The collection of data was based on interviews as well as observations to explain why people made sense of events in the way they did.

The second section of the chapter demonstrated how the data was analysed and increasingly abstracted using constant comparative methods of grounded theory. Through the processes of initial coding, writing memos, focused coding, theoretical sampling, sorting categories, and finally developing concepts, a grounded theory has emerged. The process of memo writing throughout these stages greatly assisted the abstraction of theoretical ideas from a rich grounded data.

The third section of the chapter argued the rigour of my research and identified potential limitations. Using data from different sources, including observational data collected at naturally occurring, ordinary events nested in real context over a sustained period, has contributed significantly to the trustworthiness of the methods. Exposing my emerging findings for peer reviews contributed importantly to the theoretical validity of the conclusions of my research.

Having described the data collection and analysis process, in the next chapter I will review the Western and South Sudanese understanding of respect. I will use participant narratives to uncover how the Sudanese Australian community conceptualise respect.

Chapter 5 – Understanding and conceptualising respect among Sudanese Australians

This chapter presents an analysis of Southern Sudanese participants' descriptions of their understanding of respect. It provides a deeper insight into how Sudanese Australians define respect and identifies the main sources of perceived disrespect in their community.

Respect is a relatively ambiguous term. While its discursive and academic use have certain overlaps, by no means is it the same (Middleton, 2006). Additionally, and particularly relevant to this study, respect has several potential meanings in different social settings and by different agents. As this chapter illustrates, the South Sudanese Australian community's sense of disrespect is interconnected with their vexed relationship with Australian government authorities and their marginalisation in their new society more generally. The aim of this chapter is to clarify the meaning of respect and disrespect as understood by Sudanese Australians. While presenting findings from the data before introducing theoretical framing is unusual, I suggest that in this thesis the clarification of participants' understandings has enabled a deeper engagement with theory. It has facilitated a more nuanced description of the conceptual strengths and limitations of each theory for providing a fluent explanation of how the sense of disrespect in the Sudanese community relates to their settlement outcomes.

This chapter focuses analysis on the narratives of the interviews and observations from ethnographic field work. Direct quotes from participants featured in this analysis are chosen for their representativeness of what the bulk of the data and grounded analysis infers. Unless otherwise indicated, participants expressed similar sentiments about the

issues raised. This convergence on main issues of disrespect among the community brings me to my next point. I present many of the quotes, and subsequent analysis, as a community-based issue. Such reporting is not my inference, but at the strong inference of respondents who referred to the experiences and conceptions of their 'community', even when questions were framed at an individual level. This is not an unusual way of communicating in a South Sudanese context. For example, a fellow PhD research candidate of Southern Sudanese origin found a similar experience while collecting data for his current research. In our discussion, he related to me that people from the community would, on no occasion, talk about their own personal or individual issues. Instead they referred to it as an issue for the community, even when he was aware that participants were referring to their personal situation. Further, in his doctoral research on how Southern Sudanese Australians with a refugee background respond to trauma, Marlowe found that framing questions on a broader community level resonated more with participants' interests and concerns. Only after they spoke about community-based issues would they volunteer to speak about the most difficult effects in their individual lives (Marlowe, 2010b).

Three main sections contribute to the analysis in this chapter. The first section explores if the three main types of respect dominant in the Western classification of respect can also be found in its South Sudanese conceptualisation. The second section discusses principles of respect specific to South Sudanese conceptualisations of respectful relations. In the third section, I explain my proposition that the community's call for respect and respectful treatment is a summation of their claims for economic and social inclusion and their grievance over how the Australian Government has responded to their efforts to resettle in Australia. Participants were aggrieved that the government took so little interest in acknowledging important achievements among the Sudanese community and their aspiration to economically contribute to Australia. Furthermore with little previous experience with Australian law enforcement and crime prevention agencies in the context of family conflict, most Sudanese Australians regarded interventions following reports of family violence as an attack on their family domain, disrespecting the sovereignty of their families.

5.1 South Sudanese and Western conceptualisation of respect: cross-mapping of main dimensions

Social scientists across multiple disciplines have used and studied respect in many ways (summarised in Chapter 1). Across these disciplines emerge two common themes of concern to this thesis. First, respect is generally recognised as a basic principle of human interaction and connection. Second, there is some convergence in the classification of three dimensions of respect—achieved, status, and human respect. Human respect is the right of all humans because of their intrinsic worth and it is owed to people equally (S. Gibson, 2006; Kellenberg, 1995; White, 1991). The second dimension, achieved respect, is based on one's achievements, successes and abilities, such as establishing a good career. Unlike human respect, it is owed to people on the basis of their displaying the characteristics that warrant it, to the degree that they warrant it. Hence, it is unlikely to be given equally as people's achievements differ (S. Gibson, 2006; Kellenberg, 1995; White, 1991). The third dimension, status respect, is based on one's position in society. Like merit respect, status respect accords with a view that people should have what is their due (S. Gibson, 2006; Kellenberg, 1995; Trigg, 2005).

Data from the interviews confirmed the salient value of respect in the community. Participants identified respect as highly important, and should be given to everyone. Furthermore, it was identified as a necessary condition for maintaining human relationships and a stable society. At the broad level their conceptualisation of respect corresponds with main aspects of Western conceptualisation. For example, descriptions of respect offered by one of the participants, as captured in the quote below, strongly resonate with the Western conceptualisation of respect as a 'moral infrastructure' on which a functional society sits (Honneth, 1992, p. 193). That is, relationships based on recognition of one another reaffirm to individuals in our society their integrity.

There must be respect for one another. Respect is the most important thing. So we have respect for the young, the children, we respect the young people, we respect the elders, we respect women. We respect everybody because when I

give respect to you, you give it back to me. If you don't respect me, I don't respect you. (Male participant)

Here, the participant emphasises reciprocity in his understanding of respect. Similar to Western understandings, mutual respect seen as important aspect of relational attitudes and is considered to be instrumental for a functioning and peaceful society (Buttny & Williams, 2000). Overall, participants also identified the three main types of respect dominant in the Western classification. The rest of this section examines illustrations of these three types of respect in the narratives of participants.

5.1.1 Human respect and disrespect

The community identified human respect, and similar to Western conceptualisation it was held as being the right of all humans.

The big respect, which is the super-respect, is based sometimes on the number of children you have, the number of family you have, the wealth you have, but ordinary respect is for everyone. (Young male participant)

Here, human respect, referred to as ordinary respect, is given to everyone. Forms of status and achieved respect, referred to as super-respect by the participant, are seen as proportional and are given according to one's position and achievements, such as the size of one's extended family and the number of children and wealth one has.

Experiences of human disrespect in the form of street-level discrimination, while identified, were not of primary concern to participants.

And I can say that Australia is a good country compared to other countries, because they tend to respect you the way you are, it is a more multicultural country and more accepting of everyone, despite the few people who see people in a different way. (Male participant)

I got called like black and other racist things, but I have heard much worse things when I was in Egypt. I experienced much harder things, so I just ignore it. (Male participant)

The relatively low importance participants attributed to this form of disrespect is somewhat surprising given the amount of documented evidence of street-level discrimination of refugees (Flanagan, 2007; Fozdar & Torezani, 2008; Pittaway & Muli, 2009; Refugee Council of Australia, 2009). While some of the respondents reported incidents of explicit racist remarks, especially on their arrival when they did not speak much English, they chose not to get too upset about it. They thought these incidents were less frequent and severe than those they have experienced in camps and transit countries prior to coming to Australia. The high level of exposure to frequent and sometimes brutal racism and violations of human rights during their time of displacement and migration may have, to an extent, de-sensitised them to obvious forms of human disrespect.

This finding on the relative low importance of street-level racial discrimination corresponds with earlier findings by Murray (2010). A survey of 90 Sudanese Australians found that while approximately one-third reported regular experiences of discrimination,⁴⁹ having had such experiences did not correlate significantly with overall life satisfaction in Australia. Participants were more concerned with racial discrimination from employers, especially in the context of recruitment, blocking their pathways to achievement and the respect that it brings. While discrimination from employers can be related to all three forms of respect, the primary connection and the one I focus on in this research is the connection with achieved respect.

5.1.2 Achieved respect

Conceptualisation of achieved respect was identified by at least half of those interviewed. The most common means identified by participants to achieved respect was educational attainment and employment outcomes, but contribution to family and community was also identified.

⁴⁹ Such as being treated with less courtesy, people acting like they are afraid of them, being called names, or insulted (Murray, 2010).

I think respect to me starts with education. Because here in Australia for people to respect you, you need to get a job. (Young male participant)

Participants approached respect from two different perspectives. Some respondents thought that the way to get respect from your own as well as from the Australian community was by earning it, through hard work, perseverance, ignoring prejudiced behaviour and maintaining your loyalty and contribution to your family and community.

I worked in St George for seven years, and they were very, very happy with me. I got respect from the teachers, respect from the children, respect from the parents; from Sudanese parents and also parents from other cultures. ... But some people, they don't have the respect because of their own things that happen. That is why I said not all your fingers are the same. ... But for myself, I got the respect. I came in 2000, and up to now I got the people's respect by working together. (Female participant)

Other interviewees emphasised that while hard work, learning and studying were important, earning respect was difficult when relevant skills and appropriate employment opportunities were blocked from the community.

We need the government to really recruit our graduates, because our graduates are loitering now, they are working in the cleaning industry and they've got degrees from here. We need working agencies to start recruiting us even with our language barrier. Or else, there is no way we can survive. (Young male participant)

Many of the participants thought that opportunities and access to situations in which they could apply and prove themselves, particularly employment, were constrained. Respondents were genuinely confused about not being given opportunities, through specialised employment schemes, to earn respect by contributing to society. This lack of recognition and denied opportunity for achieved respect has led to a sense of disrespect. This important topic will be discussed in more detail in Section 3 of this chapter as well as in Chapter 7.

5.1.3 Status respect

The dimension of status respect has consistently emerged from most interviews as shown in the quotes below.

*Super-respect comes when you are wealthy, so that's the super-respect because people **have to** respect that particular man because he is very rich. (Young male participant)*

If you have a large family, people respect you, or because you have children and wives, or because of your wealth. It is another form of respect. And you call an old lady, who you think is the same age, or older, than your mum a mum. This is how we portray respect. (Male participant)

Status respect in the Sudanese community can come from a number of different sources. For example, being wealthy and having a large family will demand respect. At the same time, 'being on this earth longer' (one's age) is also believed to give more wisdom and will attract status respect.

An important source of status respect for men is marriage and becoming a head of the family. An important consideration for women is ensuring that her behaviour will not bring shame to her husband and his family. This includes adhering to strict gendered and often subservient roles and norms at home (to be described in the next section) and appropriate behaviour in public spaces. As described in the quote below by a participant, public behaviour of women will invite comments not only on their own standing, but importantly on the status and respectability of her husband and his family.

Also, in our culture when you are in a public place and you are a lady don't laugh and don't talk loudly. That one is very bad and other people will start talking about your wife. Also, they're not supposed to sit like a man. Sit in a very organised way, so that when somebody is looking at you, you are somebody. And remember that you are somebody's wife. (Male participant)

Thus, one way for Sudanese men to achieve status respect is ensuring that he and his family adheres to a set of rigid rules within his family and in the Sudanese community. Status respect is given to those who are exemplars of South Sudanese culture and who occupy valued or exalted positions in the Sudanese community.

In summary, the three main categories of respect dominant in the Western classification are evident in participant narratives. Human respect is held as being the right of all humans, and education and hard work are seen as the main pathways to earning

achieved respect. Gaining or demonstrating status respect was closely linked to important elements of Sudanese values and norms.

5.2 Principles specific to South Sudanese conceptualisation of respectful treatment

During the interviews I usually asked participants to share their thoughts and experiences of respect with me. In some instances participants started their response with ‘in our culture...’. It became apparent that this phrase usually introduced signifiers of respect that they thought are key elements of respect among Sudanese people, but not necessarily shared in the broader society. The two most frequent principles of respectful treatment identified by participants as unique to their conceptualisation are: respect and reverence for parents and other adults in the larger family, and elders; and observance of gendered roles in families and in the community.

5.2.1 Respect for parents, family, and elders

Teaching children to give respect to others is one of the most important roles of Sudanese parents. A recent study on perceptions and experiences of fatherhood among Canadian Sudanese refugee men found that their main parental duty in addition to being a provider, was instructing their children on how to become good citizens. The main focus of these instructions was to teach children how to respect others according to their heritage, culture, and especially respect for elders, their family and society (Este & Tachble, 2009). Respect and reverence for parents and other adults in the larger family and elders were the most often identified and dominant signifiers of respect among participants. This included acceptance of their decisions even when one disagrees. Respectful treatment of elders by young people is a fundamental principle in all South Sudanese cultures, as illustrated by the following field notes:

A man, with a son in his late teens, considered respect as a characteristic of his relationships with different people in his family and his community. In relation to his children, respect meant that they obey his words:

Cultures within the Sudanese culture are quite different, but generally you will find that young people are expected to respect the elders in whatever case. And if an elder tells you something to do, you obviously have to do it, because you respect an elder. (Male participant)

As demonstrated by the quote above, young people are expected to obey their elders' instructions without challenge. In fact, one participant described the respect of people older than you as 'absolute respect'. Children are also expected to give the same unqualified respect to their fathers. Arguing with one's father is considered an insult and should be avoided (F. M. Deng, 1971). This unreserved obedience towards fathers and their decisions was strongly held by most participants, both men and women, even those who had been in Australia for over five years. The first quote below is from a participant who has been in Australia for nearly 10 years and is completing his postgraduate studies in the social sciences.

With my son, if I say 'son do this and this', he will have to do it. (Male participant)

Sometimes if you are a child in a family there might be some things that you don't like the way they go, but sometimes you have to accept them, because you don't want to upset your parents, because you want to let them know that you respect them, although you might not like the idea. (Male participant)

Accepting decisions made by your family and kin was so fundamental that most respondents did not feel the need to give an explanation. That is just how respect is conveyed in their culture. Some respondents, like the man above, did rationalise it in terms of preserving harmony in one's family unit. The role of respect in preserving a peaceful society, as discussed in Section 1 of this chapter, is recognised in both Sudanese and Western conceptualisation of respect. The difference is in its application. In South Sudanese cultures it is applied without qualification and according to prescribed rules relating to one's position in the unit of concern, such as the family. For example, in South Sudan, young men and women will have to marry the person selected

for them by their family, usually the father. When I asked one of the recently arrived participants what would happen if the woman chosen by his father did not like him, he responded as follows:

She will go [marry me] anyway because she respects her parents. (Male participant)

Oh, ok, and how about you, what if you don't like the lady? (Me)

They will not force you. They will look for another one. But you will put yourself in a hard position. You are to respect what your parents say, if they choose a girl for you, you're not supposed to reject it, because they have been taking care of you. (Same participant)

Such unchallenged authority of parents is often unsustainable in Australia as demonstrated by the quotes below.

There were limitations to your freedom in Sudan because of the respect to your mum and dad; if they said that you can't do that, you listened to them. But here, children don't listen. (Male participant)

In resettlement, parental control of children and youth as a source of family conflict will be explored further in Chapter 10. The aim in this section is to demonstrate that while the principle that children and youth should show respect to their parents is universally recognised as part of respectful conduct, the extent of the principle and how it relates to other fundamental principles, such as the agency and human rights of children and young adults, are critically different in the Sudanese conceptualisation.

5.2.2 Gendered roles and respect

Participants also often conveyed the meaning of respect in terms of strict gendered roles. The focus was often on the clear gendered allocation of tasks and strict observance of gendered divisions of roles within the family. All respondents agreed that it is not respectable for a man to prepare food for himself, or even simply to go into the kitchen.

In my culture, if my mum is not there, most of the time they find someone to cook, another lady to help because, although my mum is not there, it is not respectable for my father to go to the kitchen. (Male participant)

Sudanese wives and mothers often do not have the same female network support to help with the performance of these tasks as they had in Africa. So I asked female respondents whether they have been some changes in terms of respect and the gendered division of household tasks in Australia. They told me that some tasks, such as looking after children, can be performed by the father. However, sharing other tasks, such as preparing or serving food, would be shameful for both men and women.

If you are the wife you do the house work. If you have a little child, you can give that to your husband to look after it while you are doing the housework. So you don't share because if you do, that's just not good. Men can do it if you are sick or if you are away, but if you are together you are feeling ashamed that your husband is doing your work. (Female participant)

One important function of such specific and rigid division of roles according to one's gender, age and marital status is minimising competition and conflict in the family. As explained by a Mardi man below, strict division of tasks in the family, as prescribed by their culture, ensures amicable relations in his family.

In the family when I talk to my wife, she is my deputy. She is my deputy, she is my supporter, she is my nurse, she cooks meals for me; she does everything. She respects me, I respect her, and the children give respect to us. We don't have competition with my wife. I manage the money, I manage the administration of my house, I make sure that everybody in the house is healthy and there is no problem in the house. (Male participant)

One of the main challenges to these culturally prescribed rules in the Australian environment, which will be discussed in more detail in later chapters, is the role of the man as the provider and manager of finances. Many of the married Sudanese men in Australia are yet to obtain permanent employment and subsequently their families rely on various social benefit payments from the Government. Most families have a relatively large number of children and subsequently large proportions of these payments are paid into the account of the wife who will often assume responsibility for managing that money, despite strong and sometimes violent objections from her

husband. The majority of men have experienced this turn of events as deeply disrespectful to their roles as the head of family.

Centrelink gives money to the mother, and the men think that the mother misspends the money. No one is respecting him in the family, no one is listening to him; not the children or the wife. (Female participant)

Respect is also the main rationale for strictly prescribed rules of conduct for family members in relation to each other. Like most other concepts, respect is approached through lineal continuity, and subsequent primacy (F. M. Deng, 1971), described in Chapter 3. Respectful behaviour towards the head of the family includes not retaliating against his assaults. Many male participants also stated that it signifies respect. The quote below is one of the many references made linking respect with the subservient position of women in the family.

In our culture it [respect] means that you respect your husband. So even though he might be telling you bad things, you just stay quiet. (Female participant)

The main rationale for this entrenched view of subservience of women within families, as a sign of respect, appears to be bridewealth and social control within the Sudanese community.

Yes, you respect everyone. If you go to live with your husband's family, you respect your husband, his parents and brothers. Because when your husband married you they are the people who gave everything [the bridewealth] to your parents. So you have to prepare things for them and take care for them. (Female participant)

It is good to do what your husband tells you to do, because then you have respect. If you don't do what your husband is telling you to do, that is shame. Even when other women will see you, you will get a bad reaction from them. It is not good. But it is different sometimes. In Kakuma women had rights, but in Sudan if you didn't do what he said he would beat you. (Female participant)

The two quotes above are from a young woman who I interviewed a couple of weeks after she arrived in Australia from Africa, to join her husband who had lived in Australia for over seven years. Relatives of the couple arranged their marriage. In the first quote she explains that respect for her in her new family means taking care of them

and preparing things for them in return for the large sum of money her husband and his family gave to her family as bridewealth. In the second quote she explains that disobeying her husband would bring shame on her and her husband from within the Sudanese community and she would get a bad reaction from the other women in the community. Thus, her subservient behaviour towards her husband and his family ensures not only that she will treat them with the respect expected of her, but that she will also earn respect for herself.

From Monica's⁵⁰ quotes, it is evident that the concept of respect has an important function in rationalising the way things stand in the community. That is, a woman has to do what her husband and his family tell her to do in order to show and earn status respect for her husband. This community-level narrative, however, does not reflect the entire rationale for women's subservient behaviour. In the next sentence Monica expresses some of her own thoughts, observing that this state of affairs 'is not good', but women in Sudan do not have alternatives, as 'if you didn't do what he said, he would beat you'. In fact, in places where 'women have more rights', such as Kakuma,⁵¹ women may not necessarily accept their culturally prescribed subservient position, irrespective of the control forced on them from their community.

Other reasons why women can be kept in subservience in South Sudan include the lack of basic education, such as literacy, the lack of access and the right to own resources to maintain a livelihood independent from her husband and his family (Sommers & Schwartz, 2011). Indeed a significant proportion of young Sudanese Australian men bring their wives from Africa. The narrative in the community, as expressed in the quote below, is that wives from Africa are preferred to wives from Australia as they 'understand respect'.

⁵⁰ A pseudonym to protect the identity of the participant.

⁵¹ Women tend to enjoy more rights in Kakuma refugee camp in Kenya, than in South Sudan. At the time of the interview, Monica has not been in Australia long enough to appreciate the extent of rights enjoyed by women in Australia.

We prefer to marry a girl from Africa because they understand respect. Because they are only half-literate and so they respect you more. (Male participant)

As Paul⁵² explained to me, a lot of the Dinka men in Australia and in America are at the age of marriage, and they prefer to marry girls from Africa because they understand respect. Their relatives usually find a 'suitable girl' for them from Kakuma or South Sudan. As most girls in Africa have missed out on their education, they are more likely to rely on their husband here in Australia. Most of them have children soon after they arrive and are unlikely to enrol in school or keep up their school attendance. Their lack of education is believed to prevent them from 'developing ideas about freedom, which is what happens to the Dinka girls going to school here in Australia'. Paul's quote is representative of the general community narrative that girls from Africa 'understand respect'. In the next sentence he supports his statement by explaining that women without basic education are more likely to respect their husbands, even in Australia where, by law, they have equal power.

The above quotes suggest that the ubiquitous term of respect is also used in the community to rationalise the subservience of women in family relationships. Using 'respect' as a rationale for unequal relationships makes it more acceptable and congenial, even though individual members appear to understand the actual reasons for subordination of South Sudanese women.

5.2.3 Respect for government and institutions

When asked about the meaning and examples of respect, only a few of the study participants mentioned respect for governments and government institutions. Those respondents who did make a reference, like the participant below, were from non-pastoralist tribes and have lived in larger towns prior to leaving their country, and thus had more direct contact with government institutions.

⁵² A pseudonym to protect the identity of the participant.

We respect the leaders of the country, respect the leaders, the chiefs of the area, we respect the government. That's traditional respect, respect of the government, all those we respect - we have it to make the community live in peace. (Male participant)

Considering the importance the community attributed to respect for a peaceful and harmonious life, it was somewhat surprising how respect for government institutions did not feature much in their responses. There are a number of plausible reasons why respect for government and government institutions receives little consideration in the Sudanese Australian community. One reason is the relatively low relevance government and government institutions had in the everyday life of Sudanese people prior to their settlement in Australia. People in rural areas of Sudan have minimal, if any, contact with government officials and workers, including court workers and police. Most of the disputes in families and communities are regulated and resolved by the extended family or the local chief who applies the local customary law system (Fadlalla, 2009). Another plausible reason for minimal reference to government institutions in the context of respect is the considerable legitimacy deficits of these institutions in the origin and transit countries of the participants. Past experiences with government officials and police are characterised by injustice, indifference and demands for bribes (Baker, 2009; Run, 2012; UNHCR, 2006). Most importantly, however, as I demonstrate in Section 3 of this chapter, the main sources of perceived disrespect in the Sudanese community are in relation to how the Australian Government relates, or in some instances does not relate, to the community. These experiences can explain the why the South Sudanese community do not consider government institutions as foundations or receivers of respect.

Up to this point, this chapter has identified the main elements, and representations of respect and respectful behaviour in South Sudanese cultures. The three main types of respect dominant in the Western classification of respect can also be found in its South Sudanese conceptualisation. Similar, to Western conceptualisation, human respect is held as being the right of all humans, and education and hard work are seen as the main pathways to earn achieved respect. On the other hand, ways to gain and attain status respect are found to be closely linked to adhering to Sudanese values and norms associated with interpersonal relations. Particularly important considerations are the

undisputed authority of parents over children and the subordination of women. Thus, certain aspects of South Sudanese status respect come into conflict with Australian cultural norms. Pursuing the former can potentially place Sudanese parents and husbands in conflict with Australian law and authorities.

5.3 Identifying themes of disrespect among Sudanese Australians

From Section 5.2 it is evident that while there is overlap, there are also substantial differences in the principles that guide respectful conduct in Australia and Southern Sudan. Thus a deductive research approach using literature based on the Western conceptualisation would lead to limited results in our understanding of respect among Sudanese Australians. Using the limited literature on Sudanese conceptualisation of respect, presented in Chapter 3, would also lead to inadequate results since this analysis largely focuses on its archaic elements, which are often unfamiliar to the Sudanese diaspora of Australia. Thus an inductive approach, guided by the voices of Sudanese Australians identifying the reasons for their strong sense of disrespect was used to uncover more relevant and meaningful findings.

Results arising from this approach have found respect to be a summation or a platform for the community to lay their social claims for economic and social inclusion and their grievance over how the Australian Government and society has responded to their efforts to resettle in Australia. The sense of disrespect in the community is related to the three main themes of: (1) economic and social exclusion and neglect; (2) a related theme of not recognising and rewarding the achievements and efforts of the community; and (3) questioning and rejecting their ability to solve their family conflicts. An additional theme that did not have the same prevalence, but has given rise to a strong sense of disrespect among some of the men in the community, is the belief that they have been misled and humiliated by the Australian Government. The rest of this section looks at each of these main themes in detail.

5.3.1 Economic and social exclusion and neglect

A main source of perceived disrespect in the community was the feeling of social and economic exclusion. The community felt that opportunities and access to situations where they could apply themselves to feel integral to their new society, particularly employment, were restricted due to a lack of language and cultural competencies and discrimination.

While stable employment is an important pathway to inclusion and settlement of refugees, humanitarian migrants in Australia have much higher rates of unemployment than either the resident population or non-refugee immigrants (Hugo, 2011). Further, when employed, they are often underemployed and/or clustered in low occupational status immigrant employment niches. It is well documented that unemployment has an adverse effect on refugees' integration, social inclusion and belonging, family life and their general well-being (Colic-Peisker & Tilbury, 2006, 2007). I further discuss blocked employment opportunities and other forms of perceived exclusion from Australian society in Chapter 7. The aim in this section is to demonstrate how economic and social exclusion and lack of recognition of their skills has been an important contributor to the sense of disrespect, as demonstrated by the quote below.

Also, the respect we want, because we are part of this country, there is no way we can get away from this country, so we need the society to respect us, society like working agencies, to start recruiting us even with our language barrier. Or else, there is no way we can survive. But we can support this country in many ways when we work, and when we work we pay tax and that tax also benefits others. So there is no point of us being neglected and that's why we are saying there is no respect. (Young male participant)

This participant expressed confusion over not being given genuine opportunities to contribute to, and to feel part of, society. It did not make sense to them that, although they are part of this country now, they are not assisted to contribute to the best of their abilities. And ultimately, poor employment outcomes also represent a loss of human capital for Australia. All male participants in this study saw virtue and worth in using employment to advance and improve prospects for self, family and the Australian

community. But they found that their best efforts were often rebuffed, leading to a sense of confusion and disrespect.

Respondents also recognised the important role of employment to enable their settlement and inclusion in Australian society.

And it is very hard for us to connect to the wider society - because the integration Australia has - for example, if I work with you, then you can learn my culture and the others working in other companies - from there our image in the society gets communicated and we kind of, you know, will believe that we are part of this society. But now we don't work for the government, we don't work for the agencies, so what is this situation for us? It is quite severe. So it is very hard, is very hard. (Young male participant)

As demonstrated by Ajak's⁵³ quote above, respondents saw employment as a crucial opportunity to interact with other members of Australian society, to learn about the new cultural and social environment they live in, and thus become more integrated into the larger society through their interaction. Respondents were distressed that the Government and employers did not afford them this opportunity. The reflection by Ajak resonates with Merton's theory of modes of adaptation (Merton, 1968), which I describe in detail in Chapter 6. Merton's typology of modes of adaptation focuses on the tension between the cultural goals people are expected to strive and gain access to, and the approved means of reaching these goals. Of interest here is retreatism—the rejection of both cultural norms and institutional means. This is likely to occur when both the societal goals and socially approved means have been fully assimilated, but blocked with no hope of realisation. Ajak and many other members of the Sudanese community have embraced the societal goal of economic participation and socially approved means of education and employment to achieve it, but they feel that against their best efforts, socially approved means to achieve their goals are blocked. They don't want to be disengaged and excluded from society, but they feel that it will be extremely difficult for them to overcome this substantial hurdle, especially because they don't feel that their efforts are supported or recognised.

⁵³ A pseudonym to protect the identity of the participant.

5.3.2 Indifference and lack of recognition by the Australian Government

A second and related source of disrespect among participants is feeling unwelcome and ignored in their new country. Their grievance was even more acutely felt as many of them came to Australia under the Special Humanitarian program after being interviewed by Australian representatives at various refugee camps in Africa. It became apparent during my interviews and informal discussions with the community that many of them interpreted their humanitarian visa grants as ‘invitations’ by the Australian Government. Such an invitation implied a certain way of receiving and welcoming them. Subsequently, they thought that the Australian Government should take more positive steps to welcome the Sudanese community. As one respondent explained, gestures and formalities of respect, such as government officials meeting with the community, are seen as important activities to make the community feel welcomed in Australia.

So when you say the Government should welcome the Sudanese community... (Me)

Welcome is welcoming [agitated] (Male participant)

But what are the things that would make you feel welcome? (Me)

Alright, what I mean is for example, if the local authority try to meet with them, and say, ‘ok I’m the authority of this area and I want to meet with you today. So, if you need any help, I’m here for you to help. And be aware that you are part of this community’. So, feel free to leave, feel free to do this, if there is any problem of school, jobs and all this stuff talk to me. You might feel welcomed. (Same participant)

Such formal signs of respect may not be considered of much importance in Australia, typically branded by its informal social relationships, but it is an important aspect of Southern Sudanese cultures where, as explained in Chapter 3, cultural ceremonies and ritual exchanges give virtually everyone some avenue to a sense of respect and honour (F. M. Deng, 1990). As explained by Richard Sennett, in places and societies where resources are scarce, such as the heritage and transit circumstances of the Sudanese community, social honours and respect have special significance and are reasserted

frequently. In contrast, a society emphasising predominantly material status and prestige, like Australia, has little to offer to those most disadvantaged, such as newly arrived refugees (Sennett, 2003).

Another disappointment and source of disrespect for the community is the lack of acknowledgement of their efforts and achievements. As expressed by one of the former leaders of the South Sudanese community, it was disappointing when one of their main achievements, a graduation of a relatively large number of Southern Sudanese graduates in Adelaide, much recognised and celebrated within the community, received no attention or form of reporting outside of the community.

For example, there was a time where almost 50 people graduated in here, that was a big thing for us and we had a big ceremony, but not a single media came despite the fact that I had invited all of them. (Male Sudanese community leader)

As noted by Sennett, when others do not notice our efforts, their indifference and the feeling of ‘not being seen’ is perceived as disrespectful and insulting. While such indifference is less hostile than an outright insult, it can be equally injurious. As expressed by Sennett (2003, p. 3) ‘[n]o insult is offered another person, but neither is recognition extended; he or she is not *seen*—as a full human being whose presence matters’ (original emphasis). A non-Sudanese community development officer, working for local government, has supported the perception of the community regarding lack of government recognition of the achievements of the community.

I mean this is another side, government agencies tend to limit themselves to their remedial tasks and you throw a few grants, oh here is some money to do something and give us a report. The government should be more involved in the beneficial side. (Non-Sudanese community worker)

As explained in the quote below by another non-Sudanese local government community worker, we should be more aware of the challenges of the community when reflecting on their settlement outcomes.

We need to recognise their achievements in this country. When we consider the little resources they came with and what they achieve in a period as little as 4-5 years, I'm just full of admiration. (Non-Sudanese community worker)

In summary, there was an agreement between community members and community workers that the Australian Government and institutions should make more effort to be involved with the community, including acknowledging their efforts and achievements, to signal their recognition and thereby show respect to the community.

5.3.3 Questioning ability to solve family conflicts

The third main source of disrespect in the community was the intervention of care and protection authorities responding to reports of family conflict and violence. All respondents felt very strongly about the need to respect their values of family unity, the distinct roles of men, women and children in the family, and the autonomy of families to resolve their conflicts according to their customary ways, without intervention from government authorities.

As illustrated earlier, in South Sudanese cultures men are the head of the family with responsibility to 'discipline' their wives and children. Families strive to resolve disputes within the circle of the family, members of whom may intervene to offer support and advice. However, disputes are not always resolved, and violence against children, youth and women is a critical issue in South Sudan (Baker, 2009; F. M. Deng, 1998b; Sommers & Schwartz, 2011). Upon resettlement to countries where the norms and values framing these relationships are significantly different, evolving family power dynamics often result in an increased incidence of family conflict and violence.

Violence against children, youth and women, often with the intent of regulating their behaviour, is a critical issue in the community (Department for Community Development Government of Western Australia Family and Domestic Violence Unit, 2005; Lewig, et al., 2010; Migrant Information Centre, 2008; Milner & Khawaja, 2010; Pittaway & Muli, 2009). Chapter 9 will explore this complex topic further. The aim here is to identify the intervention by Australian authorities, responding to family conflict and violence, as an important source of the strong sense of disrespect in the Sudanese

community. As the quotes below demonstrate, respondents felt very negatively about intervention from authorities in what is seen as an explicitly family matter.

One way is if a child went out and you know, and meets with those case workers - they won't listen to their parents and the caseworkers will interfere with the situation that's between the child and the parents. That is another way that respect is lost. Because those law enforcement agents, they come in with their system which is not going to recognise our right as a family of our children. (Male participant)

Give us a chance to solve our family problem and that's the respect we want. (Young male participant)

In the first quote, the participant thought that respect was lost in a number of different ways. Firstly, interference by authorities in what is seen as an issue between the child and the parents was seen as a denial of rights over their children, which has led to a loss of parental respect in families. Additionally, this lack of recognition of parental rights over one's child led to a strong sense of disrespect in the community. The second quote goes even deeper when explaining the sense of disrespect. What is seen as injurious is the sense that Australian authorities underestimate and devalue the ability and prerogative of Sudanese families to solve their family affairs.

These quotes echo the comment made by one of the participants of the documentary TV show *African Aussie Dads*, exploring how African fathers in Australia cope with the challenges of parenting in their new country where their age-old cultural expectations may no longer apply. As explained by one of the participants, 'Back in Africa the police don't get involved in family business. It is like a complete invasion' (Australian Broadcasting Corporation, 2012a). That is, in the macro system under which most Sudanese Australians have lived most recently, intervention from authorities responding to reports of family violence is seen as 'invasion'. Therefore, a corresponding sense of disrespect in response to interference in the dominion of their family should not be surprising.

A point worth mentioning is that both of the quotes above came from participants who had no personal experience with intervention from authorities. One participant was not yet married, and the other participant described his relationship with his wife and

children as working well. Yet, when asked about the meaning of respect and their experiences of respect and disrespect, both participants expressed strong views about how government intervention in family matters was disrespectful, suggesting that the grievance in the community is no longer a collection of personal experiences, but rather it has taken the form of a community narrative.

5.3.4 Being misled and or humiliated by the Australian Government

An additional theme that did not have the same prevalence as the previous three main themes, but has given rise to a strong sense of disrespect among some males in the community, is the belief that they have been misled and humiliated by the Australian Government. I am inclined to interpret it as the culmination of the first three sources of perceived disrespect and expressed only by participants who have felt strongly about all of the three main themes of disrespect. In the quote below, one of the respondents states clearly that some men in the community, including himself, felt misled by the Australian Government.

We feel that we have been misled. That's the disrespect I can say. (Young male participant)

The main source of their perceived deception, and subsequent sense of disrespect, is seen as not providing access to appropriate jobs for Sudanese Australians graduating from Australian universities. A much stronger claim, under the same theme, is of being humiliated by Australia and its 'system'.

Some men just want to go back to Sudan because they can't get any work and their wife has kicked them out, so this country made them look like an idiot. Some men just go and drink too much or maybe they try to hurt someone. But it is not those men that are wrong – it is the system that's wrong. (Male Sudanese community worker)

The quote above is from a young male Sudanese youth worker, who although not personally affected by the issues identified in his quote, nevertheless has intimate understanding, appreciation and deep empathy for those men in the community who feel that their new country has put them into an unworthy position.

Some participants were concerned with the impact the sense of humiliation had on some men in the community, resulting in violence, alcohol abuse, self-harm and in some cases suicide. While use of violence by men is a tolerated practice in Sudan, the other responses, especially self-harm and suicide, were unheard of in Sudan. While participants heard of men from their community committing suicide in Kakuma refugee camp, the reasons leading to it were different from those leading to suicide in the community in Australia or in the United States of America. According to participants in this study, men who commit suicide in Kakuma tend to do it because of extreme poverty, violence to them, or their family, and subsequent despair. But in Australia, in the words of one respondent, 'it is to do with women, marriage and the government'. Thus, the sense of despair among Sudanese men in their resettlement countries is related to their loss of identity and dignity within their social groups.

Unlike their proud pre-destruction and pre-immigration experience where every adult male contributed and was held in high respect, a significant proportion of Sudanese Australian men feel that their dignity was been taken. Civil war, violence, and refugee camps tore at the fibre of society and violated the family and group relationships that were the basis of its axiology. This was compounded by the experience of feeling unrecognised in their new country and disapproved by Australian authorities.

5.4 Summary

In summary, the repeated calls for respectful treatment by the Sudanese community were a summation of articulating their claims for economic and social inclusion and their grievance over how the Australian Government and society has responded to their efforts to resettle in Australia.

In his paper exploring disrespect, integrity and recognition, Axel Honneth (1992) referred to the work of George Herbert Mead to demonstrate that humans depend on the recognition and approval of others in their social environment. He proposed that our sense of disrespect arises from our dependence on, and thus vulnerability to, recognition and approval by others. He argued that humans are psychologically dependent on

regular reassurances coming from others, while experiences of disrespect pose the risk of insult, psychological injury and ensuing grievance.

Honneth (1992) draws a distinction between three different forms of disrespect. The first type, which pertains to a person's physical integrity, has little relevance to the experiences of disrespect of the Sudanese community. Disrespect of this kind violates the intrinsic, shared quality among people—our humanity. There are of course other forms of disrespect, such as street racism, which violates people's humanity and treats people as if they are not human after all, or at least not as human as the majority who hold power over them. Racial vilification that dehumanizes people from other ethnic groups communicates disrespect through both communicating difference and inferiority. While Sudanese participants were familiar with this kind of disrespect, it seemed to be of less concern in their resettlement processes than other forms of disrespect.

The second type of disrespect in Honneth's categorisation structurally excludes subjects from the possession of certain rights within a given society, such as equal right to participate in its institutional order. Some members of the Sudanese Australian community participating in this study felt that they were structurally excluded from the full labour market and thus economic and social participation in their new country. In other words, their disrespect was related to blocked access to what Merton (1968) calls institutional means to pursue their goals of equally participating in their new country (to be discussed in the next chapter). This kind of disrespect targets achieved self—those qualities of which people are proud. People work hard to obtain educational qualifications and take pride in these achievements. Sudanese and other migrants work hard at learning the new language and navigating the new physical and social structures of their resettlement country. Failing to appreciate their achievements, and failing to reward them for it, is interpreted as acts of disrespect. Similarly, if people are chosen as humanitarian migrants and are granted permanent residency and pending citizenship in their new country, they perceive actions that reject their potential contribution after their arrival as acts of disrespect. South Sudanese refugees felt affronted by the Australian Government's failure to value their achieved self.

The third type of disrespect identified by Honneth is an evaluative form of disrespect, namely the denigration of individual or collective lifestyles, including their mode of unacceptable family life. Honneth proposes that the degree of social acceptance by society for a person's method of self-realisation can be seen as that person's 'status'. When structural exclusion, or societal or institutional disapproval, leads to the downgrading of forms of living or values as inferior or improper, it 'robs the subjects in question of every opportunity to accord their abilities social value' (Honneth, 1992, p. 191). Disrespecting their status seeking self gave participants the most grief. Most of the participants were aware of institutional disapproval of some of their cultural values and their customary practices of managing family conflict, which in turn gave rise to their sense of disrespect.

Status is also attached to the position people hold in their social groups. It is assigned through one's social structure. In most Western societies, for example, heads of state expect others to recognise their status in a host of ways. Similarly, heads of Sudanese families and community elders expect their status to be recognised and respected. To do otherwise is seen as an affront to the status seeking self. Sudanese Australians saw the humiliation of parents at the hands of child protection workers as disrespectful of the status that parents claimed in their families and communities. The status seeking self also extends to being a person of worth. People are socialised to be responsible and independent adults, upstanding members of their community. Social structure assigns privileges to adulthood, such as the right to vote, to work, to marry, and to be a parent. Some of these rights are partially revoked among Sudanese Australians, communicating the Australian Government's disrespect for their status as responsible and independent adults.

Honneth argues that receiving disrespect from others is psychologically injurious as it impairs the person's positive understanding of self—an understanding acquired through mutual recognition and approval. Experiencing disrespect is also part of everyday life. We feel disrespect and we deal with it by voicing our concerns to the individuals treating us with disrespect, or by moving out of the sphere of influence of the source of disrespect. In the case of street racism, Sudanese Australians took personal responsibility and adopted one of these strategies and have shown great resilience to

deal with these attacks on their moral selves. In fact, in liberal democracies such as Australia, individuals have a range of options they can use to protect themselves from displays of disrespect. On the other hand, as citizens of democratic societies, we also share the expectation that society and institutions will support us managing these relationships, and government and its institutions provide a structural basis for our dignity through the various forms of recognition of individuals (Honneth, 1992). In these cases it is the government that needs to stand up for its responsibility to act on disrespect. The Sudanese community's call for respect is a call on the Australian Government and its institutions to act on their responsibilities towards the community.

Chapter 6 – Responses to resettlement at an individual and institutional level

The last chapter identified the main sources of disrespect within the Sudanese Australian community: economic and social exclusion and neglect by the government, lack of recognition of their achievements and efforts, and authorities questioning their ability to solve their family conflicts and instead intervening inappropriately in their family life. Identifying theories that account for the experiences and structures that have generated disrespect is the purpose of this chapter. I review a select group of social, social psychological and regulatory theories which are either currently dominant in explaining the resettlement process and the disrespect that poor resettlement brings in its wake, or are particularly useful in providing an analytical interpretation of participants' strong sense of disrespect.

Theories will be explored under four main sections. First, adaptation theories in the immigration literature outline the process of adjustment of migrants in a new cultural environment. Next, focusing on social structure from the sociological literature I will examine Robert Merton's sociological theory on modes of adaptation. Section 3 will discuss in some depth self-concept of worth theories from the psychological literature explaining responses to economic exclusion and government interventions. The focus of Section 4 is responses to resettlement at an institutional level, or how people adapt to the new micro regulatory system of their resettlement country.

6.1 Acculturation theories describing the resettlement process

The most influential model to assess the process of acculturation in a new cultural environment is John Berry's classification of acculturation strategies. Berry's (1997, 2001) model of acculturation addresses the process of migration in which people adopt primary orientations in relation to the interplay between their heritage and host cultures. According to this theory, as individuals come into contact with new cultural groups, they may simultaneously retain their heritage cultural identity, while developing the mainstream cultural identity—*integrate*; accommodate their identity to the mainstream culture—*assimilate*; reject the mainstream cultural identity in favour of their heritage cultural identity—*separate*; or reject both mainstream and heritage cultural identifications—*marginalise*. Berry did not consider the four strategies to be discrete, static approaches; rather individuals may switch from one strategy to another.

In his theoretical analysis of the psychological responses to acculturation, Berry (1980) identified six areas of psychological functioning (language, cognitive styles, personality, identity, attitudes, and acculturative stress) in which immigrants undergo a process of change. Initial changes in these areas are followed by a state of conflict, at which point an adaptation strategy is reached. Acculturation is usually associated with changes in behaviour, attitudes, beliefs, and values.

When the heritage and mainstream cultures are seen as largely compatible, integration is by far the most preferred mode of acculturation (Dona & Berry, 1994). Integration however is not always easy to attain. For example, research with African refugees in Quebec, Canada found that only 31% of participants found integration an achievable strategy (Dompierre & Lavallée, 1990). The majority of respondents, 45%, found separation to be a more viable strategy. They found it easy to retain their original cultural identity but difficult to relate to the Quebecois. Another conceivable reason for separation is the perception that integration is a threat to traditional values and way of life.

Berry (1997) considers in detail a number of situational and personal factors predicted to influence acculturation, including society of origin and its cultural distance from the settlement society. He considered the cultural relational position of the heritage and host cultures as a distance on a single dimension which incrementally can be reduced. But what if elements of the heritage and host cultures are in conflict, rather than just distant, from one another? In Chapters 3 and 9 I describe in detail how cultural practices within the private domain of the family, which formed the core sense of identity for members of the community, are in conflict with Australian values and Australian laws.

In fact, critics of Berry's acculturation theory, such as Peter Weinreich (2009), point out that the model depends on a number of unquestioned assumptions, one of which is that acceptance of cultural norms of the mainstream culture does not contravene the cultural norms of the heritage culture. However, important elements of the two cultures may conflict with one another. In such circumstances, to suggest that each be equally respected is to deny the person's moral compass. Theories of identity development and threat will be discussed in the third section of this chapter.

Another main concern with Berry's model is its lack of emphasis on the acculturation expectations of members of the receiving society. Recent studies on migrant identities and acculturation strategies (for example: Bourhis, Moï'se, Perreault, & Sene'cal, 1997; Piontkowski, Florack, Hoelker, & Obdreza'lek, 2000; Zick, Wagner, van Dick, & Petzel, 2001) demonstrate the importance of the acculturation expectations of members of the receiving society and the extent to which it converges with the acculturation attitudes of immigrants. A common finding of the above studies is that an accurate analysis of acculturation needs to consider the acculturation orientations adopted by immigrants, the acculturation expectations of the receiving community, and the interpersonal and intergroup relational outcomes brought about through the interaction between the two acculturation orientations. In the case of the South Sudanese community, current Australian policy regarding resettlement of humanitarian immigrants is strongly influenced by the expectation that they will 'integrate', even 'assimilate' into Australian society (Jupp, 2011). But as demonstrated by this research,

the position of the South Sudanese community on integration⁵⁴ is more multidimensional. On the one hand the community came to resettlement with high hopes and the motivation of economic and social participation in their new community. At the same time, they want to maintain the values and identity that motivated them prior to their migration, as described in Chapter 3. The potential conflict brought on by the lack of complete convergence between expectations of the community emerges repeatedly in this research.

A more contemporary theorisation specific to the resettlement styles of humanitarian migrants in the Australian context is from Val Colic-Peisker and Farida Tilbury (2003). Based on a relatively large sample of former refugees, some from the Horn of Africa, the authors identified four main forms of resettlement styles (achievers, consumers, endurers, and victims) along the dimension of activity versus passivity. Resettlement styles adopted by refugees depend primarily on their human, social, and cultural capital, but are also significantly influenced by the policies informing the resettlement support of refugees.

Refugees with an active resettlement style have a positive attitude to their migration; they study, look for jobs, or are in paid employment. They have links with their own ethnic community as well as with the wider Australian society. That is, they strongly aspire to social and economic integration and they are engaged with and largely successful at activating pathways towards their goals. In contrast, refugees with a passive resettlement style are unemployed, or underemployed in menial jobs below their qualification, and consider studying or learning English inappropriate. The refugees in this form of resettlement could not activate pathways towards social and economic inclusion and subsequently they no longer strive towards social or economic integration. Instead, they either abandon these ambitions and are ‘making ends meet’, materially and

⁵⁴ Thus far the term *integration* was used in reference to work by others and have assumed the meaning assigned to it by the original authors. My use of the term *integration* refers to equal participation in the social, economic, cultural and political life of Australia, with or without maintaining one’s cultural and linguistic heritage (Gebre-Selassie, 2008).

emotionally, or retreat into a 'life of disengagement and inertia' (Colic-Peisker & Tilbury, 2003, pp. 72-74).

In this section I considered two contemporary models of acculturation styles of migrants and refugees, and forms of functioning when individuals undergo change. Each theory has contributed in important ways. Berry's model of acculturation examined the psychological responses to resettlement in a new cultural environment. While Berry recognised identity as one of the areas in which immigrants undergo a process of change, I reasoned for a need for deeper engagement of the identity processes in the acculturation context. This will be explored in Section 3 of this chapter where I will focus in detail on individual level responses to the resettlement process. An important contribution of the second model by Colic-Peisker and Tilbury, is demonstrating how responses from refugees are created through the interaction between individual resources of the refugee and the host society's responses to refugee settlers. Thus the focus of the next section is the interaction between Australian resettlement policies and programs and individual resettlement outcomes within the Sudanese community. I will draw on the work of Robert Merton for analysis on how Australian cultural and social structures exert pressure on Sudanese and other humanitarian migrants.

6.2 Modes of adaptation by Merton

A common element of Merton's work is a model centering on the variation between people in their choices among alternatives which are structurally produced. Although these choices are structurally given alternatives, people's choices are shaped by their location in the social order. That is, people in different social positions will have different goals or motivations, stemming from a range of structural sources, such as cultural beliefs they have been socialised into, reward systems, or seeking affirmation of social identities valued by their reference groups. At the same time, social structures importantly limit the choices available to people. In other words, in the Mertonian system the social environment is divided into two structures: cultural and social. The cultural structure sets goals, while the social structure provides the means for making

and implementing choices (Crothers, 2004). The concepts of goals and means are also the two main elements of Merton's typology of modes of adaptation.

Modes of adaptation theory focus on the cultural values and goals towards which all people are expected to strive, and a social structure that restricts access to the approved means of reaching these goals. Merton identified five modes of behaviour: conformity, innovation, ritualism, retreatism, and rebellion. People adopt one of these behaviours in response to how well the approved goals, and access to means for achieving these goals, correspond with each other in particular societies or in particular situations. They may shift between modes as they engage in different spheres of social activities. Thus, '[t]hese categories refer to role behaviour in specific types of situations, not to personality' (Merton, 1968, p. 194). The choice of response depends largely on the individual's attitudes toward cultural goals and the institutional means available to attain them.

In stable societies such as Australia, the most common adaptation type is conformity, where individuals attain societal goals by socially accepted means. But what happens when culturally approved means are blocked or become too hard to sustain? The four types of adaptation to blocked means identified by Merton are retreatism—resistance to both normative goals and their formal institutions; rebellion—replacing normative goals and their institutions with new ones; innovation—acceptance of normative goals but finding unorthodox means to fulfil them; and ritualism where in contrast to innovation, one continues to subscribe to the means but abandons the cultural goals.

6.2.1 Ritualism, retreatism and marginalisation

The responses with most significance to my research are ritualism and retreatism. Merton proposes that ritualism is fairly frequent in societies that make one's social status largely dependent upon one's achievement (Merton, 1968). To some extent this mode of adaptation is an escape from the disappointment and frustration that for marginalised groups seems inherent in an environment focused on economic success. This type of adaptation is common among immigrants groups where the first generation,

often employed in menial jobs, typically becomes part of the most marginalised and lowest socio-economic strata of the resettlement country. In a sense, their goals are often activated through their children. As shown by several studies, immigrant parents often experience and assess their achievements through an intergenerational rationale, that is what the future holds for their children rather than for themselves (for example, Atwell, Gifford, & McDonald-Wilmsen, 2009; Larsen, 2010; Stepick & Stepick, 2003).

While ritualism is typically the most prevalent response among humanitarian immigrant groups with restricted means to shared goals, this thesis will argue the proposition that it is not the case for South Sudanese Australians. One contributing factor is the recent decline in demand for an unskilled labour force in Australia. The majority of the Sudanese-born arrived in Australia between 2003 and 2007, a period when life in Australia changed significantly in terms of unskilled employment opportunities. While the period was characterised by a shortage in certain occupation categories, especially in the information technology and knowledge industry, demand for unskilled labour in manufacturing and other industries declined markedly. The other important contributing factor is the unmet expectation among Sudanese parents that their children will excel in their education and establish a successful career, the reasons for which will be explored in detail in Chapter 7. As a consequence, taking on menial jobs and activating the goal of economic and social success through their children, is not a conceivable adaptation for many Sudanese families. Instead Sudanese Australians are more likely to turn to other modes of adaptations, particularly retreatism. They have abandoned the normative goals and means of social and economic inclusion which they fully embraced at the time of their arrival in Australia, but which is largely blocked to most members of the Sudanese community with no hope for realisation.

Financial success and gainful employment are dominant cultural goals in Australian and Western societies. In Chapter 2 I described how economic participation of migrant communities is a primary expectation of all migrant groups coming to Australia. It is considered by the Australian Government as an important step towards integration of migrant communities. The approved and usual forms of pathways towards gainful employment in the Australian context involve developing skills through education,

training and experience, and using formal and informal networks to connect with potential employers and other business opportunities.

On their arrival in Australia, most Sudanese migrants identified strongly both with the goal of economic achievement and participation, and the approved means of reaching it. As I demonstrate in more detail in Chapter 7, the Sudanese Australian community came with a strong desire to participate in and contribute to the labour force. They also took on and pursued the means held out to people in Australia to achieve these goals. In most instances they approached education, including learning English, and training with enthusiasm. However, their hopes were dampened. Australian education and training services often did not meet the needs and learning styles of their students who subsequently failed to perform according to their expectations. Opportunities to gain demonstrated experience and put their skills into practice were also structurally limited. Additionally, the community could not utilise the important pathways of informal networks, which often facilitate job-search for more established communities. Most Sudanese refugees arrived in Australia at the same time and very few had connection to, or experience of, Australian employers. Formal pathways to gain employment often remained inaccessible and structurally blocked for many members of the Sudanese community. Important features of approved forms of recruitment practices, such as the merit-based selection system, structurally discriminate against humanitarian migrants characterised by broken educational and employment histories.

Another form of adaptation that tends to dominate the criminogenic literature when legitimate pathways are blocked to attain dominant economic goals is innovation. But in my research I came across little evidence in participants' narratives of adopting illicit means to achieve economic goals.

By not being able to perform to their expectations in a labour market that structurally excludes them, Sudanese Australians have felt robbed not only of their ability to integrate, but also of their status respect. As it will emerge from the narratives of participants, people in the Sudanese community have a good understanding of how current recruitment practices structurally block their means to economic participation. They are aware that they are not entering the labour market on equal terms with people

who grew up in Australia. They are also conscious that applying the same selection system, without some recognition of their disadvantage as a group reinforces their socio-economic disadvantage. Their inherent understanding of their marginalisation has importantly contributed to the strong sense of disrespect felt among the community.

As pathways to gaining respect from the Australian community through economic and social participation become less attainable, retaining respect within families and the Sudanese community gained added importance. People in the Sudanese community have turned to their heritage identities and values for alternative means to sustain their dignity and restore status respect.

In the next section I explore how the disjuncture between elements of heritage goals and the means of attaining them, and the normative goals and lawful means of the broader society created a particularly high conflict situation between South Sudanese families and Australian authorities.

6.2.2 Ritualism, retreatism and intervention from government authorities

Along with economic participation and subsequent recognition, the other key issue for the Sudanese community is the future of their families. One's family is the principal focus of South Sudanese people. The family has a number of important functions, such as providing social support and financial security. It is also an important source of identity, status and respect for family members. In Sudan these functions were largely dependent on preserving strict cultural norms and values and clear division of roles by each and every member of the family. However, the inequities of these heritage family norms on the basis of age and sex could not be sustained in the Australian cultural and legal environment. The treatment of women and youth has especially come under challenge both from within the community and from Australian law and authorities.

On arrival in Australia, the importance of family for people in the Sudanese community increased. Although, its position as a dominant source of financial security was

weakened, the relevance of families for providing social support and a sense of identity, status and respect was heightened especially among husbands and parents. Yet parents felt challenged to envisage a coherent sense of the future for their families in their new cultural environment with unfamiliar social structures and family norms. Instead they turned to the stable and clear rules of what sustained their families for hundreds of years. To link it back to the main concepts in Merton's modes of adaptation, parents saw the preservation of their heritage cultural norms and values within their families as clear and proven means to achieve their desired goals of securing their family's future, and their place and status within it. Most participant parents in this study had clear strong views of the cultural values and norms their children were expected to maintain. Yet, in the new social environment ritualistic application of heritage parenting practices did not deliver the goals desired by parents—the secure future of families and parental control children. On the contrary, in some instances their parenting practices were judged by government authorities to be inappropriate, leading to intervention by authorities and subsequent obstruction of parental power.

As I demonstrate in Chapter 9, all participants in the study recognised that a small yet fundamental cluster of elements of their parenting practices did not fit within the cultural and legal norms of Australia. Yet they could not fathom other coherent and plausible pathways towards their goal of family unity. They did not understand or comprehend Australian social structures, institutions, and family norms to a point where they could feel capable of guiding and leading their families within these new values and norms. Government and social institutions could have supported Sudanese parents to identify new pathways to support the functioning of their families. They could have helped Sudanese families to develop skills and build capacity and confidence to use lawful means to navigate the complexities of parenting in a new cultural environment. But as most government organisations and workers did not recognise the purpose and reasons for heritage parenting norms and practices within Sudanese families, they instead prosecuted parents and/or removed children. Without confidence and support to use approved pathways, yet prevented from using heritage pathways, Sudanese families fragmented in increasing numbers and some parents have retreated from their goals of

guiding their children and family. Thus for some families, retreatism become a form of adaptation both in the public and in the private domains of their lives.

Intervention from government authorities preventing Sudanese parents from raising their children according to their cultural norms was also seen as blocking the pathways of Sudanese parents to maintain the continuity of their culture. This attack on their cultural and self-identity has been especially injurious and demoralising for the Sudanese community leading to their strong sense of disrespect. Government intervention as a source of disrespect will be explored in detail in Chapter 9.

A mode of adaptation identified by Merton which I have not discussed as yet is rebellion. In contrast to the defeated positions of ritualism and retreatism, the position of a rebel is to bring a new, modified cultural code. Instead of giving up on the existing set of goals and means, the rebel denounces them and replaces them with a new set (Merton, 1968). While such a mode of adaptation is not prevalent among the participants in this study, there were some notable exceptions. Some members of the South Sudanese community are highly critical of Australian family law and its impact on their community. Male members of the community especially see it as an obstacle to maintaining traditional, highly gendered and authoritative norms in the family. They advocate for the application of customary law, instead of Australian family law, in their communities, which would be more supportive of their traditional family structures and norms.

In this section I considered Robert Merton's adaptation theory to analyse different forms of responses by South Sudanese migrants to the challenges of resettlement in their new environment. As proposed by Merton, it is not members of particular groups that have dysfunctional behaviour; rather it is elements of institutions which are generally functional for some, but dysfunctional for others.⁵⁵

⁵⁵ Although Merton does believe that institutions and values can be functional for society as a whole, he emphasises the existence of dysfunction.

Using this framework, I explored how Australian Government institutions failed to provide accessible means or support to the community to enable them to navigate approved means for achieving the two main goals of Sudanese Australians: their economic and social inclusion and recognition, and the future of their families. These were both key issues, contributing instrumentally to the identity formation of the community. The Sudanese community at large feels frustrated, aggrieved and disrespected. Some members of the Sudanese community responded by ‘asocializing’ themselves from government institutions, and to some extent from the larger Australian community. They feel unwelcome in Australia, they lack trust in Australian institutions and authorities, and importantly they lack faith in the possibility of a good future for their children in Australia. To borrow the words of Merton, while they are ‘*in the [Australian] society*’, they are ‘*not of it*’ (Merton, 1968, p. 207). In the view of Merton, retreatism is an individual rather than a collective response and it is the least common mode of adaptation. But I propose that it is becoming a dominant form of adaptation among the Sudanese community because of structural barriers that undermine hope and restrict opportunities.

Before I conclude this section, there are two points I wish to emphasise. First is that a number of participants in this study have been successful, to varying degrees, in reconciling dominant heritage and Australian cultural goals, and in navigating institutional means towards achieving these goals. Thus the positive adaptation of conformity, while not dominant, is present in the community. Recognition and acknowledgment of this positive outcome both for the individuals and for the larger society is important. In fact, one of the main sources of the sense of disrespect in the community is the lack of recognition of cases of successful adaptation. But, since the focus of this study is how Australian social structures and their interaction with Sudanese cultural structures have contributed to adverse resettlement outcomes and the sense of disrespect in the community, the emphasis of analysis will be on adaptation of non-conforming conduct.

A second point I wish to clarify is that this research does not aim to evaluate Merton’s theory on modes of adaptation. Rather, Merton’s theory provides a framework to demonstrate how social structures can importantly contribute to the resettlement

outcomes of South Sudanese and other humanitarian migrant families. Throughout the study I will argue that humanitarian migrant families are more likely to successfully adapt to their new environment and share its normative goals when institutional means towards achieving these goals are accessible to them.

6.3 Responses to the resettlement process: self-concepts of worth at an individual level

Although at the centre of the Mertonian system is the emergence of action of individuals, and sometime collectives, in response to structurally given alternatives, the theory provides limited analytic account of the dynamics producing individual responses. In other words, while Merton offers an insight into the emergence of disrespect among the Sudanese community, to understand the responses of Sudanese Australians to disrespect I turned to the psychological literature. Identity theories provide a fitting analytic foundation to examining the individual experiences of grievance of disrespect in the multi-cultural context of resettlement. As highlighted by Berry, and critics of Berry, individuals experience a marked psychological change to their self-identity during resettlement (Berry, 1997; Weinreich, 2009).

Self-identity and the need to protect and affirm an overall self-concept of worth has been long recognised in psychological literature by self-identity theorists such as William James (1915), Gordon Allport (1943) or Seymour Epstein (1973). Claude Steele proposed that all ego-protective systems have the same function—to sustain self-concepts that facilitate effective behaviour. This self-affirmation system is activated whenever the perceived integrity of the self is threatened and pressured for behavioural or cognitive adaptation. He proposed that what motivates behaviour and cognitive change is a threat to the integrity of the self.⁵⁶

⁵⁶ Steele (1988) also recognised the threat to one's welfare as a motivator for adaptive behaviour; however, the focus of this research is the threat to one's self-regard.

‘Integrity’ in this framework is the sense that one is a good and appropriate person; that is, one’s behaviour is fitting given the cultural norms and the salient demands on people within his/her culture (Steele, 1988). For the people of South Sudan, many of whom came to Australia recently and still maintain a close connection with their community in Australia, Africa and other parts of the world, a sense of integrity is tied to and informed by the cultural norms and values of their own community. What integrity means within an Australian cultural and value mindset is not only of less interest psychologically but also probably less clear to them.

6.3.1 Self-identity and cultural values

The extent to which identity is responsive to culture has been explored at length by social identity theorists who argue that as we move from one group that is significant to us to another group of significance, our salient identity changes (Hogg & Turner, 1987; Tajfel & Turner, 1979, 1986). Two provisos need to be considered however. First, social identity will not grow in response to exposure to a new culture that is difficult to understand or identify with. Second, if the new culture threatens the old, capacity and motivation to learn about the new will be dramatically reduced (V. Braithwaite, 2009a; Ogbu, 1995a, 1995b). For example, if Sudanese parents see Australian parenting practices as threatening to their existing parental power, they will understandably show reduced interest in learning of and engaging with Australian parenting skills. Given that identity provides the individual with a framework for understanding the world and our place within it, failure to adopt a new identity becomes a persistent problem for those trying to fit into a new cultural setting. Identifying the obstacles to adopting a new identity therefore becomes a high priority.

Another way of expressing these ideas is that individuals hold normative values consistent with their identity and that places them at some social distance from other identities based on other values. As suggested by Harris, the implication of this is reciprocity between values and identity. That is, ‘having certain values is essential to having a particular identity’ (N. Harris, 2011, p. 198). Hence an attack on these cultural norms and values is experienced as an attack on one’s self-identity. This link was also

identified by Allport. He postulated that when continuance of customary frames of reference is under threat, customary frames become personally relevant and behave like egocentric frames (Allport, 1943).

6.3.2 Responses to threats to self-identity

In the previous chapter it emerged that the sense of disrespect from government organisations has threatened participants' positive understanding of themselves. How do people protect themselves from perceived and real attacks to their identity? Steele proposed that people respond more fluidly than is typically recognised. He suggested the existence of a 'larger, ego-protective self-system not geared to resolving specific self-concept threats, but geared towards maintaining an overall conception of self-integrity' (Steele, 1988, p. 267). Based on experimental research, Steele found that when an individual's self-concept came under attack from external information or inconsistencies, instead of making changes directed toward the threat itself, people make changes to affirm central, valued aspects of the self.

Valerie Braithwaite draws on this work to explain the effect that governments can have inadvertently on those whose experiences are outside the mainstream. Authorities threaten everyone by virtue of their power (V. Braithwaite, 2009a). Braithwaite has structured the research literature on this topic around the aspect of one's self-identity that comes under threat in regulatory encounters. She has identified three selves that may come under attack and which may come forward to defend against a regulatory regime (V. Braithwaite, 2013). Firstly, the regulatory demands of authorities threaten our moral self—the sense of ourselves as people who do the right thing by our own initiative and not through coercion (V. Braithwaite, 2009a; N. Harris, 2011; Sherman, 1993). Regulatory demands may also threaten our democratic collective self—the sense of ourselves as equally valued members of the community where the voices of individuals are listened to with respect and acknowledged (Tyler, 1989, 1997; Young, 2000). Finally, regulatory demands may threaten our status seeking self by blocking pathways to successfully achieving personal goals (White, 1991). In response to these

threats, individuals may withdraw or resist authority. Through placing social distance between self and authority, they affirm their central, valued self.

How does this relate to the strong sense of disrespect felt by the Sudanese community in the case of intervention from care and protection authorities to resolve family conflict and violence? The proposition put forward in this thesis is that interventions from child protection and domestic violence services threaten not only the welfare of family members involved, through such actions as the removal of one's children, but also threaten the self-identity and status within their community of many Sudanese. In other words, the strong sense of disrespect among members of the Sudanese community and their call for more respect and respectful treatment is a response to the recurring threat to their identity.

6.3.3 Motivational posturing

Threats from authorities are central to the motivational posturing process proposed by Braithwaite. A motivational posture is a composite of attitudes, beliefs and preferences on how an individual might position the self in relation to authority. Through their postures, individuals send social signals or messages to the self, others and authorities about how that authority is regarded. The significance of the term *motivational* is the reason for the posturing—to defend the self from regulatory attack (V. Braithwaite, 2013). Five motivational postures were identified through empirical analysis:⁵⁷ commitment, capitulation, resistance, disengagement, and game playing. The first two postures reflect accommodation to the demands of the authority, while the last three signal defiance—an unwillingness to follow the authority's prescribed path. Motivational postures are not static, and different contexts bring to the fore different postures, which in turn bring on different responses (V. Braithwaite, 2009a).

⁵⁷ Factor analysis of inventories measuring attitudes to authority and to regulatory systems and qualitative analysis of the accounts that people provide for their interactions with authority.

The postures of particular relevance to this research are resistance and disengagement. Resistance is an expression of dislike for or hostility towards an authority while accepting that the authority has legitimate power that may be used to coerce cooperation. The source of discontent is not the existence of the system, but how the system operates, such as poor decision-making and inappropriate use of power. The core of this posture is grievance and insistence that authorities fix the problems. Disengagement, on the other hand, questions the authority and the soundness of the system. It reflects lack of deference for, and disillusionment with, the authority; it wants freedom from it. Disengagement towards authorities is a form of dismissive defiance expressed through retreat and withdrawal (V. Braithwaite, 2009a, 2013).

One way that the Sudanese community can challenge the social control of Australian regulating authorities is through expression of defiance. As postulated by Braithwaite (2013) by placing social distance between self and other, people create subcultures that empower them to safely express dissent. The Sudanese community felt threatened and offended by the power of government authorities and its intervention in the private spheres of their family lives. In addition they felt threatened by the potential erosion of qualities that are important for individual's self-identity and self-worth. By placing social distance between themselves and government departments and authorities and claiming that government officials were disrespectful of their cultural norms and values, they felt more secure in their position of defiance. Institutional and individual level responses to the sense of disrespect in the community will be discussed in Chapter 10.

This section considered a range of selected theories contributing to our understanding of psychological responses in the context of acculturation. A main focus of this section was responses from people to protect themselves from perceived and real attacks to their identity from authorities. This understanding of the diversity and complexity of how people make sense and respond to regulation has important implications for improving compliance and a sense of fairness of intervention from authorities.

Regulatory institutions and managing compliance is the main focus of the last body of research in this chapter.

6.4 Understanding and managing compliance: responses to resettlement at an institutional level

From the perspective of government agencies and authorities, resettlement is adapting to a whole new micro regulatory system. Thus the subject matter of the third section of this chapter is regulatory institutions and theories, and managing compliance. A particular focus of this section is the complexity of predicting how people from different cultural backgrounds will respond to regulatory intervention. But before I can examine the dynamics between members of the South Sudanese community and Australian government organisations and authorities I need to describe the main features of government bureaucracy.

6.4.1 Main features of government departments and authorities

In his paper on humanising modern government, Gary Sturges identified eight distinctive features of bureaucracy.⁵⁸ The features I will focus on are systemisation, technocracy, impersonality, and equity, uniformity and universalism.

6.4.1.1 System over the person

How did the system become more important than the person? With the building of large organisations where large numbers of workers engage in complex interconnected tasks, it was more efficient to embed human knowledge and intelligence in the structures and processes. This resulted in the ‘separation of thinking and doing, and the imposition of policies and procedures’ (Sturges, 2001, p. 191).

The need for systems and processes in large government organisations is obvious for reasons of task completion. And indeed the issue is not the existence of systems and processes, but

⁵⁸ Systemisation; specialisation; tight coupling; hierarchy; professionalism; impersonality; equity, uniformity and universalism; and accountability (Sturges, 2001).

rather that they often make no sense from the citizen's point of view. Additionally, workers frequently are accountable for following rules which are nonsensical to the public, instead of being accountable for results with public meaning. As I demonstrate in the next four chapters, not understanding the meaningfulness of the Australian 'system' and processes was a recurring theme among participants. Not seeing the rationale and purpose of the activities of government organisations, such as care and protection services, contributed importantly to questioning the legitimacy of these agencies and their interventions, and ultimately leading to perceptions of being treated disrespectfully.

6.4.1.2 Technocracy over co-production

Devising policy that takes into account the complexity of modern society requires the input of experts and professionals. This concentration on the views of elites however is disempowering of the public and alienating for them. Additionally, some services and regulations are delivered more effectively when users are involved in the co-production. We know from the work of Tom Tyler that people value the process of participation as much as the outcome (Tyler, 2008). Also, in the process of resolving some social problems the active involvement of the target group is essential (Sturges, 2001).

Lack of meaningful dialogue from a broad range of government and non-government organisations working with the community is a dominant theme among community members especially in the care and protection context. People in the community do not understand why organisations have refused their repeated requests to work more closely with parents and community elders to find durable solutions to family conflict and violence. Despite their diminishing authority, community leaders are still influential in the South Sudanese Australian community. Yet government agencies and service providers have often refused to acknowledge and support their role. In Chapter 8 I explore in some detail how methods of working with communities, focusing on engaging with community members and their concerns can throw up new challenges to organisations working with the community.

6.4.1.3 Impersonality versus indifference

The next feature, and one that clients tend to complain about a lot, is the impersonality of public service departments. The intent is to elevate public administration above patronage and favouritism—undoubtedly a positive feature. Most of us value the ideal that like cases should be treated alike, with professionals unaffected by personal considerations and gains (Sturgess, 2001). The issue is, when systems, technocracy and impersonality are added together they are experienced as indifference. One of the main sources of the sense of disrespect in the Sudanese Australian community is their experience of indifference from the Australian Government and government agencies to their settlement challenges and well-being.

6.4.1.4 Equity, uniformity and universalism versus inflexibility

The values of equity, uniformity and universalism are closely associated with the ideal of equality before the law. In the regulatory context, inconsistency may mean arbitrariness in the way people are treated or systematic discrimination against particular groups (V. Braithwaite, 2010). But the other side of uniformity and universalism is inflexibility. That is, discretion and flexibility to account for personal and contextual elements of cases are taken away from workers. This often leads to frustration, disappointment and at times poor outcomes (Sturgess, 2001). As I argue later, the universal application of the merit-based selection systems without some targeting within them for disadvantaged groups, such as humanitarian migrants, has led to structural exclusion of the South Sudanese community from the labour market.

In summary, many of the features that frustrate Sudanese Australians and other clients most about government departments and authorities are the same features that make them robust and stable.

6.4.1.5 Individuals as abstract segments of human behaviour

Additionally, the interactions of regulatory authorities often have a personal impact on people's lives. By delivering government policy, they make decisions about people that affect their life chances. These interactions also affect the relationship of others to that

person as well the person's self-evaluation. Public service workers who interact directly with citizens in the course of their jobs are especially likely to have an impact on people's lives, as they tend to socialise clients to expectations of government services and a place in the community (Lipsky, 1980).

Clients of government organisations and authorities rightly expect that they will get a sympathetic hearing from someone they have direct contact with. The Sudanese community expected fair and effective treatment from care and protection officers or settlement service delivery workers. Yet for government workers, while clients are important, they are not the primary reference when it comes to defining roles. Rather, it is professionally related standards (Lipsky, 1980). Additionally, government workers are constrained in their capacity by the features described above. They often have to deliver to culturally diverse clients with inadequate personal resources (such as lack of understanding of cultural specificities) even when that inadequacy is attributable to the complexity of their job and lack of adequate training, rather than personal failure. Thus clients can find themselves being shuffled and categorised, which can be an upsetting experience.

Members of the South Sudanese community came to government agencies and departments as unique individuals, but they were processed as clients and were assigned into categories for treatment. This is not unique to the Sudanese populations. That is, government institutions, by their nature, tend to exclude the very element of the individual. They are driven by processes to deal with abstract segments of human behaviour. The focus is on managing the issues these human behaviours present to the policy and delivery objectives of the organisation. But what became particularly damaging in the case of the South Sudanese community is the failure of government institutions to account for the unique needs of the community as a category. For example, educational institutions were aware that most Sudanese children and young people have had highly disrupted education histories and lack the human and financial resources available to other students. Yet these institutions have failed to revise their education delivery to account for the relatively low skill level, lack of formal learning experience, and different learning styles of their students.

Another main issue within the context of the individual and bureaucracy is the inherent contradiction between delivering services to and by people, invoking concepts of care; yet delivering services through bureaucracies, rousing concepts of detachment, systemisation and other constraints making care conditional (Lipsky, 1980). The contradiction was particularly distressing to the Sudanese Australian community not yet socialised to modes of delivery and conduct of government services and their roles within the Australian society, including Australian families.

Next I introduce some particularly relevant theories explaining the dynamics between members of the South Sudanese community and Australian regulatory organisations and authorities.

6.4.2 Regulation and culture

A recurring criticism among the Sudanese community that emerged through my fieldwork is the lack of acknowledgment and understanding of their heritage culture among service providers and government authorities. Using the work of Errol Meidinger, this section will explore how cultures play a significant role in relationships between government institutions and their clients. An important element in Meidinger's influential work on regulation and regulatory behaviour is cultural differences and diversity. In his work, Meidinger introduced the idea of the regulatory community, comprising different cultures, sometimes competing and sometimes cooperating. He argued that '[r]egulatory behavior is not reducible to existing order or rules' and claimed that a lot was happening outside the agency of the regulator (Meidinger, 1987, p. 376).

Referring to the definition of Howard Becker (1982), Meidinger also considered culture as a 'set of shared understandings which makes it possible for a group of people to act in concert with each other'. He proposed that culture can be either 'local or general' and '[a]ny group can have shared understandings unique to itself' (Meidinger, 1987, p. 359). The notion of local culture in this research is identified in the way that Sudanese parents had a shared origin, history and importantly, a shared understanding of the relational

rules within the family and unacceptability of outside intervention with family matters. Experiences arising from different historical experiences or from different social settings inevitably affect the meaning attached to regulatory rules. In Chapter 10 I uncover some unexpected findings on the meanings attached by some Sudanese Australians to the removal of their children by child protection authorities. At the same time, people from the South Sudanese community also have significant shared understanding with the general culture, in this instance the wider Australian community, such as the important role of parents in managing their children's behaviour. What are the cultural understandings of Sudanese families of children's safety and rights? How do Sudanese and Australian families keep children safe? Are there overlaps between the different cultural understandings? Locating these shared understandings is an important opening for regulators in the care protection space.

Thus cultures play a significant role in regulatory discourse. As multiple cultures, and actors within these cultures, meet they can create struggles and divisions. In the case of intervention from child protection authorities responding to reports of family violence, there are at least four overlapping regulatory communities. There is the broader Australian public institution. Within it are care and protection authorities, parents, and the youth of the Sudanese Australian community, each with their own regulatory culture, each with norms and values. Additionally, cultures and communities can contain considerable dissonance within themselves (Meidinger, 1987). For example, while all Sudanese parents consider obedience of children to be important, they may have different views on the level of obedience their children should observe. Thus conflicts and debates inevitably arise as these regulatory communities work out their differences and similarities.

On the other hand, actors from multiple cultures can also cooperate and create possibilities for developing new sets of shared understandings capable of solving problems. Importantly, as Meidinger (1987) explains, actors have the capacity to stimulate positive outcomes by engaging in social processes which support and respect communities and their cultures. Positive social processes characterised by respect and trust contribute importantly to the development of shared understandings. Using empirical analysis, Braithwaite argued that compliance with the law is more likely when

regulators and regulatees identified shared goals and trusted each other. Conversely non-compliance was more likely when regulatees opposed the objectives of the regulator and considered the regulator untrustworthy. The reason argued Braithwaite is that trust, respect and communication inject shared understandings and goodwill, which in turn translate into cooperation and compliance (V. Braithwaite, 1995). In Chapter 9 I explore how real dialogue between Sudanese parents and care and protection authorities could have contributed to shared understandings.

In summary, regulatory culture demonstrates the importance of different experiences, perspectives, and interpretations and they in turn importantly contribute to people's response to regulatory engagements and interventions. Through the model of Meidinger, we can see the importance of perceived respect, and of feeling included rather than neglected, among Sudanese humanitarian migrants in their new community. Furthermore, Meidinger's work calls attention to how people can take different interpretations and draw different meanings of shared experiences.

6.4.3 Responsive regulation

Similar to Meidinger's model of regulatory culture, the responsive regulation model of Ian Ayres and John Braithwaite (Ayres & Braithwaite, 1992) is much about how appropriate engagement with regulatees should lead to more cooperative attitudes and subsequent compliance with the goals of the law, rather than just the rules of the law. In their highly influential responsive regulation approach, Ayres and Braithwaite moved away from the crudely polarised conceptualisation of 'deterrence' and 'compliance' models and proposed that to be effective, efficient and legitimate, regulators should combine deterrent and cooperative regulatory enforcement strategies. At the heart of the model is the recognition that people have different motivations for complying or not complying with the law, and that the same person can have multiple motivations for compliance, later referred to by Braithwaite as 'multiple selves' (J. Braithwaite, 2002, p. 41). In their well-known regulatory pyramid model, Ayres and Braithwaite's enforcement strategies are arranged in a hierarchy with more cooperative strategies deployed at the base of the pyramid and progressively more punitive approaches utilised

only when cooperative strategies fail. Regulators should generally start enforcement from the presumption of cooperation to start as many 'positive spirals' of responses as possible. Further, regulatees demonstrating willingness and ability to repair prior harm and to reform themselves and come into compliance should be rewarded with less intense enforcement. However, those consistently failing to make genuine efforts to meet required standards should meet tough enforcement.

The theory claims that this escalation and de-escalation of enforcement activities in response to whether the regulatee cooperates or not supports compliance in the two main ways of normative appeals and legitimacy. That is, '[B]y resorting to more dominating, less respectful forms of social control only when more dialogic forms have been tried first, coercive control comes to be seen as more legitimate' (J. Braithwaite, 2002, p. 33). Also, the application of the pyramid of enforcement strategies makes it rational to voluntarily comply rather than to resist when the regulator otherwise will escalate to harsher enforcement. That is, once in a dialogue of negotiation with regulators, people can bring to the fore their better selves (of their multiple selves) through social and normative appeals.

An important element of responsive regulation and the regulatory pyramid model is people's response at the different levels of the pyramid. At the lower level of the pyramid where regulatory efforts typically involve non-invasive methods with the focus on education and persuasion, people feel the least threatened. But as one moves up to higher levels, the intrusion and demands placed on people become greater and the tension between regulators and regulatees increases. The increase in tension can lead to a social distancing between authorities and those they wish to regulate, or in some cases a breakdown in relationships (V. Braithwaite, 2003, 2009a). Another response as enforcement pressure increases is feelings of being victimised or oppressed by authorities, leading to subsequent resistance (Ayres & Braithwaite, 1992). In Chapter 9 I demonstrate how the use of non-invasive methods by care and protection authorities focusing on education and skills among Sudanese parents could have supported the development of approved practices of parenting and would have accommodated the development of dialogue and negotiation between parents and authorities. Instead highly escalated intervention from care and protection authorities, without trying less

threatening and more respectful forms of social control at first, has led to a sense of being victimised and treated unfairly by authorities. Some parents in the community responded by socially distancing themselves from authorities.

Braithwaite identified a number of elements which are critical to implementation of responsive regulation, including constant dialogue and systematic, fairly directed and fully explained disapproval, respect for regulatees, and legitimacy of regulators (J. Braithwaite, 2002). However, actions which are deemed to be fair and legitimate by regulators are not always perceived in the same light by regulatees. Perceived legitimacy of government intervention was a recurring theme in the Sudanese community, with some people in the community questioning the legitimacy and integrity of care and protection authorities and their actions. But what do members of the community refer to when they question the legitimacy of government authorities acting on their power granted by law? The next section will explore the important topic of institutional legitimacy with particular focus on perceived legitimacy.

6.4.4 Regulatory institutions and institutional legitimacy

The literature on institutional legitimacy distinguishes two main types of legitimacy. One is institutional power authorised by law to exercise control in order to shape people's behaviour. Such institutional power is the reality of social life and is widely accepted (Reus-Smit, 2007). The second type of institutional legitimacy is perceived legitimacy. Of late, perceived legitimacy has been recognised as more important for influencing behaviour in a range of fields, such as the activities of regulatory authorities (Ayres & Braithwaite, 1992; V. Braithwaite, 2009a; Murphy, 2005), procedural justice (Tyler, 2006b; Tyler & Blader, 2003), groups and organisational settings (Suchman, 1995; Tyler & Blader, 2005), and the public policy and the political arena (J. L. Gibson, Caldeira, & Spence, 2003, 2005). This type of legitimacy is granted when people perceive that the authority exercising power is upholding or furthering the prized values and goals of the society. A common thread in this research is that while legitimacy built on institutional power provides a means to shape the behaviour of people on its own,

legitimacy built on the perception that the authority is appropriate, proper and just is also necessary in order to attract cooperation from people (Tyler, 2006a).

So why does legitimacy matter? The possession and overt use of power by institutions to create and maintain influence over people can be costly and limited in its effectiveness. A more effective way of shaping people's behaviour is by seeking their cooperation and voluntary compliance (Tyler, 2008). An extensive review of the psychological literature by Tom Tyler (1997) found perceptions of legitimacy to be a central element in shaping the voluntary behaviour of groups' members. Such cooperation and voluntary behaviour is also essential to the effectiveness of authorities. As explained by Tyler 'because of legitimacy people feel that they ought to defer to decisions and rules following them voluntarily out of obligation rather than out of fear of punishment' (Tyler, 2006a, p. 375). In other words, their cooperation with the authority will increase. This sense of legitimacy also supports regulators when using powers of coercion as people are more likely to defer to and accept the authority and the actions it may impose for non-compliance (V. Braithwaite, 2009a).

There are other positive up-shots for authorities that come into play as a result of perceived legitimacy. Typically authorities are called on to make decisions and act in difficult situations in which the decision they deliver inevitably will have negative outcomes for some people. When authorities are seen as legitimate they do not need to justify and fight for every decision they make (Tyler, 2006a). Thus managing relationships and utilising the unique values and identities of divergent groups requires government institutions that have legitimacy. But while often invoked, the legitimacy of authorities and organisations is less often defined (Terreberry, 1968). To address this problem, I will consider the work of Mark Suchman on organisational legitimacy.

Suchman defines legitimacy as a 'generalized perception or assumption that the actions of an entity are desirable, proper, or appropriate with some socially constructed system of norms, values, beliefs, and definitions' (Suchman, 1995, p. 574). Thus the legitimacy of authorities and organisations depends on the degree to which people believe that such organisations act in ways that are proper and appropriate within their socially constructed system of norms and values. Or as Suchman put it, the legitimacy of

organisations is 'possessed objectively, yet created subjectively' (Suchman, 1995, p. 574).

Based on a large bank of literature on organisational psychology, Suchman (1995) identifies three primary forms⁵⁹ of organisational legitimacy: pragmatic, moral and cognitive. While all three types of legitimacy involve the generalised assumption that the activities of the organisation are proper and appropriate (within the shared values of a social group), they rest on different behavioural dynamics. Pragmatic legitimacy rests on self-interested scrutiny aimed at evaluating the practical consequences that the actions and behaviours of an organisation have on its audience and clients.

Moral legitimacy is a normative evaluation of an organisation and rests on a judgement of whether the activities of the organisation are right or just. Such a judgement usually reflects beliefs about whether the activities 'promote societal welfare, as defined by the audience's socially constructed value system' (Suchman, 1995, p. 579). While such an evaluation is not always interest-free, the core of social legitimacy reflects a pro-social logic, instead of narrow self-interest. The criteria on which moral legitimacy are generally evaluated include what is accomplished, the techniques and procedures used, and the extent to which institutional actors progress collectively valued purposes.

Cognitive legitimacy is based on taken-for-grantedness⁶⁰ (generally beyond the reach of most organisations) and comprehensibility. Comprehensibility refers to the extent to which the activity of the organisation is predictable, meaningful and purposeful. These perceptions often stem from existing cultural models that provide plausible rationalisations for the organisation and its actions. In Chapter 10 examine the extent of legitimacy assigned by members of the South Sudanese community to Australian government agencies, especially care and protection authorities.

⁵⁹ In most real life situations these three types of legitimacy coexist and interact.

⁶⁰ When it is unthinkable that things could be otherwise (Zucker, 1983).

All three major theories presented in this last section emphasise the understanding and awareness of regulatory relationships, recognition of the diversity of the regulatory community, and how people make sense of their encounters and relationships with regulatory authorities. The section demonstrated that regulatory interventions are not judged on face value alone; rather people try to make sense of these interventions and they will attach meaning to their observations and experiences. Depending on the meaning South Sudanese attach to their regulatory encounters, their perceptions of being treated respectfully will be affected.

6.5 Summary

This chapter considered theoretical interpretations of the adaptation and adjustment process of immigrants to their new environment and the strong sense of disrespect among Sudanese Australians. Acculturation theories recognise the difficulties immigrant groups have in resettlement and identify factors associated with how successful resettlement will be. These factors include capacities of migrants, the culture gap between country of origin and host country, the opportunities and assistance offered by the host country, and tolerance for cultural diversity. But acculturation theories do not provide direct links to experiences of disrespect and how they come about. To explain why individuals experience disrespect as they try to adapt and adjust to their new home, and why institutions fail in countering feelings of disrespect, at times aggravating existing problems, I considered the theories of cultural goals and structural opportunities, theories of self-worth, and theories of how government, and regulators, engage with immigrants. These theories provide a deeper analysis of issues raised by the acculturation theories. Each theoretical approach has varying applicability to exclusion from employment and interference in family life, identified in the previous chapter as the main domains where disrespect is experienced at the hands of Australian Government and its institutions. These theories will contribute to my analysis of the resettlement process of Sudan-born humanitarian immigrants, their strong sense of disrespect, and their relationship with Australian government agencies and authorities.

Australian government institutions and authorities provide an important framework for the incorporation of humanitarian immigrants. At a practical level, many newly arrived migrants learn about Australian society, norms, education and other institutions and Australian law through government administered and/or funded social service centres and programs. At a more general level, immigrants are expected to partake in the reciprocal social and economic relationship between the state and its citizens.

The next three chapters look at and analyse each of the three main themes of disrespect identified by participants. In these analyses I demonstrate that social structures and organisational procedures that are deemed to be fair and just by the government and its organisations, are not always experienced in the same light by humanitarian immigrants. In fact, disrespect that comes from the government and is systemic in governance arrangements in Australia affected Sudanese Australians the most. They felt affronted by the government's failure to value their achievements and potential contribution to their new country and frustrated by not being given real opportunities to reclaim achieved respect. At the same time their status to be recognised and respected within their families was attacked by interventions from government authorities. Revoking their status respect within their families and communities is particularly injurious to migrant communities. Thus ritualistic applications of approved procedures by the government and its authorities provide a limited sense of respect for humanitarian migrants. Rather, procedures and their delivery should ensure real opportunities for migrants to engage in a dialogue with the government and its authorities to the point where they see some room to influence policies and interventions.

Chapter 7 – Social and economic exclusion of the South Sudanese community

Chapter 5 identified the three main themes of perceived disrespect in the Sudanese community. This chapter unpacks the first main theme—the community’s claim of economic and social exclusion. Two main sections make up this chapter. In the first section, I illustrate that although most members of the community saw education and employment as the main pathway to inclusion in their new country, their desire for economic inclusion remained unmet. I look at each of the reasons identified by participants for not being able to attain employment. These reasons tend to fall under two main categories: those related to individual attributes, such as participants’ skills and language proficiency; and those related to what Merton (1968) called structural means to access goals, such as access to skill development or fair recruitment practices. I explore the claim made by participants that while individual attributes, such as their English proficiency, is a considerable barrier to their economic participation, what they are more concerned about is structural barriers which they do not know how to overcome. Relying on the narratives of participants, I identify two main approaches that would reduce their systemic exclusion from the labour force. One is critically appraising the extent to which current structural means provide for substantially, rather than just formally, equal access to migrant communities. The other approach is by extending existing human and social capital among humanitarian migrants so that they are better positioned to access and utilise pathways to employment. Finally, I put forward the proposition that giving respect to humanitarian migrant communities goes beyond that of giving rights to access social institutions and services. It also requires removing structural barriers that limit them from exercising these rights.

The second section of this chapter explores in detail the impact of economic marginalisation of the Sudanese community from the broader society. I explore the associated personal and social costs identified by participants. A strong theme in the narratives is the sense of being robbed of their self-respect and their dignity, and respect in the social groups of their families and their communities.

7.1 Inclusion in the new society

We want the opportunity to contribute to this society. We do not want to stay refugees relying on service providers forever. (Public request to Joy Burch, Member of the ACT Legislative Assembly at the 1st anniversary celebration of South Sudan's independence, 21 July 2012, Canberra.)

Like most South Sudanese Australians, participants in this study did not leave their homeland voluntarily, nor did they do so with aspirations of becoming Western middle-class citizens. They fled from violence, war, persecution, or death. Nevertheless they all had hopes that they would feel included in their new country. For some participants these hopes included re-establishing their life before the war. But for most participants it also meant strong desires and expectations to connect with the economic, social, cultural and political life of Australia. As expressed by a young South Sudanese student at a breakfast function at the University of Canberra during Refugee Week, 2012: 'When you come to Australia you find yourself in a huge intellectual community and you want to become part of it'.

Most members of the community saw education and employment as the main pathway to inclusion in their new country, as well as the pathway to regain their lost dignity, humanity and respect, not just for themselves, but for their community. These expectations, however, did not turn into reality. In 2011 the unemployment rate among the Sudanese-born population was almost six times the average of the overall population (Lucas, et al., 2013). Further, when employed, they are often underemployed and/or clustered in low occupational status immigrant employment niches (Department of Immigration and Citizenship, 2009). Educational and professional ambitions remained unfulfilled too. While in recent years there have been a considerable number

of South Sudanese graduates from Australian universities, most are unable to gain professional employment. There is a general sense in the community that their desire and efforts towards economic and social participation are not supported by government institutions and employers.

In the next section, I demonstrate the importance of employment and education as pathways to inclusion, and explore in detail the main reasons identified by the community for their underemployment. I argue that structural barriers are a real and significant obstacle to the economic participation of Sudanese Australians. Higher level engagement from the Australian Government to remove or moderate structural barriers would improve the participation of humanitarian migrants in Australian educational institutions and the labour market.

7.1.1 Employment and education: the pathway to inclusion

Stable employment is an important pathway to economic and social inclusion and the settlement of refugees. It provides an income and sense of security, and enables the development of social networks and cultural skills, vital for integration. In fact, stable employment and income is at the top of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees list of essential indicators of successful resettlement (UNHCR, 2004b). Employment and economic participation has a number of economic and social benefits for the receiving country as well (Kyle, MacDonald, Doughney, & Pyke, 2004).

All male participants in this study saw employment as necessary to feeling that they are part of their new country. Below are some examples of the most poignant statements about the relationship between employment and integration and a sense of belonging in their new country.

Settlement means work. (Male participant)

Employment is the best and the quickest way to integrate. (Young male participant)

Female participants with children were not looking for employment, but those without children viewed employment as an important aspect of their life.⁶¹ Younger, still unmarried female participants were highly motivated to work and many of them held casual or part-time employment in the hospitality or retail industry. More mature unpartnered women with older children were also looking for part-time employment. The participant below saw employment in terms of overcoming homesickness. She explained that if she worked she would be more engaged with aspects of her life located in Australia, such as her job and the people she works with, rather than aspects of her life located in Sudan, such as her extended family members and their activities. She felt that currently she does not have enough activities in her life to connect her with the larger Australian community, even though she has lived in Australia for eight years.

When you are working you are not homesick. (Female participant)

Employment as a means to establish links with people outside of the Sudanese community was identified by many other participants. As one participant explained below, their current exclusion from the labour market is a major barrier to connecting with the wider society and integrating into their new country.

It is very hard for us to get a job, especially professional jobs, and it is very hard for us to connect to the wider society this way. (Young male participant)

Employment was also seen as the dominant pathway to economic security. An obvious consequence of high levels of unemployment and underemployment in the South Sudanese community is economic hardship. In 2011 the average weekly income of a Sudanese-born individual was less than half (\$294) of that of an Australian-born person (\$597) (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2011a). Employment and economic stability also provides the means for starting a family—an important desire within the Sudanese community. For most young South Sudanese men their capacity to marry strongly hinged on employment, as payment of bridewealth is still a dominant practice in South

⁶¹ Career development and related self-identity among young Sudanese women will be explored further in Section 7.2.4 on cultural transition and identity construction.

Sudanese communities, including those in Australia.⁶² For example, one of the male respondents in his thirties was extremely happy to inform me that he obtained an employment contract on the morning of our interview. As he explained to me, his employment will provide him the required financial resources to marry at last.

I got a job today. When I start a job and I will have the money, I will be able to marry. (Young male participant)

Constrained employment opportunities within the community have a different impact on young women. Limited opportunities for the economic advancement of families may strengthen the reliance of many South Sudanese parents on their daughters' dowries. Such a dominant dependence on bridewealth in the community can lead to the mistreatment of women both by parents before marriage and by their future husband.

Additionally, participants saw employment as an important mechanism to restore their dignity and self-esteem, a connection to be explored in detail in the second main section of this chapter. Next, I will look at underemployment and the relatively low educational attainment in the community and the main reasons identified by the community for these trends. I will present and explore the claim made by participants that the key to reversing their current economic exclusion is as much in the hands of employers and the government as their own.

7.1.2 Underemployment: skills deficiency or structural exclusion

Despite expecting and desiring economic participation, the South Sudanese community's labour force participation is one of the lowest in Australia. The 2011 Census shows that the unemployment rate among the Sudanese-born population was 29.9 % (Lucas, et al., 2013), compared to 5.2% of the overall population (Australian

⁶² While in Sudan the bridewealth is often a collective contribution from the groom and his close male relatives, in Australia where most young men do not have external family support, young men often have to come up with the full bridewealth, usually between \$20,000 to \$40,000, by themselves.

Bureau of Statistics, 2012). Unemployment and underemployment among youth are equally high. A recent study of refugee youth, with a large proportion born in Southern Sudan, found that just under half (46%) of the respondents were unemployed, and among those who were employed, 39% were working less than 30 hours per week (Correa-Velez & Onsando, 2009).

Participants in the current research identified English proficiency, lack of knowledge of the local employment context, inadequate employment services, discrimination from employers, Australian recruitment practices, and lack of support from government as the main reasons for not being able to attain employment.⁶³

7.1.2.1 Skills and English proficiency

Proficiency in English is an important predictor of employment in Australia. For example, analysis of Census data shows that poor English speakers were disproportionately represented among the unemployed (Bureau of Immigration Multicultural and Population Research, 1996). Yet English proficiency in the community is relatively low with 8.9% of males and 23.6% of females either not speaking English well or not at all (Lucas, et al., 2013).

Proficiency in English is also instrumental for social, cultural and political inclusion as well as defining one's position within the social structure of society. Bourdieu suggests that it is through language that individuals exercise their power to participate in civic life and engage with the rest of the society (Bourdieu, 1991). A recurring theme through the upcoming chapters is the inability among Sudanese Australians to act on their concerns and grievances. Many, especially older and less educated members of the community do not have the skills required in the 'social world' of Australian government and social institutions, to 'act' in those social worlds (Bourdieu, 1991, p.

⁶³ A recent review of 50 Australian and international studies on employment among newly emerging African communities identified the same reasons as well as pre- and post-migration trauma and rejection of previous qualifications (Abdelkerim & Grace, 2012).

127). While they feel that some Australian institutionalised practices are biased against them, their economic and linguistic disadvantage impedes them from influencing, or expressing resistance to those practices.

All participants in the current study identified the need to have a good command of the English language in order to be able to participate in the economic and social life of Australia. Below is an example of one participant summarising in a single statement how crucial English proficiency is for the community in terms of their resettlement outcomes.

English is an important thing in here for you. It [lack of English] can block all your chances for progress. (Young male participant)

Another participant has been more reflective and nuanced in his comment, observing that English proficiency is important not only to ensure that he can be functional in his exchanges with the rest of the society; it is also a marker of one's 'background'. As he explains in his narrative below, employers make a judgment on the employee's English or non-English background and thus their subsequent ability to perform on the job.

For example, I applied for a couple of jobs, jobs that I think I knew how to do, but I didn't get them because the employer was not convinced that I can do them, because of my background. I might have the qualification on paper, but my qualification is not going to give me the job. But if they think that because of my non-English background I may not be able to do it, than they will judge me wrongly. (Male participant)

The reliance of employers on subjectively-defined cultural competencies to select potential employees will be discussed further in the section on discrimination from employers. At this point the aim was to demonstrate the awareness in the Sudanese Australian community of the importance of proficiency in English.

The Australian Government also views proficiency in English as one of the most important indicators of integration and resettlement (Department of Immigration and Citizenship, 2006b). Yet the current provision and support for immigrants to learn the language of their new country falls short in reflecting the importance assigned to it. All participants, including community workers, believed that the current provision of the

Adult Migrant English Program (AMEP), which delivers up to 510 hours of basic English tuition, is grossly inadequate for adult immigrants with very little or no previous experience in formal education to learn a new and complex language. As a Sudanese community worker of a non-government funded organisation delivering English tuition explained, some of the Sudanese women learnt very little in their AMEP training. As evidenced by her observation below, programs delivered by AMEP have failed to appreciate the relatively low skill level, formal learning experience and the different learning styles of their students.

They've been to English classes, the CIT classes, for 510 hours without learning A, B and C. They managed to teach them nothing. And I don't blame them. Many of us are coming from a village where only one per cent of the women went to school. Just learning to hold a pen took time. But now they know how to hold a pen and write their name and addresses. (Female Sudanese community worker)

Participant observations that the current provision of English training is inadequate is supported by studies in areas of language acquisition showing that the process of acquiring a new language requires seven to 11 years (Thomas & Collier, 2002). The process is likely to take even longer for adult immigrants, many of whom came from oral traditions where a written language is not learnt. They may be illiterate or have few literacy skills, despite the fact that many may speak several languages. Clearly, current programs supporting the acquisition of English language among humanitarian migrants have failed to achieve their desired aim of providing adequate pathways towards integration. In most instances on completion of these programs most participants do not have sufficient language skills to adequately connect with social and economic institutions and the broader community.

7.1.2.2 Knowledge of the local employment context

Another challenge for obtaining employment identified by participants is the lack of informal extended networks, which often facilitate job-search for more established communities.

As you know getting opportunity is based on who you know, not what you know. It is like that not just in Australia, but all around the world. Get connections with people and that way you can get something. And that's the problem for our community; we don't have that connection where you can easily access employment opportunities. (Male participant)

Similar concerns were raised in a Melbourne-based study in which participants from the Horn of Africa and Sudan raised their concern of not understanding either the job market in Melbourne, nor how their Australian friends seem to get employment through social networks that appear to be 'underground' and 'invisible' to African Australians (Dhanji, 2009). Similarly, a Perth-based study of former refugees, employers, and recruitment agents provided quantitative evidence of the significantly lower use of family and other looser networks to find or secure a job among African groups compared to other refugee groups (Tilbury & Colic-Peisker, 2007).

The importance of weak ties of acquaintanceship and informational flows in searching for and obtaining a job is well established in the well-recognised work of Mark Granovetter (1983). His research demonstrated that work-related ties are of a distinctive form; although they are weaker than the ties connecting people to friends and family, they connect people to a multitude of outside worlds, providing a bridge to new work-related networks. It is these weak ties, beyond family and friends, which provide the capacity to be more successful at searching for and obtaining employment.

Informal ethnic assistance of previously arrived compatriots is also an important support mechanism for refugees by way of helping find employment. However, the Sudanese community of Australia was negligible until the mass arrival of Southern Sudanese-born refugees (Lucas, et al., 2011), and did not have the economic and social resources to support newcomers. Most Sudanese refugees arrived in Australia between 2003 and 2007 and initially shared feelings of unfamiliarity with Australian norms and values, including the Australian job market.

While providing connections and social networks could importantly improve employment outcomes for Sudanese job seekers, it is presently unaddressed. Currently, employment service providers fail to act on this evident need, as they see their role as 'expert mediators' between the unemployed and potential employers, and providing

training to job seekers (Tilbury & Colic-Peisker, 2007). As suggested by a community worker whose previous job was in the employment services industry, employment services were either unaware of the needs of their humanitarian migrant clients, or were unable to deliver solutions within their current operational protocols.

The Job Network is just not personalised enough to be effective. (Non-Sudanese community worker)

While the current research did not explore the details of the engagement between participants and employment service providers, a submission by the Refugee Council of Australia (2008) to the general review of employment services reported that the refugees they consulted were highly critical of their experience using the services of Job Networks. Their main criticism included a lack of understanding and appreciation of the particular needs of refugee clients, including the understanding of the refugee experience of broken work history, lack of formal qualifications, and health problems that can impact on their efforts to gain employment (Refugee Council of Australia, 2008). In summary, participants had limited access to formal and informal pathways to connect with potential employers.

7.1.2.3 Discrimination from employers

The issue that concerned participants the most in relation to unemployment is the large proportion of graduates in their community with a qualification from Australian universities who cannot find employment. It was a big shock and disappointment for the many young men in the community who, despite all the disadvantages, had sustained their efforts to complete their graduate studies. One of the main mottos in the African community is ‘the colour of your paper is the same’—in other words, once you hold a qualification from an Australian educational institute they cannot discriminate against you in the job market because of your colour. To their disappointment they found that despite their perseverance and qualifications from Australian educational institutions they still could not obtain professional employment. As described in the first quote below, despite their qualifications many young Sudanese graduates tend to work in factories or in the cleaning industry. Some of the participants believed that their

inability to obtain professional employment was linked to their appearance; that is, being black African. The owner of the second quote below explained his personal experience. He had just completed his graduate studies in economics from an Australian university and also had Australian work experience in a related field. He applied for many jobs, and in most cases he was asked for an interview. However, he has not been successful at those interviews. When he queried his lack of success, potential employers told him that the job was given to other applicants who were better suited to the job. This participant has an English sounding name and his job application gave no indication that he is of Sudanese origin. After so many unsuccessful interviews he concluded that employers discriminate against him because he is black. Further down in this section I will present evidence from a recent Australian study on discriminatory recruitment among employers, based not on the colour of employees, but on what might be called cultural proficiency.

Most of our employment now is in factory work. The Sudanese now, they are doing factory work, even though they've got skills. They are trying hard to get into the education system so that they can get a better job. But most of them, even though they completed their degree in Australia, they are not yet getting employment. So they finish and then they go to the factory. (Male Sudanese community worker)

You are trying your best at looking for jobs and applying and when they see you they just say, 'oh sorry the job has been taken'. So many times, that's what happens. (Young male participant)

Our graduates are not being able to get a job; it is the same all over the country and there is mixed feelings of how come they can't get a job. So yes it is true that we are facing discrimination, but it is not done in a way that you can prove that it - it is done in a very clever way. (Male Sudanese community leader)

The above narratives speak strongly of the disappointment among participants and their concerns about discrimination. Many other participants expressed similar concerns and referred to the phenomenon as 'hidden prejudice' or 'hidden racism'. This strong sense of discrimination in Australian workplaces, especially in terms of recruitment, by the African community has also been reported in many other Australian studies (for example, Abdelkerim & Grace, 2012; Correa-Velez & Onsando, 2009; Dhanji, 2009; Gebre-Selassie, 2008; Tilbury & Colic-Peisker, 2007).

Members of the African community were not the only ones identifying discrimination in the labour market. In 2008, the then Finance Minister, Lindsay Tanner, raised at numerous public forums his concern of the underemployment of African-Australian refugees or their employment in the lower echelons of the labour market. Minister Tanner noted that while this is a relatively established trend among immigrants to Australia, especially those from a refugee background, there is a new dimension to the problem; a large proportion of African-Australians with high-level qualifications from Australian universities who cannot find jobs. Minister Tanner thought that it was an example of discrimination.

Professional employment opportunities are still heavily influenced by the informal connections of familiarity that attach to people who are well integrated into our society. Outsiders are subtly excluded by a complex web of invisible barriers. (Tanner, 2008)

Additionally, a recent comprehensive evaluation by Graeme Hugo (2011) of the labour market experience of humanitarian immigrants found quantitative evidence of discrimination in the Australian labour market. The report found that unemployment and downward mobility or de-skilling was higher among humanitarian migrants than among the Australian-born or other visa categories of immigrants. While there was evidence of a significant change in this trend with length of residence in Australia and between generations, this overall improvement does not apply to all groups. Some groups, such as those from Africa, continue to experience higher levels of unemployment even after a considerable length of residence. Hugo concluded that even after ‘controlling for a range of factors such as language and education, a “refugee gap” remains’ and ‘discrimination in the labour market is still in evidence’ (Hugo, 2011, p. xxiv).

However, employers reject the notion of discriminatory recruitment practices. The Perth-based study by Colic-Peisker and Tilbury described how the employers they interviewed were either not aware of discriminatory practices in Australian workplaces or did not accept responsibility for it. Some employers advised that refugees, including skilled refugees, did not have job-relevant characteristics including communication abilities, or ‘cultural knowledge’, or that they would not ‘fit in’ with other staff. This

was often stated as a ‘soft skill’ related to ‘Australian-ness’. The authors concluded that for employers ‘cultural difference is seen as a legitimate reason for exclusion from the job market’ (Tilbury & Colic-Peisker, 2007, p. 123). In other words, subjectively-defined concepts of ‘Australian-ness’ by employees have become a basis for giving or denying the opportunity for Sudanese and other humanitarian migrants to economically integrate into their new country.

What emerged from the interviews and related literature presented in this section is evidence of discrimination in the labour market. But despite the evidence, there is little acknowledgement of discrimination against humanitarian migrants in the labour market as it is widely believed that the range of Australian anti-discrimination laws in Australian workplaces, including merit-based selection practices, give equal rights and access to all. In the next section I will explore the extent to which this widely held belief holds true for humanitarian migrant communities.

7.1.2.4 Structural barriers

A main barrier preventing South Sudanese job seekers in gaining employment, especially professional employment, is getting the necessary work experience—an important criterion in selection procedures for employment.

So where can they get experience? The employers want someone with experience. We have the qualification, but we don't have this experience. Where can we get it? It is hard. (Male participant)

As explained in the quote above by a participant who was about to complete his post-graduate studies at an Australian university, lack of opportunity to gain relevant work experience prevents South Sudanese jobseekers from competing with other applicants in the labour market. Although there are a few small-scale, state government or private enterprise-based initiatives (for examples see Box 7.1 below), there is not a Federal Government policy or initiative for providing opportunities for humanitarian immigrants to improve their skills, gain experience and develop the necessary informal networks. But unless an opportunity to gain experience and develop networks is given, unemployment becomes self-perpetuating. Subsequently, some of the study participants

have argued against the fairness of the universal application of merit-based selection systems without some targeting within them for disadvantaged groups, such as themselves.

What is the merit-based selection system, and what if anything is wrong with it? It is the standard method of selection to all Australian Public Service (APS) and most non-APS engagement. It follows an assessment based on the candidate's work-related qualities, such as skills, abilities, qualifications, relevant demonstrated experience, and personal qualities. The system, built on the principle of equal treatment, is blind to race, gender, religious or political differences.

Box 7.1: Australian and overseas examples of job placement affirmative actions

As a direct response to Lindsay Tanner's call for corporate social responsibility and support for African employment in Australia, National Australia Bank (NAB) has initiated a program providing workplace and professional training for African-Australians with accounting or business related qualifications (Farah, 2010). In partnership with Jesuit Social Services (JSS) they run the African Australian Inclusion Program, which provides six months paid workplace experience at NAB. Over 100 people have been placed in NAB at Melbourne and Sydney since the program was piloted in 2009. The aim of the program is to provide practical skills and experience in a large Australian corporation. Candidates work with a coach throughout the duration of the program, are supported in resume development and job search skills during the last months of the program and are provided with a NAB reference for future potential employers (Jesuit Social Services, 2012).

Another successful Australian program is the ACT Government's Work Experience and Support Program (WESP). The program is designed to help Canberrans from culturally and linguistically diverse backgrounds enter the workforce by providing an opportunity to improve skills and confidence, as well as develop important networks, within the ACT Public Service. WESP participants are offered four weeks of formal office skills training plus an eight-week work experience placement within the ACT Public Service. Successful graduates are also awarded with nationally recognised qualifications in Business and Government (ACT Government Community Services, 2012). According to a WESP coordinator, up to 70 % of program participants had been offered contracts within the ACT administration.

New Zealand uses affirmative action to empower migrants and refugees to improve their participation through representation. They are especially encouraged to become involved in managing settlement services and to work in government and other sectors, thus increasing their integration (Gebre-Selassie, 2008).

Another example to ensure fairness and equity is the Black African Employee Career Mentoring Project by the City of Toronto, Canada, whereby senior executives mentor black African refugees who are placed in managerial positions (Gebre-Selassie, 2008).

The principles of the merit-based selection system rest on recognition theory which emphasises equal rights, respect and esteem for the diverse identities of societies (Honneth, 1992; C. Taylor, 1992; Young, 1990). But there is variation within this school of thought regarding the extent to which it should recognise difference. While some theorists maintain that equality of opportunities requires rights to be different-blind (Barry, 2001), others, such as Young and Holtug, have argued that rights need to recognise such differences in order to give people substantially, rather than formally, equal opportunities (Holtug & Mason, 2010, p. 409).

Young distinguishes between *equal treatment* and *recognition of equal worth*. *Recognition of equal worth*, she argues, 'requires different treatment for oppressed or disadvantaged groups' (Young, 1990, p. 58). Young reasons that under *equal treatment*, group differences are reduced to 'a purely accidental and private matter' (Young, 1990, p. 157). Such a trend is indeed evident in Australian labour recruitment practices. For example, a submission by the Refugee Council of Australia to the general review of employment services reported that some refugees reported they are 'made to feel personally responsible for their disadvantage' (Refugee Council of Australia, 2008, p. 70).

But the relative disadvantage of humanitarian immigrants is not a result of personal choices under their control. As evidenced through the narrative of one of the participants below, the relative disadvantage of humanitarian immigrants comes from their refugee experiences, which include fleeing their home involuntarily, arriving in Australia with broken educational and employment histories and minimal financial resources, and finding unfamiliar recruitment practices and minimal informal networks to assist their search for jobs.

We have so many wars to fight ahead of us. We were fighting a war of becoming refugees; then we were fighting a war of proving that we are refugees; we are fighting a war of being a different colour; we are fighting a war of our accent and our grammar, and now we are fighting a war of getting a job. And we have to compete regardless of all our disadvantages. This is how this country is. So you need to be resilient and focused to get there. (Male Sudanese community leader)

Because of their status as forced migrants they are not entering the labour market on equal terms with people who grew up in Australia. Thus the merit-based selection system with its approach of equal treatment principles, fails to account for the fact that forced migrants are not on equal terms with the rest of the population. Subsequently, the merit-based selection system may indeed block the economic participation of humanitarian migrants and heighten their socio-economic disadvantage. As argued by Young, 'sometimes recognizing particular rights for groups is the only way to promote their participation' (Young, 1990, p. 11). Thus while the merit-based selection system with its approach of *equal treatment* seeks to promote non-discrimination, using Young's definition, non-discrimination should be achieved through the differential treatment of disadvantaged groups, such as humanitarian migrants.

Many of the study participants had an inherent understanding of the unfairness of the universal application of the merit-based selection system and believed that 'the government should look into these things'. When I asked participants as to what the government could do in their view, responses centered on three main themes. One is 'fixing the system'. For example, some participants argued that there should be other means available to them to demonstrate their ability to perform the job they apply for besides demonstrated experience in Australia. As discussed earlier, most humanitarian refugees have minimal work experience in Australia and opportunities to gain them are limited. Programs, specific to humanitarian migrants, to gain skills and work experience, are the second main theme identified by participants. Participants from Canberra have talked positively of the ACT Government's Work Experience and Support Program. The program, described in Box 7.1, has both skill training and work placement components. A number of Sudanese Australians have participated in the program and obtained employment as a direct result. Another successful program, described in Box 7.1, providing workplace and professional training specifically for African-Australians is the African Australian Inclusion Program, run in partnership with the National Australia Bank and the Jesuit Social Services. The aim of the six-month program is to provide practical skills and experience in a large Australian corporation while developing job search skills and professional networks. Participants asked for

more programs like these to be available to humanitarian migrants to increase their abilities to compete for jobs on equal terms with other applicants.

The third theme for improving the economic inclusion of Sudanese Australians emerging from interviews is what is, in effect, affirmative action, although participants did not use the term. Affirmative action refers to policies that take factors including race, colour, religion, sex, or national origin into consideration in order to benefit an underrepresented group in areas of employment, education, and business (Fullinwider, 2011). A few participants believed that the only way to stop the self-perpetuating unemployment among humanitarian migrants is by giving them a job. As one of the non-Sudanese community workers concluded, after describing all of the barriers humanitarian refugees face to obtain a job and the negative impact their unemployment has on their integration:

'I often thought that maybe what we should do is to actually set them up with a job if we are going to let them into the country.' (Non-Sudanese community worker)

Improving economic and social participation of specific groups through assuring their representation in workplaces and social institutions is not uncommon. While of late in Australia there is little emphasis for achieving ethnic diversity, gender diversity is a recognised target for some workplaces and institutions. For example, over half of Australia's largest companies have adopted policies for achieving gender diversity (T. Clarke & Klettner, 2013). Other countries, such as New Zealand and Canada also recognise the desirability of ethnic diversity in workplaces including in the government sectors. One of the examples from New Zealand, listed in Box 7.1, specifically targets migrants and refugees to increase their inclusion. But the benefit of recruiting immigrants, including humanitarian immigrants, to organisations would not be limited to immigrants only. Inclusion of refugees and immigrants in organisations and authorities, especially those managing and supporting settlement services, would improve the cross-cultural expertise in these organisations and better engagement with clients. As observed by Gebre-Selassie (2008) in his report to the Churchill Trust on integration strategies for migrants and refugees, the current lack of newly arrived migrants in management positions in the settlement service sector in Australia removes

the opportunity for sharing their experiences with fellow immigrants and transferring their knowledge on developing effective community associations.

The next section will look at another important pathway for resettlement of South Sudanese families—education experiences and outcomes of their children and youth.

7.1.3 Education

The majority of refugee and migrant families have high hopes for the education and career outcomes of their children. They see education as the key to their child's and their family's success (Atwell, et al., 2009; Larsen, 2010; Matthews, 2008). Schools are also important for contributing to the settlement experiences of young refugees. The school provides a structured and safe space for interactions and learning opportunities. It introduces students to the language and culture of their new country, facilitates personal development and community integration, and develops the skills required for educational and employment success (Berry, 1997).

The South Sudanese community places especially high significance on the education of their children and youth. Having had very little opportunities to study themselves, they view the educational opportunities of their children, and sometimes of their own, very positively. Below is one statement by a grandmother that demonstrates the widespread enthusiasm in the community for learning.

I came to Australia in 2004, but before that in Sudan I never went to school. The first time I learned English was when I came to Australia. That's why I love Australia, because I can learn. Learning English is difficult, but I'm trying. (Female participant)

Yet the educational outcomes for young Sudanese Australians are mixed. On the one hand, a considerable number of South Sudanese students have graduated from Australian universities in recent years. At the same time, as many as 28.0 % of Sudanese girls and 25.9 % of Sudanese boys aged 15-19 have not progressed beyond Year 8 (Lucas, et al., 2011).

Interviews from this research found that primary school-aged children tend to experience schools more positively than their high school counterparts. Below is an example from a female participant, with no formal education herself, describing how schools provide a positive experience for learning and socialisation, including developing friendships, for her young children.

My children love school. They have a lot of friends. My youngest daughter she is nine years old, she is in year three now. And she loves primary school. My son he is 11 years old, he loves his school too. Sometimes he comes home with his friends and they play together. (Female participant)

However, participants were much more critical of the effectiveness and adequacies of secondary schooling. Below is one of the many accounts describing Sudanese students struggling in Australian schools and subsequently abandoning their education.

The Sudanese children at school are struggling. They socialise and hang out with each other, their English is falling behind and their class performance is behind, but they are too embarrassed and ashamed to tell their parents, and when they don't get the good results from school, then they just quit school rather than repeating classes. (Male Sudanese community worker)

This corresponds with a recent study of refugee youth in Australia,⁶⁴ which found that nearly half of the students reported having mostly negative educational experiences because of the unfamiliar socio-cultural environment and teaching methods, inadequate literacy, numeracy and computer skills, and difficulties in their interactions with peers and teachers (Correa-Velez & Onsando, 2009).

A major hindrance raised by many of the participants in the current research is the placement of children into age-appropriate classrooms, regardless of their prior schooling experience, knowledge or educational performance. As explained by a youth worker below, children, especially girls, received only minimal formal education in Sudan or in the refugee camp, and often arrive in Australia unable to read or write in their mid to late teens and are placed in high schools, without any foundational primary

⁶⁴ A large proportion of participants were of Southern Sudan origin.

years. Thus while many South Sudanese students have considerable career ambitions on arriving in Australia, they often do not show the foundational aptitude or conceptual knowledge to achieve their goals (A. Harris, 2011).

Most of our children need a lot of support because they put them in a class according to their age not their academic development. And they don't speak good English and they didn't go to good schools in the refugee camps, but the teachers teach according to the level of the rest of the class. And when they go home the parents can't give them the support they need, but it is not the parents' fault, it is the fault of the education system. (Male Sudanese community worker)

There are a number of other important issues described in the quote above. On the parents' part, there is low awareness and appreciation of the enormous learning demands their children face on entry into the Australian education system. Subsequently, many Sudanese parents have unrealistic expectations of their children's academic progress (Burgoyne & Hull, 2007). These expectations tend to place additional stress on children as well as on family relations. Yet migrant students have limited opportunities to debrief on their transition process in the new school environment, and to explore their thoughts on future expectations and present difficulties and tension between education and family obligations. In their study, Cassity and Gow (2005) reported on how several participants had noted to the researchers that the research workshop was their first formal opportunity to discuss their transition experiences.

On the teachers' part there is lack of recognition that most refugee parents are not in the position to provide the same support that many non-refugee children may receive from their parents. Despite the apparent need, most secondary and tertiary institutions in Australia still seem to lack specific support and programs addressing the educational challenges for young refugees, or clear policies and protocols on how to engage with refugee parents to assist their understanding of the new context in which their children live and study. One participant, a high-school student counsellor, explained that most educators and school administrators are aware of the above issues, but they are struggling to implement changes in response, due to limited funds coupled with staffing and administrative constraints. This participant's observation was supported by other

Australian studies concluding that schools and educators often find themselves ill-equipped and poorly funded to provide effective support (Cassity & Gow, 2005; Matthews, 2008). In the meantime there is a steady increase of humanitarian migrant children to schools that fail to receive the required funds and structures to deliver a positive and effective school experience to refugee children. The need for higher-level engagement from the government and education departments to act on these systematic failings is evident.

In this section I explored the reasons for South Sudanese Australians having low education and employment participation rates. My analysis found a general sense of confidence, especially among young male participants, that they had a lot to offer this country in terms of their potential contribution. However, they were concerned that because of discrimination from employers, structural barriers and lack of support from the government, they will remain on the periphery of the main stream Australian society.

In my conclusion of Chapter 5 on conceptualising respect in the Sudanese community, I explored the connection between recognition and respect. I argued that humans depend on the recognition and approval of others in their social environment and thus are greatly vulnerable to perceptions and characterisations by others (Honneth, 1992). Of the three types of disrespect built around rights and recognition, Honneth talked of the significance of equal rights to participate in institutional order. However, as I have demonstrated in this chapter, singular emphasis in social policies on *formal* as opposed to *substantially* equal rights and access have led to unfair and discriminatory outcomes for the South Sudanese community. Simplistic applications of equal recognition will not deliver the sense of respect equally to all members in a society. Rather, equal recognition has to be nuanced enough to ensure that it transfers to equitable means to achieve culturally shared goals and ambitions. As I demonstrated in this section there a number of different approaches creating means which are more equitable across society. One is critically looking for structural barriers which limit access to legitimate means for individuals or particular groups (Merton, 1968). The other approach is resourcing people by building their human and social capital to be better positioned for accessing

and utilising pathways to shared goals. These two approaches are not mutually exclusive, despite the tensions between them.

In the second section of this chapter, I look at the damaging impact economic and social exclusion has on the South Sudanese Australian community.

7.2 The impact of economic and social exclusion of the South Sudanese community

This section explores the personal and social costs of economic exclusion of Sudanese Australians. The main areas identified by participants are: individual well-being, social costs to the Sudanese as well as the larger Australian community, loss of dignity and respect, and the related issue of identity construction. I explore each of these topics in turn.

7.2.1 Individual well-being

Participants talked with deep reflection of the distressing impact of unemployment both on their economic security, status, and well-being. Below are examples of the range of emotions members of the community are experiencing in response to not being able to attain employment in Australia. In the first quote, the young male participant describes how he and his friends are all feeling discouraged. In the second quote, the participant talks of the demoralising impact of his unemployment. In the last quote, the participant states clearly what many of the other participants expressed less directly, that the main reason for the perceived discrimination they feel in Australia is not so-called street discrimination, but their exclusion from the labour market.

*Many of us can't get jobs, and we are discouraged. It is very discouraging.
(Young male participant)*

Work is very important to your morale and your confidence. I feel like I'm no use in here. (Male participant)

The discrimination in Australia comes from jobs. (Male participant)

The level of distress experienced by the community as a result of their structural exclusion from the labour market is evident from these qualitative accounts. The negative relationship between discrimination in the labour market and well-being has also been supported by quantitative evidence. Recent research on employment and integration among refugees in Western Australia found that unlike ‘street discrimination’ which did not seem to affect general life satisfaction, discrimination in the labour market had a significant negative impact. Using multiple regression analysis, the study found that respondents who reported being discriminated against in the job market reported significantly lower life satisfaction when compared to those who did not have such experiences (Tilbury & Colic-Peisker, 2007). I wish to emphasise that by no means am I disputing the presence of street racism against the community, or its offensiveness. Rather, it is argued that a more stressing concern for the community is discrimination against them in the labour market and subsequent economic and social exclusion.

7.2.2 Social costs

Another important consequence of policies which fail to effectively assist humanitarian migrants to enter the labour market is social costs to the migrants as well as to the larger community. Minister Tanner claims that if African youth see highly-qualified African-Australians routinely denied employment opportunities, they will be discouraged from staying at school, leading to long-term social problems (Tanner, 2008). In fact, one of the participants in the current study described how some youth in the community are losing their enthusiasm for education upon seeing so many graduates in their community being unable to obtain a job.

And our kids, they see that people in the community finished their degree two years ago and they still don't have a job, you ask yourself, why should I bother to go to school? And that's not a good thing for our youth or Australia. (Male participant)

This comment is supported by emerging quantitative evidence, suggesting that high levels of truancy and offending among Sudanese youth⁶⁵ is a growing concern for authorities.

Economic and social inclusion also impact on generalised trust in our society. Eric Uslaner proposes two types of trust: particularised trust—faith in people in our own groups, and generalised trust—faith in people we do not know and who are likely to be different from ourselves (Uslaner & Brown, 2005). He proposes that to promote generalised trust in a heterogeneous community mere contact with people is insufficient. It is insufficient as it neglects important elements of the original argument of Allport (1954), that for trust to develop contact must be accompanied by equal group status within the situation; common goals; intergroup cooperation; and the support of authorities, law, or custom. However, because our interactions with people who are unlike ourselves, such as the South Sudanese community, are unlikely to be frequent or to be based on equal status, generalised trust is unlikely to develop (Pettigrew, 1998; Uslaner, 2011). Following this argument, exclusion from or segregation at the workplace and subsequent economic disparity and residential segregation will reduce opportunities for Allport-type interaction and will increase low trust in our communities.

Participants also identified employment, especially professional employment in the South Sudanese community as a pathway to restore their dignity and self-esteem, and regain their respect, not just for themselves, but for their community.

⁶⁵ Police statistics show Sudanese-born Victorians are about five times more likely to commit crimes than the broader community. Victoria Police is particularly concerned about the level of violence on occasions and also the age of the individuals involved. A vast majority are under 21 years of age (Australian Broadcasting Corporation, 2012b).

7.2.3 Respect and dignity

I started this chapter with a sentence from the quote below, expressing the strong desire of the South Sudanese for inclusion in Australian society through participation and contribution. Below is the full quote, in which the South Sudanese community leader appealed at a public forum to Joy Burch, Member of the ACT Legislative Assembly, to take the following message back to her government.

Many of our people from South Sudan are now educated at universities as economists, legal and health professional or are qualified workers in the fields of childcare, community work or aged care, but they are not given the opportunity to work. We want the opportunity to contribute to this society. We do not want to stay refugees relying on service providers forever. (1st anniversary celebration of South Sudan's independence, 21 July 2012, Canberra)

The quote summarises the sentiments I heard in most of my interviews. Participants expressed in different ways how they saw virtue and worth in using employment not only to advance and improve prospects for self and family, but also to contribute to the Australian community. They saw education and subsequent employment as their pathway to contribute to their new society. Employment was also important for restoring their dignity as evidenced by the quote below.

When are we going to learn to give, to contribute as well? When are we going to learn the honour of giving something? This is the time for us to give, give, and give. And we would not only help the Sudanese, we will also help this country. (Male Sudanese community leader)

Respect is also important in terms of being respected in the eyes of the Sudanese transnational community. Every nation has its narratives. An important narrative among young Dinka men is the life of their influential and celebrated (deceased) leader of South Sudan, Dr John Garang. He was from a poor Christian Dinka family and he briefly joined the first civil war at a very young age before pursuing his education first in Africa, and then in the United States where he received his PhD in economics (Collins, 2008). He is the role model for many young South Sudanese men who see education and professional employment as the path towards their ambition of helping their community and thus receiving the respect afforded to leaders in their homeland. In

fact, the Dinka diaspora in the West has been referred to by their kin in Africa as *lor tueng*, those who represent ‘the future’. By not being able to perform to their expectations in a labour market that structurally excludes them many feel robbed of their status respect not only in the community, but also in the eyes of their own African community.

Economic and social exclusion also impacts on the cultural transition of migrant communities. In the next section I consider the complex dynamics between cultural transition and identity construction in the Sudanese community.

7.2.4 Cultural transition and identity construction

During my fieldwork and interviews, community members conveyed strong identity with their cultures of origin and at times the cultures of transit countries and refugee camps. These reflections were often juxtaposed with cultural values they observed or experienced in Australia. Their narratives showed awareness of, and often deep engagement with, how their experiences are shaping their identity. At times these narratives reflected continuity, while other times they conveyed patterns of change or conflict between the heritage culture and the norms of the mainstream culture.

In Chapter 3, I considered South Sudanese and Australian cultures as cultural binaries to assist my aim of describing important differences between the two. I would now like to introduce a more nuanced framing of the relation between the two cultures; a framing that will acknowledge the transitional realities and the lived experience of culture among Sudanese Australians. As observed by Seyla Benhabib, while social observers from outside tend to impose ‘unity and coherence on cultures as observed entities’, those in the culture experience it as shared yet ‘contested and contestable narrative accounts’, a ‘horizon that recedes each time one approaches it’ (Benhabib, 2002, p. 5). Benhabib does not suggest that cultures are somehow unreal. On the contrary, she states that ‘[c]ultural differences run very deep and are very real’. What she argues against is taking ‘cultural narratives at face value’ to explain human behaviour. Instead, we ‘should seek to understand the totality of circumstances of which culture is an aspect’

(Benhabib, 2002, p. 7). In my analysis below I strive to explore the totality of the experiences of the people living in the culture.

7.2.4.1 Cultural transition: The space of in-between culture

Through my interviews and subsequent analysis of data I found that there is not a uniform or coherent narrative of cultural transition. Participants talked about how some people in the community are ‘in-between culture’ and ‘in-between law’, a recognition that although their customary values, laws and practices do not fit within the social terrains and the law of Australia, alternative practices are difficult to understand or identify with.

The culture here is very different from the Dinka culture. But we came here immediately, from one culture to another culture. You don't know your real culture, the one you had before, but you don't know your new culture; you are just stuck on the way between cultures. It takes a long time for someone to get to know a culture—the real culture. You need a lot of progress, a lot of time to know that culture. But you are just here immediately, and your culture and the new culture come and rub together. You don't know what is happening. You are confused. (Young male participant)

Participants frequently recounted their own or somebody else's confusion in their new social, cultural and economic environment. They were struggling to transform their old and new experiences into a coherent and workable narrative. Working with the South Sudanese refugee community in Australia, Westoby (2008) also observed a deep sense of cultural disorientation within the community.

Some cultural norms and practices are already under transition, and the community is in the process of critically reconsidering familiar perspectives. For example, all the participants in this study viewed the education and schooling of girls as a positive thing. Although school achievement among girls is not considered as important as among boys, and girls tend to have fewer resources, such as sufficient time and environment to prepare homework, all parents talked with equal pride of the educational achievements

of their daughters and their sons. Similarly some, including male participants, believed that having only one wife⁶⁶ is more appropriate in their new environment, both in terms of practical considerations, such as housing,⁶⁷ but also in terms of values. As expressed by one male participant: 'it is not good to have two wives; you are cheating'. However other practices, such as bridewealth, are unlikely to change soon. As explained by one of the respondents, the money paid by the groom (living in Australia), is often paid to the girl's family in Sudan and in Africa 'where people's life and culture has not changed'. In fact, on many occasions participants conveyed to me that they have strong economic and social connections with the diaspora in Africa and in other parts of the world. Members of the community are generally quite mobile and move frequently between nations, mixing cultural practices and identities. As expressed by one of the young speakers at the first anniversary celebration of South Sudan's independence in Canberra:

'We are a people of two countries, South Sudan and Australia. We need to help the people of South Sudan, but you can't help others unless you help yourself first here in this country through your achievements.' (1st anniversary celebration of South Sudan's independence, 21 July 2012, Canberra)

The above transcript is an example of at least two social identities, one is that of the larger population of South Sudan and the other is the larger population of Australia. Arguably, the most influential theory of collective identity within social psychology in recent years is the theory of social identity (Tajfel & Turner, 1979) and the related self-categorization theory (Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher, & Wetherell, 1987). In the view of social identity theory, behaviour is determined by reference to collective standards. We all have a range of social identities corresponding to the various groupings to which we belong and which will be salient at different times in different places. That is, collective social influence is mediated by social identification (Tajfel & Turner, 1979).

⁶⁶ Having multiple wives in South Sudanese cultures is highly desirable, see Chapter 3.

⁶⁷ Customary housing arrangements for multiple wives described in Chapter 3.

Through the interviews, however, it became evident that participants were grappling with a range of social identities attached to different cultural scenarios. Blocked employment opportunities and subsequent structural economic and social exclusion are importantly contributing to the difficulties of adjusting to new cultural norms and values and forging new identities. Responses in the community fell into two main forms. Some, especially younger participants, tried to forge a workable synthesis of identities based on how they wanted to see themselves, how the Sudanese community wanted to see them, and how the broader Australian community wanted to see them. In their narratives young respondents often shifted between multiple cultural identities and possible selves. Others, especially more mature men in the community, responded somewhat differently to their marginalisation. Having been restricted from fully realising identities they wanted to identify with, they pulled back to the ontological security of their heritage identities even when they were highly contested both from within and outside of their community. I will discuss each of these responses in turn.

7.2.4.2 Identity and possible selves

Possible selves is a self-knowledge of how individuals think about their potential and their future. They are ideal selves that individuals would like to become, or could become, or even are afraid of becoming (Markus & Nurius, 1986). Possible selves usually derive from categories made salient by the individual's particular sociocultural and historical context and from models and images providing social experiences through media. Possible selves are important as they function as incentives for future behaviour. Possible selves also provide an evaluative and interpretive function for the current view of self. Markus claims that because possible selves are not well anchored, they are responsive to changes in the environment (Markus & Nurius, 1986). In other words, our self-conceptions can change considerably, depending on the nature of the social situation, and the possible selves available to us.

In fact, it was usual for younger participants to move sometimes as many as four times in one interview between entirely contradictory possible selves. For example, at least two young women in their early twenties talked to me with passion on how, on

completion of their tertiary courses, which they were currently pursuing, they would embark on post-graduate studies and an international career. In the same conversation they told me that they were likely to get married within the next couple of years before they became too old.⁶⁸ These same participants also conveyed to me in our conversations earlier that it is generally impossible for South Sudanese wives and mothers to study and hold a career because of their extremely high workload associated with looking after their families.

This raises the issue as to what extent multiple selves, each tied to a particular set of social circumstances, can be maintained as part of a coherent self-concept? I asked my participants if they thought they would find it difficult to maintain both their professional and family life. They responded by focusing on just one 'possible self' and how they would advance it when they reached the point of pursuing that particular course. These young girls were holding what Markus describes as a complex and variable self-concept, that is 'authentic in the sense that they represent the individual's persistent hopes and fears and indicate what could be realized given appropriate social conditions' (Markus & Nurius, 1986, p. 965). She claims that multiple selves can be viewed as systematic components of the self-concept that are diverse and multifaceted without being ingenuine or incoherent.

When I pursued matters further to find out which directions they think they will be likely to take, they told me that much would depend on what their family thought was right for them. Accommodating their families' wishes was also important in terms of preserving the approval of their community. Thus to some extent, their identity, built on a number of possible selves, across time was responding as much to fears of being excluded from their heritage community as to hopes for being included in the larger community.

⁶⁸ In most South Sudanese cultures husbands prefer and look for brides younger than their mid-twenties.

Multiple possible selves were also prevalent among young men. However, among men their multiple selves responded more directly to fears and threats than hopes and goals. One of the dominant themes in the interviews among young men was the scenario that they would remain socially and economically excluded and marginalised in mainstream Australian society. Another parallel fear was that by not following certain expectations of their Sudanese community in Australia or in Africa, such as ‘marrying properly’⁶⁹ they would no longer be a ‘proper’ and subsequently a valued member of their cultural community. The two scenarios were mutually exclusive for most young men as investing into their education meant that they would not be able to have the financial means to marry. It is evident that many of the young participants were oscillating between often incompatible alternative possible selves. It appears that to avoid disappointment, some participants were holding both identities, in case one would not become achievable. They are simply possible, although incompatible, ways of perceiving themselves in the future—a form of adaptation.

So what is wrong with inconsistent identities? According to Harris, the problem arises not so much from having a range of identities, or even inconsistent identities, but when the values associated with the different identities are conflicting. Choosing a course of action based on an identity can lead to a regular rub of conflicting values. Also, while having a range of identities should not be seen as a negative thing as the new identities tend to be created in response to new circumstances, individuals must have some anchors, some consistency among the range of identities (N. Harris, 2011).

The regular rub between opposing cultural norms and conflicting values was evident in a number of narratives from participants. Some participants were grappling with how to find or give meaning to fragmented and disjointed experiences of everyday life, a product of inconsistent identities. Below is one example.

What happens is that you came to this country, this community, and you have to respect this law because you live here. But I still want to respect the law of my old country. But if I respect the law of my old country I will get arrested.

⁶⁹ Marrying properly refers to finding a wife from Africa and paying a high bridewealth.

That would be a bad thing for me as well as to my community in here. And then I will be a loser, I will lose my job, I will lose my respect in the community, I won't be able to look after my children. What could I do? Nothing. And when my brother, who brought me and my family here, he finds out he will say, 'I thought Adam⁷⁰ was a good person and now he is a criminal.' And then he won't trust me again. (Male participant)

In the first part of the narrative, the participant who arrived in Australia less than a year ago describes the extreme conflict between the different norms of resolving family conflict in the two countries. His reference to 'law' is a reference to customary ways of living one's life, including physically disciplining his wife and children should they bring disrespect on him and his family. He is very direct in communicating to me that he still strongly identifies with his heritage identities and values and he still wants to live by those values. At the same time he is aware that the conflict between his heritage values and standards of appropriate and lawful behaviour in Australia is so great that he could well be criminalised for his actions. Many other participants described confronting this conflict, sometimes on a daily basis.

Where this narrative is different from the others is the last two lines where Adam describes an additional layer of complexity. He explains that should he get arrested for family violence he would be seen as a criminal and be disapproved of by his own community as well. Thus following his heritage values, endorsed by many in his community, may indeed discredit him and his reputation in the same community due to Australian law. As exemplified by the narrative, finding a workable synthesis of different social identities in the new and complex patterns of migration where communities are no longer shedding their heritage identities and adopting new ones is a nuanced challenge. Identities are constructed on a daily basis in a context where attachments are multiple and partial (Papastergiadis, 2000).

In Chapter 3, I introduced the concept of hybridity from Bhabha (1990) to conceptualise the disjunctive identities that migrant communities grapple with in their efforts to adapt to the uncertain and evolving situations of their migration. As explained by

⁷⁰ A pseudonym to protect the identity of the participant.

Papastergiadis, it is a way of holding together divergent sources of identity through ‘separateness and unity in a single semantic field’ (Papastergiadis, 2000, p. 194). Under the framework of Bhabha there is no assumption that the temporalities of partial identities are assimilable into a greater whole and coherent identity, as part of the cultural transformation. As explained by Papastergiadis: ‘To summon an identity of wholeness and continuity would be a denial of the violations and transformations that have led them to their present position, and yet to express the absences and contradictions of their identity would also undermine their claim to be recognised in the present’ (Papastergiadis, 2000, p. 164).

Accepting this more nuanced conceptualisation of culture and identities of migrant communities means that simply communicating the cultural values of host countries of immigrants is no longer sufficient. Migrant people also need time, space and opportunities to explore how they will navigate their partial identities and the contradictions between them. Thus providing and facilitating opportunities and spaces for humanitarian migrants to explore these complex dilemmas of migration and cultural values are equally important. Currently refugees from Africa who are seeking resettlement in one of the Western countries, such as Australia, are required to take part in intensive cultural orientation workshops to acquire basic information about their new country, such as history, symbols and cultural norms, and what will be expected of them in their new country. I propose that rather than just giving instructions on the need to adapt to the norms and standards of their new environment, cultural orientation workshops should be expanded to include their migration dilemmas and how, under new external conditions, they can achieve what is meaningful to them.

7.2.4.3 Focus on heritage values

Another dominant response in the community to blocked opportunities to employment and subsequent respect is focused efforts to preserve status and status respect within families and the South Sudanese community. This response is especially dominant among more mature men. Having been restricted from fully realising identities they

wanted to identify with in the public space has naturally focused their efforts to maintain their status respect in the space of their families and Sudanese community.

As described in Chapters 3 and 5, Sudanese husbands and fathers hold high status respect simply by their position in the family. Family structures give form and meaning to their lives and a sense of self-identity. But as a consequence of losing their role as a provider for their families, their status in the family domain has become jeopardised. Norms of economic functioning of the family unit, normally controlled by the patriarch, have come under challenge too. For example, on arrival in Australia most Sudanese families are placed on various Centrelink payments, a large proportion of which is transferred to the primary care taker of the children, i.e. the mother. Adult children can also arrange to receive part of the allowance transferred to them. These arrangements, coupled with new external references on economic rights within a family, often lead to intense contestation within the family over the control of the family income and how it is spent.

Lack of understanding of the new 'system' and proficiency in English exacerbated husbands' sense of loss of authority in the family. An important consequence of not speaking English is limited knowledge of Australian social structures, such as educational, employment, welfare and legal systems, and subsequent inability to successfully guide their families (Atwell, et al., 2009). In response, some men have tried to preserve the basic elements of the patriarchal dominance embedded in their culture, even though they no longer had the position and the authority they expected.

The assertion of unchallenged authority of fathers and parents has remained the main avenue to maintain their identity and self-respect. Disassociated from their social and cultural context and often in conflict with Australian values and sometimes with Australian law, these practices have become the focus of Australian authorities struggling to make sense of Sudanese cultural practices. These tensions will be explored further in Chapter 9.

7.3 Summary

In this chapter, I presented empirical evidence of exclusionary spaces among refugee immigrants. I described how on their arrival in Australia, most members of the Sudanese community strongly identified with the Australian cultural goal of economic participation and success. They have also taken on and pursued the dominant institutional means of education and employment as the main pathways to achieve these goals. Under the framework of Merton's modes of adaptation, they were ready to adopt one of the foremost cultural goals of their society and dominant and approved cultural means to achieve it. Conforming to these important cultural goals and means to attain these goals was their pathway to integrate and to be included in their new society. Yet their desire for economic inclusion remained unmet when they encountered a set of barriers that proved for many to be too great to surmount.

Sudanese children and young people are struggling in the Australian school system. Many of them have a highly disrupted education history, and often miss the personal and social resources necessary to access and utilise the educational pathways available to them in Australia. Yet education and training services are failing to make these pathways more accessible by revising their education delivery to account for the relatively low skill level, lack of formal learning experience, and different learning styles of their students. The disjunction between ascribed goals and viable means to achieve them is an important contributing factor to high drop-out and truancy rates among young people. Disheartened by being challenged beyond their means, many young people have retreated from pursuing education and professional employment.

In terms of employment, most Sudanese Australians are confident in their abilities in terms of either already having or acquiring personal skills and attributes to enter the labour market. More significant issues preventing Sudanese Australians from entering the labour market are those of blocked means, in the form of absence of informal links to the labour market, discrimination from employers, and structural barriers. These less recognisable, systemic barriers have often fallen outside of their control to change. Most Sudanese refugees arrived in Australia at the same time, and so informal networks, and

the pathways present in more established communities for connecting job seekers with potential employers are not available to them. Yet formal networks, such as employment agencies, have failed to generate alternative pathways to form effective links between Sudanese job seekers and potential employers. In general, accessible means to employment are blocked for many Sudanese Australians. That is, common and approved forms of recruitment practices, such as the merit-based selection system, fail to provide equitable pathways to Sudanese jobseekers. While these protocols and practices were installed with the intent of removing discrimination, they in fact structurally discriminate against humanitarian migrants because, through no fault of their own, these migrants have broken educational and employment histories and lack demonstrated work experience.

These structural barriers, which limit the access of individuals in the Sudanese community to attain their important goal of employment, led some people in the community to abandon the normative goal of employment and pathways to pursue it. The way in which social structures motivate people by rewarding them, or not, is important in Mertonian analyses. In fact, one of the central questions Merton (1968) poses is what kind of signals for efforts are given? For example, would graduating from an Australian tertiary institute lead to employment among Sudanese Australians, or would employment remain constrained because of their location in the social order? This research found that despite transcending one of the most important and generally recognised pathways to employment, i.e. education, many Sudanese graduates remain unemployed. With no hope for realisation of their goals of gainful employment and economic and social inclusion, individuals in the community 'asocialized' (Merton, 1968, p. 208) themselves from the larger Australian community. In fact, most study participants were deeply concerned that because of their structural marginalisation they will remain on the periphery of Australian society.

Employment is also an important source of affirmation of one's achieved self-qualities. Many young Sudanese participants worked hard to obtain educational qualifications, yet their achievement in most cases did not receive the expected reward of employment. Participants felt aggrieved and affronted by this lack of recognition and the rejection of their potential contribution to their new country. They felt that their intent of wanting to

do the right thing of contributing to their new country was denied and ignored. Working and thus providing for their families in Australia and abroad is also an important pathway for Sudanese men to restore and maintain their status within a range of their social groups, such as their families, and the Sudanese as well as the broader Australian community. The inability to financially provide for their families has eroded the status of Sudanese men within their families and traditional Sudanese family structures. Thus by not being able to perform to their expectations in a labour market, Sudanese Australians felt robbed not only of economic success but of their self-respect and respect from others.

Inability to find work led many Sudanese Australians to feel that the government had failed them by designing and administering policies that, albeit unintentionally, limited their economic participation and subsequently devalued their achievement and status respect. Members of the Sudanese community have united around the grievance of their disrespect at the hands of the government. Additionally, as means to gain respect from the Australian community through economic and social participation become unattainable, retaining respect within families and the Sudanese community has gained added importance. People in the community have turned to their heritage identities and values for alternative means to sustain their dignity and to restore status respect. As elements of cultural practices have come under contest from within and outside of the Sudanese community family, conflict and subsequent intervention from care and protection authorities has become a main concern. This will be explored in Chapter 9.

The next chapter will consider Australian resettlement policies and programs. The objective of these programs is to strengthen pathways for immigrants towards social and economic inclusion. The extent to which these programs failed to deliver on these objectives to South Sudanese Australians, and the Australian Government's reluctance to act on these failures, is an important, and related, source of disrespect in the Sudanese community.

Chapter 8 – Australian resettlement policies and programs

This chapter examines the second main theme of perceived respect—the community’s concerns over the Australian Government’s indifference to their settlement challenges and the well-being of the community. Similar to other chapters, I start by first presenting my emergent and grounded analysis from interviews of participants. I describe how current government policies and programs set up to assist migrant resettlement are experienced by the Sudanese community, and explore the reasons why services do not deliver the support and pathways they were designed to provide. Finally, I review the extent to which the Australian Government has engaged with investing in and promoting the social and economic inclusion of refugee immigrants.

The main concern of many participants was dealing with government departments and service providers. In general they described their interactions as unproductive and frustrating, and spoke of the negative impact it had on the people in the community. As observed by one expert study participant, a director of a highly regarded non-government organisation working with refugee communities including those from Southern Sudan, a lot of the distress experienced by their clients is caused by ‘the same issues over and over again, largely related to dealings with government and service delivery agencies’.

The sense of dissatisfaction and frustration regarding the inadequacies of support services designed to assist the settlement of humanitarian migrants appears to be in contradiction with the comparatively well-funded programs that provide the range of

services available to humanitarian migrants.⁷¹ Box 8.1 below lists the broad range of support services available to humanitarian migrants in Australia such as English language tuition, translating services, initial settlement support, and services responding to needs at a community level. Service providers were recruited through rigorous processes in which they had to demonstrate their suitability and experience to deliver the required services. In fact, most service providers (such as Centacare and Anglicare) have substantial experience and history in the Australian welfare system. Why then is it that the delivery of these relatively comprehensive set of services do not have the intended impact of supporting resettlement and strengthening the ability of new arrivals for social and economic participation?

My analysis is structured around the main themes identified by the Sudanese community. Throughout my fieldwork and interviews I observed a lot of mindfulness among the Sudanese community around the appropriateness, or in many cases the inadequacies, of Australian government policies and programs for resettlement. The main issues raised by participants in relation to this topic fell under the three main themes of: (i) lack of cultural knowledge and understanding by service providers; (ii) lack of genuine partnerships to develop and harness the human capital of the community; and (iii) reluctance from government to show leadership and take a more active role in supporting the inclusion of the Sudanese community. In this section I look at each of these topics in detail.

⁷¹ Compared to other countries, the Australian Government allocates comparatively generous resources to fund settlement service providers (Gebre-Selassie, 2008).

Box 8.1: Support services available to humanitarian migrants in Australia

Under the Australian Government's Humanitarian Settlement Services (HSS) program, humanitarian migrants can receive resettlement support generally for 6 to 12 months from the time of their arrival. The HSS program is delivered by service providers (such as Adult Multicultural Education Services, Centacare, Anglicare, Migrant and Refugee Settlement Services) on behalf of the Australian Government. Services provided under the HSS program may include: reception and assistance on arrival, including finding accommodation, initial food and household goods, and assistance to register with the Department of Human Services, health services, banks and schools. The objectives of the HSS programs are to: provide tailored support towards settlement, strengthen the ability of new arrivals for social and economic participation and provide them with skills and knowledge to independently access mainstream services (Department of Immigration and Citizenship, 2013).

In addition to HSS humanitarian services, migrants can also access any of the following other settlement programs.

- Adult Migrant English Program (AMEP) – delivers up to 510 hours of basic English tuition
- Complex Case Support (CCS) program – delivers intensive case management services to humanitarian migrants with exceptional circumstances
- Translating and Interpreting Services (TIS National) – provides interpreting services
- Settlement Grant Program (SGP) – delivers targeted services to communities and locations in greatest need of settlement assistance (Department of Immigration and Citizenship, 2013)

Other services including health, education, and employment services, while primarily funded by the Federal Government, are delivered by state governments. In every jurisdiction newly arrived students are also provided with English as Second Language (ESL) programs of various lengths from 20 weeks to a year in their classes. Additionally, local governments as well as non-profit, faith-based, and community organisations provide additional support for humanitarian migrants. The type and availability of these supports may differ from area to area.

8.1 Lack of cultural knowledge and understanding among service providers

One of the main sources of frustration among participants was the lack of cultural awareness among organisations and their staff. Cultural diversity training among government and non-government organisations tends to deliver a broad-brush depiction of the most elementary issues to support workers in delivering culturally responsive services. These courses are typically generalised over a large range of ethnic groups from a broad range of cultures. I personally came across a number of government

workers in regular contact with African migrants, repeatedly substituting South Sudanese and Somali cultural identities. In fact, completion of these short courses can overstate the actual level of cultural knowledge among staff. As explained by one South Sudanese community leader:

There is an assumption that they already know a lot about 'these people', which is wrong. To be honest, they know nothing about us. Because, you can only know about 'these people' by meetings with them. We have raised this a number of times, but the departments are very protective. They say, 'yes we know the cultural issues, yes we have trained our staff, yes, yes'. (laughs)
(Male Sudanese community leader)

One non-Sudanese community worker expressed similar concerns about not having enough knowledge of the people he was working with to be effective in his previous job of assisting job seekers from new arrival communities, many of them from Southern Sudan.

I had a feeling that there was more I had to learn than what I had time to learn in order to really do justice to my job. (Non-Sudanese community worker)

The claim of lacking in cultural awareness and knowledge is supported by research specific to African communities and settlement services, which raised the issue of government departments lacking sufficient cultural understanding and knowledge of the needs of the community, and individuals within the community, to provide appropriate support (Murray, 2010; Nsubuga-Kyobe & Dimock, 2002; Udo-Ekpo, 1999).

Effective and successful collaboration with any community requires understanding of the social norms of that community. As suggested by Francis Deng, to be constructive, policies and strategies must make effective use of Sudanese people's values and positive identities rather than ignoring them (F. M. Deng, 1990). South Sudanese cultural images, such as dignity, pride, self-preservation, courage, the importance of family and community should be recognised and drawn on during the deliberation with the community. With cultural legitimacy, compliance with Australian laws would be seen as legitimate by the community rather than an external limitation. As described by one of the participants, the issues are not Australian laws per se, but the way they are

delivered and enforced without the recognition and acknowledgment of the community's values and norms.

I think the best thing for them [service providers and authorities] is to look at the cultural ways things are done in Sudan. So, ok this is Australia, and this is Australian law, but how do they deal with these issues like domestic issues or things like that. (Male participant)

Such an approach is probably time-consuming and complex and will invariably raise sensitive issues, but it is fundamental to building and maintaining trust, and is more likely to lead to cooperation. Recognising people from the community as *participants* rather than *subjects* of decisions would reduce the sense of frustration and threat in the Sudanese community and subsequent social distancing from Australian government organisations.

In addition to lack of cultural awareness, participants also raised the issues of lack of genuine partnership between communities and government departments and lack of resources to support capacity-building in new arrival communities.

8.2 Capacity-building of new and emerging communities from refugee backgrounds

'When we meet here at this celebration, we get together you and me. And there is an assumption that we are a community. But you've missed something. We are not a community unless we planned this event together. Companion House did this, organised this event with us, together. We would like other organisations to do it this way as well.' (David Guem, Dinka Festival, Companion House, Canberra, 23 October 2010)

This quote expressed by a South Sudanese community leader at a public community celebration highlights the importance of agencies working *with* rather than working *for* migrant communities. There is a strong sense in the community that they want to care and act for themselves and their community in collaboration with other people and services. They do not wish to be acted upon; instead they want to act in partnership with the government and service delivery organisations. They believe that only by working

together in a genuine partnership will they feel part of the larger community. They also believe, for good reason, that their settlement challenges can only be negotiated successfully when host communities and organisations include them in the planning and implementation process.

However, it is difficult for newly arrived immigrants to communicate skilfully and with influence with government departments when they do not have a strong command of their new language, or a proficient understanding of culturally appropriate negotiation and mediation skills and governance. The Sudanese community is still in the early stages of developing such resources and often there is a lack of sustainable community structures. As articulated by a non-Sudanese community worker in the quote below, government departments and service providers would assist communities better by empowering them through the provision of appropriate skills and resources rather than trying to mould and control them.

One of the comments that keeps coming back to me is 'we want to pull ourselves up by our bootstraps and get out there and do the work by ourselves, but first of all we need the government to buy us the boots'. So what he was saying, we need support to establish our leadership, to understand the requirement of governance and procedures according to Australian law and funding body requirements. (Non-Sudanese community worker)

There is plenty of evidence in the research literature that people are more likely to engage in participative processes when they have the resources and supporting civic networks and organisations to enable their participation (Lowndes, Pratchett, & Stoker, 2006). Yet, while the Australian Government allocates comparatively generous resources to fund settlement service providers, as discussed earlier, when it comes to capacity-building of refugee and migrant community organisations, Australia lags behind countries such as Canada and New Zealand. Ethnic organisations should be encouraged and resourced to develop their capacity to work with and support government organisations. For example, the City of Toronto provides substantial funding to the newly emerging community organisations to build their capacity to provide services to their communities (Gebre-Selassie, 2008). In contrast, African organisations in Australia have little organisational capacity and experience, and yet have to compete for funding in a highly competitive environment to deliver services to

their communities. Despite having sufficient human capital in the community and their demonstrated willingness to come together to support their community, they do not have adequate capacity to successfully advocate for their communities or to provide culturally appropriate services to the elderly, single parents, vulnerable youth or families dealing with family violence within their community. One option is to develop and support community leaders who already have the trust of the community through training, mentoring, and professional and monetary support. Government and non-government organisations could provide intensive training and on-going mentoring to support and guide the work of community leaders. A number of past or present South Sudanese community leaders have reflected in interviews on how they find their work for the community demanding and exhausting and how it places pressure on their career development and family relationships.

Another weakness of the current design of resettlement services and programs is sustainability. Currently, service providers under the Settlement Grant Program (SGP) are funded for the period of five years to support particular communities. But as raised by a number of Sudanese and non-Sudanese community workers in this research, new emerging communities and their members often need support beyond five years. As explained by the Sudanese community worker in the first quote below, some people in his community may need considerable time before they can focus on learning the language and the 'system' of their new country.

The community knows very little. Many of them have been here for seven or eight years and they still don't understand the system. When you get here you get all this information on all these services, but you don't really understand it. And your mind is still back in Africa because all your relatives are still back in there and you are still concerned about them and thinking of them all the time. And you just still having the emotion of happiness for being here and you just want to help those still in Africa and you just can't think of all these things about that you need to learn in Australia. (Male Sudanese community worker)

The Refugee Resource Centre's only supposed to help for the first 5 years, but those communities need community development work. I suppose it comes down to commitment to inclusion of refugees from the government. (Non-Sudanese community worker)

A non-Sudanese community worker has also raised similar concerns, in the second quote, noting that newly-arrived humanitarian communities need community development work beyond the first five years of their arrival. The cutting of services after a relatively brief period, and referring individuals who are still unsure and confused in their new social environment to mainstream services, is not going to accelerate their integration into the community. Rather, the government should design or fund the development of innovative programs to build on personal coping strategies, resources and the strengths of individuals and to develop the capacity of communities to support their members.

An important cause of the limitations and deficiencies listed above is that services supporting the settlement of humanitarian migrants are primarily designed to fit the Australian welfare system and its administrative structure rather than the needs of humanitarian immigrants. To make a shift from a 'service relationship' to a 'developmental relationship' (Westoby, 2008, p. 485) can challenge government departments and service providers and can disrupt their routine (described in Chapter 6) to a large extent.

As reflected by Peter Westoby, using a new method of working with communities by engaging with their concerns instead of delivering a service to them, can throw up new challenges to organisations. One of the main challenges is changing the locus of control, as the service providers may no longer be the ones driving the process of engagement and defining needs for the community. Instead, government departments and service providers may become participants in the process. With such shifts in power relations it could become difficult for organisations to 'maintain distance from the complexities of settlement, conflict and community relations', leading to a situation where professionals no longer know 'what to do any better than the community members themselves' (Westoby, 2008, p. 485).

Other challenges include risk-taking in what is generally regarded as a defensive social policy funding environment. As described by a senior bureaucrat, government departments prefer to give funds to established service providers because 'it is a safe thing to do'. It will ensure that there is a program by an accountable organisation, even

if it does not deliver appropriate assistance for everyone. Supporting self-governing and emergent ethnic organisations is also more challenging for departments in terms of supervision, mentoring and ensuring that they are connected and work in alliance with other services. According to this participant, there are also significant skill deficits among existing bureaucrats to manage and implement such a pioneering approach.

Yet despite the complexities, the priority should be the implementation of programs centered on the needs of humanitarian migrants, and program deliveries focused on developing migrant community capacity to support their members. Current programs and their mode of delivery have failed to achieve intended outcomes, despite the resources invested, and in some instances have led to negative outcomes for their clients. A recent quantitative survey study of Sudanese adults in Queensland reported that nearly half of the participants believed that government resettlement programs have had a negative influence on their life in Australia (Murray, 2010).

There is another consideration for working closely and directly with communities and providing them with the right resources to develop their capacity to empower themselves. Through my interviews across the country it became evident that participant community members, as well as workers from community and government organisations from Adelaide, were less guarded and more open in our conversations than individuals from other cities. Unlike other jurisdictions, everyone I approached was open for an interview and they talked with frankness and reflection about their own and the Sudanese community's resettlement experiences. When I mentioned this to one of the community leaders, he told me that it has a lot to do with the trust between the community and authorities at all levels. He thought that lack of trust was the biggest barrier for communities and government departments working together. In his view, this mutual trust was largely attributable to the direct funding⁷² given to the community to establish and resource the Sudanese Community Association of South Australia. The association delivers community education, and advocates and builds connections between the community and mainstream organisations. He thought it was important for

⁷² \$100,000 per annum

the community to see that the government afforded this trust to the community, and members of the community responded with openness and cooperation. In his words 'if you have that attitude of welcoming the people and giving them trust then the integration will be much easier'. As he explained, in many other Australian states, members of the Sudanese community are distrustful of agencies and consultants who have received funding and grants from the government to deliver services to migrant communities, including the South Sudanese community, but who have failed to deliver appropriate support to those communities.

The tendency to distrust government authorities, institutions or members of the broader community is not specific to the South Sudanese community. Most refugees have been subject to discrimination, violence, rape or torture and have lost homes, livelihoods and loved ones prior or during their displacement. Most refugees have spent years in refugee camps, dependent on humanitarian relief agencies. Naturally they feel vulnerable, with little control over their own life. Compounding this lack of autonomy, many have been the subject of harassment and persecution from corrupt authorities, from government authorities and police to organised gangs and rebel groups in their transit country. In fact, many aspects of refugees' lives are under the control of others. Such a situation can undermine their sense of identity and their sense of trust in others, giving rise to distrust of officials, such as government and agency workers (Mackenzie, McDowell, & Pittaway, 2007). This distrust can easily transfer over to their relationship with government authorities and organisations in their resettlement country when they find that they are excluded from important decisions and deliberations which potentially impact on their lives.

A generalised mistrust of government authorities and organisations has important consequences in terms of undermining not only effective working relationships with clients, but also generalised trust toward others in migrant communities. Contemporary Western societies tend to have relatively few cross-cutting or 'bridging'⁷³ contacts.

⁷³ A well-known division of social interactions is 'bonding' and 'bridging'. Bonding refers to in-group contacts and tends to mainly reinforce in-group trust as well as out-group suspicion.

Most of our formal social interactions, such as clubs and associations, tend to connect us with people who have similar ethnic, religious affiliations or socio-economic status, and as such these formal associations have a tendency to reinforce in-group trust, and to reduce generalised trust, and isolate and socially disconnect members (Fennema & Tillie, 2008).

Informal social interactions tend to function differently; they are more likely to be in a bridging setting and they also tend to be more influential for generalised trust (Marschall & Stolle, 2004). However, the value of social contacts as an information source about the trustworthiness of others is constrained by the limit of the number of social contacts one can have (Kumlin & Rothstein, 2008). Instead, people use additional information sources, such as their perception of institutional fairness to work out what to expect from the 'generalised other'. The underlying assumption of this substitution is that the trustworthiness of the state and its institutions to treat people with equal concern and respect reflects the trustworthiness of the people who created and support these institutions (Dworkin, 1977). Thus when government organisations and their actions are experienced as unfair, it is seen as an indication that government departments, officials and fellow citizens are prejudiced on the whole and hence they are not to be trusted. In fact, empirical research by Kumlin and Rothstein (2005) found that individuals who perceive poor institutional fairness in their dealings with welfare state services display lower trust. Thus policies and programs designed and delivered in a manner regarded as fair may have particularly useful bridging qualities for the Sudanese and other migrant communities.

This section explored how current settlement policies and programs tend to work in a top-down manner, acting upon, instead of in-partnership with refugee communities. The next section will unpack the reasons for the strong sense in the community of being neglected by the Australian Government.

Bridging, on the other hand, denotes cross-cutting contacts, which are thought to stimulate generalised trust and sympathy for other groups (R. D. Putnam, 2000).

8.3 Lack of government commitment to humanitarian migrant communities

The third main topic raised by participants is their discontent that the current government does not show commitment to the resettlement challenges of the community. Below is one of the quotes calling on the government to make enquiries as to why the South Sudanese community remains marginalised despite their efforts.

So government should look into these things so that we could become part of this community. (Young male participant)

Similar concerns of the government not taking an interest in the resettlement challenges and outcomes of humanitarian migrants were also expressed by some of the non-Sudanese community workers. The community worker below described the approach of the government as ‘*minimalist*’.

We should be a bit more thoughtful of what we are going to do with the people when they come to the country. Like 13,000 people a year is a lot of people when they don't know what they are doing and the support from the government is rather pathetic. They just give out the SGP grants to different organisations, but a lot of the people don't get any benefits. Also, there are no structural responses from government to a lot of community issues. It is a kind of a minimalist approach. We take these people to keep the UN happy and then we give the funding to these organisations to look after them and hopefully it will work. The government needs to get more involved from the outset. (Non-Sudanese community worker)

Inadequate government response to the resettlement needs of humanitarian migrants also raised voices beyond the community. For example, Margaret Quirk, former Western Australian State Minister for Citizenship and Multicultural Interest, stated that the immigration of African refugees to Australia has ‘happened rapidly and not given us [the state government] sufficient time to prepare’ (Aisbett, 2006, p. 5). Similarly, a research report by the Parliamentary Library concluded that the government’s support of refugee resettlement, largely shaped by the experiences and issues of previous refugee groups, primarily from Eastern Europe and the Middle East, does not

adequately meet the needs of African humanitarian immigrant communities (Spinks, 2009).

Of course, government institutions cannot practice social inclusion without a government-level concern for socially inclusive relationships and ways to promote them. Participants were aware of this connection and have raised their disappointment over the government failing to show interest in the achievements of their community. For example, in recent years a relatively large number of Sudanese students graduated from Australian universities, but their graduations, a major achievement, received little recognition from the government, media or the broader community. Participants thought that this lack of positive acknowledgement had contributed to the negative imagery of their community which also prevailed in the media at the time of our interviews, as discussed in Chapter 5.

Other researchers reported similar concerns in the community. For example, a recent study investigating the experiences of Sudanese refugees in Tasmania (Shakespeare-Finch & Wickham, 2010) noted that participants thought that the government should take a more active role in relation to advocacy of newly arrived refugees. This could be in the form of more comprehensive information to the Australian-born community about the nature of refugee status, Australia's commitment to refugees, and the ways in which they can help refugees to adapt to life in Australia.

Should governments take a more active role and show leadership and invest in promoting the integration of refugee migrants? In her paper on value orientation and attitudes formation, Valerie Braithwaite asserts that in democratic societies, political and social institutions have a responsibility to provide knowledge and show leadership to advance prized values such as respect and fairness, and to set standards for political evaluation and debate and reflective decision making⁷⁴ (V. Braithwaite, 2009b). Additionally, tensions in the broader Australian community may arise if government does not respond or take a leading role for strategic actions and on-going support to

⁷⁴ Although, Braithwaite questioned how well democratic governments tend to do this.

enhance social cohesion and trust in the wider community. For example, the increase in numbers of humanitarian entrants from Africa has already created tension in some communities, and has shone the spotlight on issues of social cohesion and integration (Spinks, 2009).

So why have successive governments of late not shown such leadership? The main reason I propose is the absence of an ideological framework to respond best to the humanitarian objectives of resettlement for forced migrants.⁷⁵ In the absence of such a framework the government found itself reacting to, rather than managing, the growing tension between increasingly diverse humanitarian migrant intakes and the decreasing popularity of multiculturalism. In the 1970s and 80s, when multiculturalism was adopted by many Western countries, there was a sense of policy being adopted to manage the growing cultural diversity of the country. However, with the decreasing popularity of multiculturalism, migrant settlement and inclusion policy has taken a new focus. Immigrant integration has become the responsibility of the immigrant household aided by a limited range of government-funded services such as English tuition aimed at creating self-sufficient immigrants (Ley, 2013).

But there are fundamental problems with the current government approach. The first is a normative and legal issue with regard to the Australian Government's obligation to the UNHCR. As explored in detail in Chapter 2, resettlement is a protection measure for those refugees under the mandate of the UNHCR who are unable to return to their country of origin or to integrate into the country of first asylum. It is a humanitarian response to which resettlement countries, such as Australia, have committed themselves in their agreement with the UNHCR. Accordingly, Australia should follow through its commitment by providing the appropriate services, infrastructure and support necessary for integration of refugees, including the creation of equal access and opportunities to ensure participation and actively promote an inclusive and welcoming society (Doney,

⁷⁵ In Chapter 2, I demonstrated how Australian Government policies and programs of refugee settlements are advanced from the general framework for voluntary migration and its economic benefits to Australia.

Eckert, & Pittaway, 2010; European Council on Refugees and Exiles, 2005; Gebre-Selassie, 2008; Jupp, 2011).

The shortcomings of the Australian Government in this matter have been noted by the United Nations. In its response to Australia's fifteenth to seventeenth periodic reports to the United Nations Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination (UN CERD), the Committee drew particular attention to the multiple forms of discrimination experienced by some groups, including African Australians. The Committee recommended that Australia strengthen the race and cultural dimensions of its Social Inclusion Agenda (United Nations Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination, 2010, p. 3).

It should be noted that the commitment to the UNHCR and humanity are not the only motivation for Australia's refugee intake. There were other important domestic and international considerations at play when Australia signed up in support of the UNHCR resettlement program. The main domestic consideration of taking humanitarian migrants is their potential contribution to Australia's workforce and population. The international consideration is promoting the co-operative image of Australia within the international community (Jupp, 2007). But the presence of these other motivating factors when Australia signed up to support the UNHCR resettlement program does not mean that the government should treat its obligations lightly. Rather, the government should address the inherent conflict between the domestic and international framing of Australia's humanitarian migrant resettlement and align its policies with its obligation to the UNHCR.

The second fundamental problem of the current government approach is that it does not work. The current strategy, as demonstrated by this research, clearly does not deliver the desired results of integration of humanitarian migrants, including their contribution to Australia's economy. A three-year study on African Australians and their experiences of social inclusion and human rights in Australia by the Australian Human Rights Commission (AHRC) has revealed similar results. Many African Australians, especially those who have migrated to Australia within the last 15 years, experience widespread discrimination in a range of areas, including employment, education, housing, or their

connection with the justice system. The study concluded that these experiences acted as barriers to settlement and inclusion (Australian Human Rights Commission, 2010). The South Sudanese community is especially behind the rest of the Australian community on a number of measures of inclusion, and a significant proportion of Sudanese families living in Australia experience multiple markers of socio-economic disadvantage, such as high unemployment, low income and high proportion of one parent families. For example, in 2011 the average weekly income of a Sudanese family was \$805 compared of an Australian family \$1,492. As many, as 32.6% of Sudanese families were headed by one parent, compared to 18.8% of Australian families. Of the two parent Sudanese families, 30.4% reported of neither working, compared to 17.2% two parent Australian families (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2011a).

Mounting empirical evidence of poor resettlement outcomes for humanitarian migrants begs the need for rigorous re-evaluation of the effectiveness of support services to the South Sudanese and other migrant communities. Currently, the effectiveness of services is assessed from data collected by service delivery agencies gathered for the purpose of satisfying their reporting requirements. But, such data is grossly inadequate for providing valid information on the extent to which Australia's resettlement programs are meeting their objectives of strengthening pathways for immigrants towards social and economic inclusion.

Thus in addition to revising its resettlement policies, the government should also review its resettlement program delivery. This should include proper evaluation of current services, establishing the specific needs of newly arriving communities and identifying the gaps in current programs and services. Development of new programs should be done in partnership with clients, services delivering the programs, and state governments administering services in general. An important objective should be skill transfer, and capacity-building and resourcing of emerging communities to the point where they can advocate effectively for their communities and can work in partnership with a range of service providers to support their communities.

8.4 Summary

In this section I argued for a more responsive and respectful approach by the government to support the resettlement and healthier functioning of Sudanese individuals, families and the Sudanese community at large.

Responsive engagement with culturally diverse communities requires cultural awareness among services providers, including knowledge and understanding of the communities they are working with. As proposed by Meidinger (1987), groups can have meaning unique to themselves. The shared historical experiences and social position of Sudanese Australians play a significant role in how they make sense of and interpret their relationship with government agencies and regulators. For relationships to be constructive they must make effective use of people's values and positive identities and images. In the case of the Sudanese community, government organisations should have recognised the significance of employment as a pathway for establishing themselves in their new society and regaining their sense of respect. The government should have responded by working with the community to identify what were the real barriers in their pathways, and how these barriers could be best minimised by the government or overcome by the community.

For resettlement programs and policies to be effective they need to respond to the needs of arrival communities and receiving communities to ensure that effective and accessible means to support their inclusion are in place. An important part of this approach is developing and resourcing the capacities within arrival and receiving communities and their respective social institutions.

South Sudanese Australians are community-focused. Their willingness to come together and act on the needs of their community is a strong positive characteristic of the diaspora. This unique strength of the community needs to be recognised and harnessed by the government and government organisations. Sudanese community associations have repeatedly requested the government for opportunities to build up their capacities to be better able to support their people in the community. Responding

to this request provides an ideal opportunity for government organisations to work with the community towards the shared objective of supporting the settlement needs of Sudanese migrants. Responding to the request of the community is likely to inject shared understanding and goodwill between the community and government organisations, providing positive support for cooperation with government organisations in other regulatory areas (V. Braithwaite, 1995; Meidinger, 1987).

Recognising people from the Sudanese community as participants rather than subjects of decisions will also reduce the sense of frustration, threat and subsequent social distancing from Australian government organisations. Including Sudanese people and their associations as participants in program design and delivery is more likely to deliver sustainable programs which also meet the needs of the community. But by not engaging with the Sudanese community and their needs, resettlement policies and programs have failed to strengthen the pathways towards social and economic inclusion for people in the community.

The next chapter will explore the topic of conflict and violence within Sudanese Australian families, and subsequent intervention from care and protection authorities.

Chapter 9 – Family conflict and intervention from Australian authorities

This chapter explores the final main source of perceived disrespect in the Sudanese community—intervention by Australian government authorities in response to family conflict and violence. As identified in Chapter 5, family violence, often with the intent of regulating the behaviour of children, youth and women, is a critical issue in the Sudanese community. Subsequent intervention by Australian authorities is a source of a strong sense of disrespect among Sudanese Australians. This chapter examines in more detail some of the critical aspects of this multifaceted issue with the focus on the community's concern about their loss of parental authority and ability to control their youth, and the perceived role of Australian government authorities in relation to these concerns.

Four main sections make up this chapter. The first section introduces the contextual factors contributing to the relatively high prevalence of family conflict and disintegration in the South Sudanese community of Australia. The second section identifies the main sources of inter-generational conflict within families, while the third section explores the frustration among parents over the loss of their parental authority, and parallel feelings of lack of support among Sudanese youth. The fourth section demonstrates how government intervention, responding to reports of family violence, has left some parents demoralised by their sense of losing their rights to discipline their children.

In the earlier sections of this chapter I focus primarily upon the voices of participants, and finding emerging themes in their narratives without relating it too much to

interpretive frameworks or existing social theories. Once I have presented the main themes and a comprehensive account of the interpretations of the community, I will progressively bring in and discuss extant theories that cogently link with the themes to provide theoretical interpretation of results.

9.1 Family conflicts and disintegration in the context of forced migration

Family breakdown and disintegration is a critical concern in the South Sudanese Australian community. As explained below by one of the Sudanese community workers, despite the many positive aspects Australia holds for her community, they have an unforeseen challenge in their new environment—their families are breaking down.

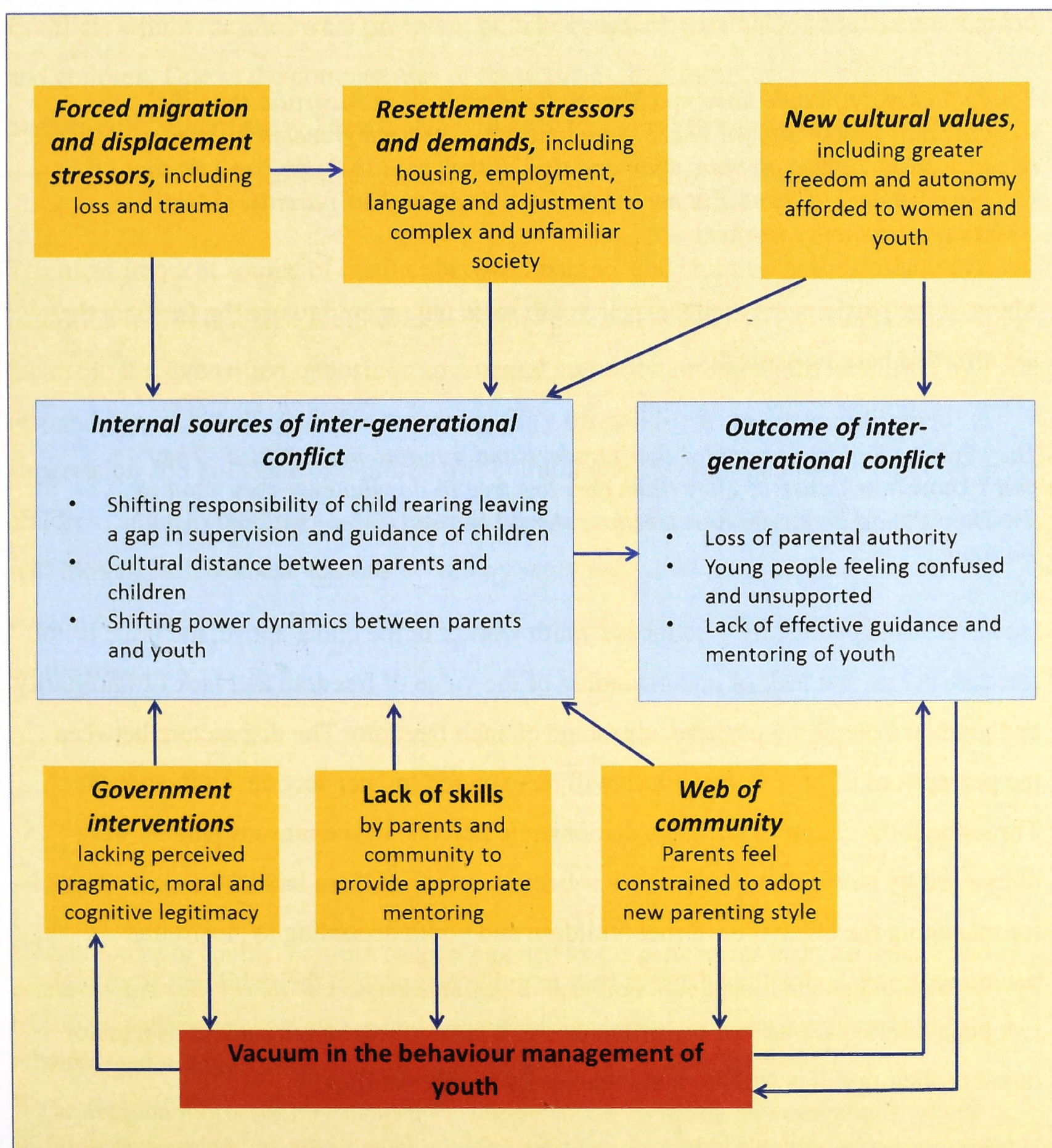
The community now has a difficult thing. Like Australia is a good country, we are very lucky to be in Australia, but we have a big challenge here. The family is breaking down. (Female Sudanese community worker)

All of the participants in this study have expressed similar concerns. This general concern in the community corresponds with the literature which found family conflict, violence and breakdown to be the main issues for the South Sudanese community of Australia (Lewig, Arney, & Salveron, 2009; Milner & Khawaja, 2010; Pittaway & Muli, 2009; J. Taylor & Stanovic, 2005) as well as for authorities and organisations working with the community (Department for Community Development Government of Western Australia Family and Domestic Violence Unit, 2005; Migrant Information Centre, 2008).

The relatively high level of family breakdown in the community is brought about to a large extent by the interaction between family conflict and external stressors, some associated with forced migration and others specific to the community. Figure 9.1 below is a scheme of the composite of issues identified in the research literature and findings from the current study, each of which I will discuss throughout this chapter.

Forced migration, including high levels of loss and grief, and long periods spent being displaced or in refugee camps has placed considerable stress on South Sudanese humanitarian immigrants. Upon arriving in Australia, members of the community found themselves dealing with a new set of resettlement stressors and demands, experienced by most humanitarian immigrants. These external stressors while not always specific to the Sudanese community had a big impact on their ability to deal with family conflicts.

Figure 9.1: Family conflict and breakdown: internal and external factors



The other important external factor identified by participants for contributing to gender and inter-generational conflicts in families is new cultural values. Study participants thought that Australian cultural values, and particularly the greater sense of freedom afforded to women and youth, undermined the balance in their families. They often attributed increasing family conflicts and subsequent family separation to women and youth challenging their traditional positions in their families. The two quotes below are a typical example of many similar statements.

In the families there are lot of crises between husband and wife because of being in this country. (Male participant)

Young Sudanese people have much more freedom here in Australia than the freedom they had in Sudan. There were limitations to your freedom in Sudan because of the respect to your mum and dad. If they said that you can't do that, you have listened to them. But here they don't listen to their parents. (Male Sudanese community worker)

Many of the participants thought their youth were unprepared to use the freedom they are afforded here in Australia.

They [young Sudanese people] don't understand freedom in Australia. They don't know how to use it. They think they are free to do whatever they want to do. They should be taught how freedom should be used. (Male Sudanese youth worker)

However, as explained by a Sudanese youth worker in the quote above, the issue is not freedom per se, but lack of understanding of the value of freedom and lack of familiarity and guidance on taking positive advantage of such freedom. The disjuncture between the perceptions of parents and youth will be explored in later sections of this chapter. Throughout the chapter I will also demonstrate that one of the reasons parents were threatened by new cultural influences is because many of them lacked the skills needed for managing the behaviour of their children and youth according to Australian parenting norms and values. Unsure how to guide and protect their children from high risk behaviours, parents saw the influences of a new cultural environment as a major threat to their families and the main reason for family conflict.

This first section of the chapter summarised the contextual factors, identified by the literature and the community, contributing to the relatively high prevalence of family conflict and disintegration in the South Sudanese Australian community. In the next section I identify the main sources of inter-generational conflict in South Sudanese families upon resettlement.

9.2 Sources of inter-generational conflict within families

Conflicts within families were prevalent both between couples⁷⁶ and between parents and children. Due to the complexities of these issues, this thesis cannot explore both matters comprehensively. Therefore, I will only focus on inter-generational conflict within families⁷⁷ and subsequent intervention from regulatory authorities.

The most frequent source of conflict between parents and children in the community identified in this research is children opposing parental authority. The main contributing factors to the intensified opposition to parental authority among youth identified by respondents included: (i) shifting responsibility for child-rearing, leaving a gap in supervision and guidance of children; (ii) cultural distance between parents and children; and (iii) shifting power dynamics between parents and youth. The next section will look at each of these reasons in turn by reporting views and insights from the community and relating the narratives of participants to most recent research findings on the topic.

⁷⁶ Main source of conflict between couples reported by the participants included unclear and contested division of roles and responsibilities, competition over control of often limited resources, and women challenging traditional public and domestic norms, gendered power relations, and use of physical violence as a regulatory tool by their husbands.

⁷⁷ The decision was based on a number of considerations, including the researcher's limited ability as an 'outsider' to collect reliable and rich data on the highly sensitive and private topic of gender conflicts in families.

9.2.1 Shifting responsibility for child-rearing

Questioning of parental authority among Sudanese youth was raised by nearly all of the participants in this research. It was related by many of the participants to the shifting of parenting responsibility from the extended family and the community to the mother. In southern Sudan, behaviour management and the day-to-day activities of bringing up children is a shared responsibility. Input from mothers is not as significant as it is in Australian and other Western-style cultures. Participants emphasised the importance of older children and grandparents in bringing up younger children in Africa.

There is little spending of time between parents and children. Children are often brought up by older children and in some cultures by grandparents in their younger years. (Male participant)

In Australia, however, the responsibility of raising children and managing their behaviour often becomes the sole responsibility of the mother, and single mothers head many South Sudanese families. This is partly due to the high prevalence of family separation in the community and partly to the relatively high number of humanitarian visas issued by the Australian Government under the Woman at Risk sub-category, which assists widowed and separated mothers.⁷⁸ Additionally, with South Sudan becoming an independent country, some of the men from Australia have temporarily moved back,⁷⁹ leaving their children, looked after by their wives, in Australia for educational purposes. Subsequently, many Sudanese mothers find themselves in Australia parenting essentially alone, five or more children—an experience which can be difficult and challenging. The following view was shared by participating parents:

In Africa everyone has to look after your children; their auntie and uncle, and all your friends; they all have to teach your children the good work. But here it is just me to look after the children. (Female participant)

⁷⁸ For example, in 2005-06, 16.5% of the total visas under the refugee component were granted to Woman at Risk applicants (Department of Immigration and Citizenship, 2006a).

⁷⁹ This move can involve marrying additional wives and establishing additional families in South Sudan.

In Sudan there is always someone who sees the child and they know what they're doing; like the mum, or dad, or uncle, auntie, or someone from the community. You know, any person within the community if he saw the child doing the wrong thing, he can advise, and the child will have to listen to the person. But here in Australia the child never listens. (Male participant)

As illustrated by the above quotes, prior to migration to Australia, Sudanese youth were often under the constant observance of their relatives and community who had unchallenged authority over them. What was expected of them was clearly communicated through orders as well as through their cultural norms and their position in the hierarchical structure of their families. Failure to comply with such expectations would lead to rebukes or punishment from adult members of the family and the community. In contrast to Australia, children had little opportunity to openly contest parental authority. Sudanese parents in Australia find it difficult to come to terms with the increased open contestation of their authority and feel challenged in managing it without the support of extended family members and social structures supporting their traditional authorities. Similar findings were reported in a study of Queensland mothers of African background (Doney, et al., 2010).

9.2.2 Cultural distance between parents and children

Opposition by youth to following behavioural patterns prescribed by their heritage culture is another main source of family conflict identified by participants. When families immigrate to a new country, their members relate to two cultures: their heritage culture prior to migration, and the culture of their hosting society. On the whole, children, who typically attend school and sport and social activities, tend to acculturate and to take on elements of the new culture more rapidly than their parents who are often more isolated within the host community (Hwang, 2006; Ying & Han, 2007). When the original heritage culture and the new culture do not endorse similar values, the new behavioural patterns adopted by adolescents can lead to more conflict between parents and their children.

Most participants in this research had very clear ideas about the cultural traditions they expected their children to maintain. As explained by one of the Sudanese community workers:

The parents want them to follow the African way. (Female Sudanese community worker)

A desire to maintain and re-establish continuity after the disruption of displacement and migration through preservation of culture is a characteristic of many refugee families and is not unique to the South Sudanese diaspora (Atwell, et al., 2009; Rousseau, Rufagari, Bagilishya, & Measham, 2004). In addition, when parents cannot see the benefits of the new culture for their children they are particularly motivated to go back to their own culture. For example, while the participant below demonstrated significant personal and professional achievements in Australia and felt confident at navigating most aspects of Australian culture, she remained concerned about its impact on her young daughter.

In primary school they just do the good things, they are studying and they don't go to parties. But high school is different. So I'm thinking I want to bring up my daughter when she goes to high school more like my culture. (Female participant)

Another concern in the context of cultural influence raised by most participants is the sexual morality and the dating culture of youth in Australia and its conflict with the values and practices of South Sudanese cultures. In Australia it is an accepted practice for youth to have romantic interests while pursuing their studies, and without a view to a proximate marriage. Sudanese parents, and at times the youth pursuing these relationships, find it difficult to make sense of these new values.

Also, having a boyfriend in our culture is not allowed. Maybe he can come and ask me if he can come and see her and sit with her in here, but not just walking out in the street. Families have a lot of conflicts because of that. (Male participant)

Sometimes they just move in together, with no bridewealth. And the parents of the lady say you just take that lady without the bridewealth? What is my benefit

now? I looked after her, I fed that lady and now I will be at loss. I won't have a single dollar. It will be a quarrel. (Male participant)

A confounding factor in these concerns, demonstrated by the above quote, is the importance of bridewealth. Bridewealth has many important functions beside its economic benefits for families of daughters and their extended relations in Australia as well as in Africa. As described in Chapter 3, in Sudan it strengthens social bonds between families and clans. Most participants thought of bridewealth as highly desirable for the same reason; that is to build social support around families in their new environment. This was a firmly held belief among participants, despite the fact that many of the intense conflicts I was told of between Sudanese families, were over bridewealth. This relates back to the complexities of utilising heritage customs to protect family structures and their futures, without the support of heritage social structures discussed in earlier chapters.

9.2.3 Shifting power dynamics between parents and youth

Shifting power dynamics between parents and youth was a real concern for participants. As demonstrated in the previous section, on arrival in Australia Sudanese parents and children acculturated at a different level and pace. This can make parenting difficult, as parents may feel they are losing parental authority and their role to assist the social development of their children is threatened (Doney, et al., 2010; Hebbani, Obijiofor, & Bristed, 2009; Lewig, et al., 2010; Ochocka & Janzen, 2008).

The rapid acquisition of English language by children compared to their parents, can also create a power differential within the family structure as children take on the task of negotiating the systems and structures in the new society. This reliance by parents on their children for their daily contact with the outside world can lead to a weakening of the parental role and can undermine the parents' ability to guide their children (Atwell, et al., 2009; Zhou & Bankston, 2000).

Interestingly, while differential acculturation and its impact on power dynamics within families is recognised in the literature, it was not recognised by the parents participating

in this study. It was, however, recognised by some of the Sudanese-born community workers. As explained by a Sudanese community worker who had a good understanding of both Dinka and Australian cultures, Sudanese parents make sense of their children's behaviour from their heritage cultural framework as that is the one they know. Their children, on the other hand, are more likely to make sense of the meaning of events relying on Australian cultural frameworks with which they are more familiar.

Young people here don't listen to their parents. But what caused the situation is that when young people came here they were quicker to adapt to the situation and they adapted quickly to too much freedom. But it is challenging for the parent who doesn't understand how things work in this country. Because if the young kid leaves the house to live by himself then the parent might say, oh my kid ran away from me. (Male Sudanese community worker)

A more readily acknowledged reason cited by parents for the shifting power dynamics between parents and children is their sense of being prevented by Australian law and authorities from disciplining their children according to their established parenting practices. Parenting practices differ across cultures and times, and practices used in home and transit countries may not be approved or sanctioned by laws in the host country. In South Sudan, as in many African cultures, discipline and respect are important elements of parenting and parents and other adults use an instructional approach together with physical punishment when teaching children (Hebbani, et al., 2009). Corporal punishment of children is a common and approved method of regulating their behaviour as long as it is done for a reason and is not needlessly severe. While all participants were aware that corporal punishment that leaves marking, bruising and other injuries may be classified as physical abuse, and could lead to intervention by police and/or child protection authorities, most of them also believed that it was their obligation as responsible parents to physically discipline their children to ensure that they turn out well. As explained by one of the participants:

The reason why we cane children is because when they are young and someone tells them to do this, sometimes they don't understand, so you cane them so that they will remember what they have to do. It gives them a good direction of what they have to do. (Male participant)

Parents feared that without the physical discipline of children they would not be able to socialise their children into the role of becoming responsible and hard-working adults.

You want to teach your child the right thing. Now how can you keep teaching your child the right thing if you just stop beating her? (Male participant)

When I asked a respondent what would help to reduce the physical disciplining of children, she emphasised the need to offer alternative methods to teach and discipline children.

We cane children because this is how they learn. If you don't want parents to cane their children then you have to explain it to them and you have to teach them to discipline their children in other ways, and slowly they will learn. (Female participant)

However, shifting parenting practices in the community may not be as simple as introducing alternative methods. Recent research found that despite the fact that aspects of traditional authoritarian parenting styles, such as corporal punishment, are either against the law or unsupported by the host country, migrant parents are reticent to adjust their parenting style. In fact some may become more rigid over time (Varela et al., 2004). It is proposed that this may be part of the coping mechanisms of parents to strengthen parental authority and reinforce cultural identity among children to protect them from high-risk behaviours in their new environment (Kotchick & Forehand, 2002).

Furthermore, taking up alternative and often less instructional methods for managing children can be difficult for parents with limited English as the language barrier can make it difficult to understand new parenting norms and values. In their recent research on the internal dynamics of resettled refugee families in Melbourne, Atwell and her colleagues found a notable distinction in the disciplining methods described by parents with limited English language skills compared to parents with good English skills. Parents with good English were more inclined to use reasoning instead of corporal punishment. Atwell reasoned that parents with limited or no English knowledge can feel distressed at being unable 'to take control of the situation' and can feel inhibited in their ability to offer effective guidance to their children, 'leaving them fearful for their children's and their own futures' (Atwell, et al., 2009, p. 684). Thus what appears to be

inflexibility among Sudanese parents to revise their heritage cultural parenting norms in favour of new culturally-approved parenting methods, may in fact be a result of parents' lack of confidence in Western parenting methods and their capacity to support their children by applying those methods.

This section demonstrated that despite increased conflict and separation, the positive future of their families and children is still a highly important goal for Sudanese Australians. Yet parents feel challenged to envisage a coherent sense of the future for their children in their new cultural environment with unfamiliar social structures and family norms. In response, they saw the preservation of their heritage cultural norms and values within their families and their heritage parenting methods as sound and reliable means to achieve their desired goals of securing their family's future. In the next section I describe the different impact of inter-generational conflict on parents and children of Sudanese families.

9.3 Outcomes of and responses to inter-generational conflict

The consequences of inter-generational conflict were experienced and framed in different ways by Sudanese parents and their children. Parents saw the consequences in terms of losing their parental authority and status to guide their children. Their youth, on the hand, have felt unsupported and unguided in their new environment. I will clarify each of these themes in turn. I conclude this section by discussing the emerging matter from the analysis—a lack of effective guidance and mentoring of youths in the Sudanese community.

9.3.1 Loss of parental authority

It was evident from the interviews that parents' understanding of the role and status of children and youth had been seriously challenged in Australia. Coupled with the authoritarian and hierarchical parenting style of their heritage culture, parents not

surprisingly felt that they were losing their parental authority and power. The quote below is an example of how participant parents feel disempowered and frustrated by the rights and freedom given to their children in Australia.

There are lot of challenges for us, and it is because being here we lost our powers as a parent. You have no power to control your child if she or he decides to get out. You have no power to treat it firmly as a father or mother the way you want them to be? It is very hard. It is very, very hard. (Male participant)

Participants noted with some astonishment that their children could call, or threaten to call, the police and other authorities if they found themselves in conflict with their parents.

When children have a problem and they see a counsellor to tell them such and such happened, the counsellor tells them to call the police. They put that in their mind and they think that it is a good idea. So when you want to parent them and say to them do this, they can just call the police. (Female participant)

Parents were upset that their children could use the law of their new country to challenge parental authority. They felt disempowered and frustrated by their sense of loss of parental power and the sense of identity as a parent. Family structures give form and meaning to the lives of parents. Intrusion from Australian authorities undermines these family structures and robs parents of their sense of identity of being a good parent and a person of worth with good moral standards.

Parents were especially frustrated by the support, including financial support, given to children by government agencies to live independently from their parents. Participants also noted that when young people moved out or ran away from the family home they often engaged in high-risk behaviours due to lack of parental discipline.

And after that [when they have moved out to emergency accommodation] they do nothing at all. They don't study, not doing anything. (Female participant)

One of the reasons parents cannot understand the purpose of intervention from government authorities is because in most cases they believed that their way of

disciplining children was effective, and without the use of physical punishment they were powerless to control their children. As summarised by one of the participants:

Disciplining, caning, or hitting the child with a small object is the important responsibility of the parents to teach their children right and wrong so that they will grow up to be a proper adults. But children just go to the agencies and the agencies will protect them. But, the Australian Government needs to consider first what the problem is in the community. (Male participant)

Sudanese parents could not make sense of the purpose of government intervention. They were doing their jobs as good and responsible parents disciplining their children. The way they experienced it, care and protection agencies were preventing them from doing their jobs. What was even more upsetting for parents is that in some instances children could use the law and the power of government authorities to defy their parents and evade parental discipline. Parents thought that authorities should support their parenting efforts rather than overturn them.

9.3.2 Young people feeling confused and unsupported

While parents were upset and distressed about their loss of parental power, community and youth workers were on the view that some Sudanese children and young adults felt confused and unsupported in their efforts to settle into their new cultural environment. Although none of the participating parents identified this as an issue, it was raised by some of the Sudanese community workers.

The kids sometimes are very confused. The parents want them to be in one way, but when they go out there, they meet new friends and the culture out there is different from what is expected of them to follow. (Female Sudanese community worker)

Parents need to listen more to their children. But most parents find this very difficult as their thoughts are occupied with the challenges of settling. (Male Sudanese community worker)

A youth worker raised the issue that while it is important that parents make the necessary effort to learn English and other skills which will assist their resettlement, it can leave them with little time to provide the support their children need.

When the parents come here they are told that they have to attend English programs and all the other activities that Centrelink tell them they have to do. So when the children come home from school the parents can't give them the support they need. (Male Sudanese youth worker)

As explained by a youth worker, lack of parental support for the sporting activities of children and youth is a recurring grievance among young males in the Sudanese community. Many of the South Sudanese children are good at sports, such as soccer or basketball, and are respected for it in their schools. But often it is unrecognised by their parents who do not see merit in their sporting achievements. Subsequently, parents do not tend to support their children in their sporting activities, especially if they have limited financial resources, and this makes it harder for their children. It can also be a source of conflict within families.

When they go to sport like basketball or soccer the parents don't support it, because they can't afford it and also because they want them to be at home at certain hours. Then the kids see that the parents are not helpful in making their life better for them. And the parent is just wondering what is wrong in here; why does my kid not understand me when I want him to learn and to have a good future. So it is a complex situation. (Male Sudanese youth worker)

An issue specific to young women is lack of information and guidance from mothers on safe sexual practices. At the African refugee women's group consultative feedback sessions convened by the Centre for Refugee Research, University of New South Wales in 2011, representatives from the South Sudanese young women's group raised the issue of 'silence around sexual issues and health with parents'. As explained by a group representative: 'Often, all they say is: don't get pregnant. In the meantime teen pregnancy is rising rapidly in the community'. Another concern raised by the group is the lack of trust from parents, including young people not being given information on the separation of their parents, despite the adverse impact not knowing may have on them.

While the current research only interviewed adult participants, a Perth-based study dealing with psychosocial well-being of adolescent and young refugees has given valuable insights into the experiences of young people. The study found that most young people thought that inter-generational stress often created family conflict as

youth attempted to find a balance between the new culture in the school and their family's traditional culture at home. These conflicts often interacted with other factors such as racial discrimination, urban subcultures, labour market opportunities and academic outcome. Youth participants talked of their sense of loneliness (Earnest, Housen, & Gillieatt, 2007).

What emerged from the interviews and the research literature is that Sudanese parents were unaware of children's feelings of confusion and loneliness and their need for support and mentoring to adjust to their new environment. In a paradoxical way, while Sudanese parents want their children to become intellectually and economically successful, their current behaviour management methods leave their children unsupported, and in some cases have restricted the children's self-actualisation and potential social mobility. In their new and often confusing environment, parents saw their traditional parenting method and preservation of their traditional structures and roles within families as the best means towards their goal of raising successful adults. Yet these means in a new cultural context are not always helpful. Supportive relationships and mentoring from parents and relatives are important pathways for youth to become responsible and successful adults, and deficiencies in these relationships are likely to have contributed to negative outcomes for children.

9.3.4 Lack of effective guidance and mentoring of youth

One of the insights of this research is what appears to be a lack of effective guidance and mentoring of young Sudanese people in their efforts to adjust to their new cultural environment, including its values and laws. A number of the Sudanese community and youth workers have raised the need for recognising this period of cultural adjustment among youth.⁸⁰ They referred to it as 'in-between culture' or 'in-between law'.

⁸⁰ Cultural transition and attempts to form identities in a new cultural environment are issues across the community and were explored in detail in Chapter 8.

The kids don't understand Australian law properly and also they don't know the Sudanese law. They are in between, and they are not coping well with either law. (Male Sudanese youth worker)

It is hard to talk to them because they are confused between the cultures. (Female Sudanese community worker)

Lack of exposure of young Sudanese people to the broader Australian community was also evident. One of the young South Sudanese youth workers thought that the biggest challenge in the first year for Sudanese youth migrating to Australia is gaining a more comprehensive understanding of the norms and values across a range of young Australian groups.

Young people don't really understand Australian culture. They come across other African kids who have been here for a long time and some of them are drinking alcohol and using drugs and it's because they haven't been here for a long time they think this is how everyone lives in Australia. They don't know those Australian young people who work hard at school and have part time jobs, and respect their parents. (Male Sudanese youth worker)

The need for more effective relationships with parents and other mentors during this period of adjustment was evident. There are a number of reasons for insufficient support and mentoring of Sudanese youth. Lack of support networks due to immigration, and the relatively high separation rate in the community was already identified in Section 2 of this chapter. Separation in most families results in reduced financial resources and increased demands on the resident parent. This is a common issue for most separated families. What is unique is the relatively large family size of Sudanese families coupled with often limited financial resources and the complete absence of the non-resident parent and extended family members to help the mother. As explained by one of the youth workers below:

The problem is when couples separate the men just leave without seeing their children. As the wives have too much to do, the children are not looked after well. But it is because the husbands haven't been educated in how to see their children after separation. (Male Sudanese youth worker)

Another reason for insufficient support of Sudanese youth is the lack of skills among parents and community members to provide appropriate mentoring to youth in their new

cultural environment. Although the goals of parenting are generally consistent across cultures, parenting approaches tend to vary. They form part of a culturally organised system, evolved to meet environmental needs (Coll & Pachter, 2002). The parenting practices of South Sudanese parents who have just recently arrived in Australia reflect the environmental needs of their homeland and refugee camps. Åsander and her colleagues proposed that the child socialisation practices of many African countries which focus on obedience and discipline, reflect the power distances of those countries (Åsander, Rubensson, Munobwa, & Faxelid, 2013). She argued that the relatively high power distance observed in many African countries, i.e. the extent to which the less powerful members of institutions and organisations within a country expect and accept that power is distributed unequally, tend to transfer to the most basic institutions of society, such as the family, the school and the community. In countries like Australia, with a lower power distance, parents and children tend to have a more equal relationship, and parenting practices tend to focus more on communication and reasoning. As described by one of the participating parents below, parenting communication styles in the two countries are quite different and Sudanese parents need to move towards a new approach of communicating with their children. Parents need time and support to adjust and learn new ways of communicating with their children.

*Communication in traditional Sudanese culture is more one way, the child listen to the parent, but here parents need to listen more to their children.
(Male participant)*

At a broader level, Sudanese parents also have to re-negotiate their relationship with their children, who in the new Australian context will inevitably seek greater control over their lives. Parents and children need to be assisted through this complex process. Merely providing information on Australian norms and values on parenting and conveying the expectations of new parenting behaviours is unlikely to be enough to bring about desired parenting practices. Sudanese, and other migrant parents from cultures with different parenting traditions, could be provided with active support, practical advice and direction on how to implement modified parenting practices. A project evaluation report of a Migrant Information Centre/Southern Sudanese community program, designed to develop and implement culturally appropriate ways of preventing and intervening in family violence, found that participants were more likely

to respond to useful and relevant practical activities that they could replicate at home. This is consistent with the practices of Sudanese elders and relatives who would often instruct individuals on what to do in particular parenting situations, giving practical advice to ‘solve’ a problem (Migrant Information Centre, 2008). While such an approach has its limitations, it should be included in programs assisting Sudanese parents, because the approach is responsive to the cultural and communication dimensions shaping their lives.

Surprisingly, very few of the participating parents identified lack of parenting skills in a new environmental context as a source of family conflict. However, it was raised by all of the community and youth workers I talked to. Below is one example from a young Sudanese youth worker, explaining how parenting practices in the community are experienced by children as unhelpful.

Sometimes the kids think that their parents' behaviour is not helpful for them. But the parents don't understand it that way. They just think why my kid does not understand me when I want him to learn and to have a good future. They think my kid has been disrespectful or confused, or they blame it on the freedom in Australia, or the police or child protection. (Male Sudanese youth worker)

I propose that one of the reasons parents did not engage further with parenting skills which are more appropriate to their new environmental context is because many have seen the lower parent-child power distances as threatening to their existing parental power. Parents should be given opportunities and safe spaces to explore the dilemmas of adjusting to new parental values and norms and find ways of implementation that are meaningful and acceptable.

Another reason why some parents are hesitant to implement new parenting practices is because currently they see it as a punitive measure forced on them. In fact, most participants expressed a strong desire to learn other new skills to improve their day-to-day living in their new environment, such as managing a budget. The sense I got from the community's stories is that everyone is keen to acquire new skills as long as it is perceived as opportunity for learning and skilling, as opposed to penalising measures

forced on them. This comes back to the point of resourcing and building skills and capacity among the community to act for themselves instead of been acted upon.

An important source of mentoring youth and supporting parents is advice and involvement from extended family and community elders. However, one of the findings of this research as well as some other current Australian studies is that advice from other members of the Sudanese community, in Australia or abroad, is not always helpful for individuals in the new cultural context. The quote below from a young husband and father demonstrates how something as simple as sharing a meal with your wife and children at the same table⁸¹ will bring disapproval from his community.

Our culture is dominating our life. Like it is not giving you the freedom to be the family or a husband you want to be. So people in my culture are asking us: why are you sitting like this? They perceive it differently. But simply you just want to be happy; you want to show that you are one family, nothing more than that. (Male participant)

Younger participants, like the one above, have discussed in detail how they feel restricted to take on what they saw as more appropriate, supportive, and natural behaviours in their new environment towards their wife and children because of concern of strong disapproval from their community. These reflections from participants correspond with findings from a recent study on coping and resilience among Sudanese Australians. The authors noted that not all participants found the interaction with their community comforting. In fact, some reported isolating themselves from their community, as they thought that the Sudanese community did not understand their problems or that they expected problems to be solved according to traditional cultural norms (Schweitzer, et al., 2007). Such concern about disapproval from the community is likely to constrain parents from taking on parenting practices which are more supportive to their children in their new cultural environment.

⁸¹ South Sudanese men do not eat with their wife/wives and children but rather with their male contemporaries by age and social status, as described in Chapter 3. Even in Australia wives should not eat with their husband even at home.

Disapproval or counsel from important community members abroad are also important considerations and guidelines for parenting decisions. It became apparent through the interviews that Sudanese parents experiencing family conflict often tend to take advice from their African Sudanese community with whom they are still strongly connected. Most conflicts and unorthodox behaviours in the community are presented or reported to the older males in the family who are in the position of authority for advice and decision, irrespective of their geographical location. In-progress Australian research exploring the social norms of the Bor Dinka community in Sydney in the context of transnational social spaces found that when a family struggles with a contentious issue in Sydney, often a family elder living in South Sudan will mediate between family members. In South Sudanese cultures, mediation involves each party presenting its case, but it concludes with a definitive and coercive decision by the mediator (Atem, 2012). Thus, families in Australia struggling with conflicts prompted by issues specific to Australian norms and values can frequently be directed by people from Africa who have a limited understanding of the macro environment and its impact on the life of people in Australia. Due to 'being embedded in such transnational kinship ties, the behaviour of many South Sudanese in Sydney became controlled and manipulated from across the world' (Atem, 2012, p. 11).

What emerged from this section is the lack of skill and confidence among Sudanese parents to manage the behaviour of their children and youth in their new cultural environments. Parents have felt threatened and frustrated over the loss of their parental authority. At the same time, Sudanese youth have felt unsupported in their efforts to navigate the challenges of their new cultural environment. Some parents sought counsel from their family members and elders in Africa who have limited understanding of the contextual factors. Subsequently the advice they received, while comforting, often led to further conflicts rather than positive outcomes. This finding highlights the need for appropriate support for Sudanese and other migrant parents trying to adjust their parenting practices to their new cultural environment. In the next section, I look at intervention from government authorities and its impact on the community.

9.4 Government intervention

While loss of parental authority originated from the interaction of a number of factors, as described in this chapter, most participants viewed the most important factor as being interference by government authorities in parental efforts to discipline their children. Parents felt that government intervention in response to physically disciplining their children has deprived them of their parental obligation and responsibility to teach their children good and respectful behaviour. Parents also felt that they have lost their status and rights as parents to control their children. Participants also spoke of the factors they perceived as supporting their children to challenge their parents' authority, including government financial support for children, and the perceived support of schools and youth support organisations.

In Sudan the parents say, ok if you do that again we will cut off all the services we are providing to you, and then from there the kid say, ok how will I survive? So we can pull in the kids to the guidelines of our family. But not here. They just go to the agencies and they give them some money, they give them ticket for transport, and sometimes they give them food vouchers and a place to sleep without the knowledge of the parent. You see. What can the parent do? They have no power to stop such a thing. (Male participant)

Interference from youth organisations and various NGOs that assisted children overcome these sanctions, were viewed by parents as sabotaging their efforts: they helped children leave their families.

Participants of the current study were also affronted by the state intervention in their private family matters and space and the procedural approach these authorities have taken. The central concept from which Australian authorities, such as child protection services, operates regards the interest of the child as the overriding consideration, over the views of the family and community⁸². This idea is perceived to be inconceivable to

⁸² This 'child protection orientation' reflects the approach of the United States of America, the United Kingdom, Canada, and New Zealand, but contrasts with the 'family service orientation'

recently arrived South Sudanese families, who in their previous life had experienced very little interference from the state in the private sphere of family life. Additionally, as suggested by Nelson, parents think of such power by the state as troubling and threatening, partly because in their home and transit countries government authorities and officials are often corrupt and use their power unscrupulously (Nelson, Pricea, & Zubrzyckiab, 2013).

Quantitative data on the frequency and makeup of contacts between the South Sudanese community and child protection services is not available. However a recent report⁸³ by Lewig on contact between the South Australian child protection services and refugee families (including Dinka, Nuer and Madi Sudanese families) provided some informative facts. A summary of the makeup of reported incidents is provided below in Box 9.1. The leading type of incident for families' involvement with the child protection system concerned physical abuse, often in relation to discipline or punishment of the child.

The report noted that while most refugee families have access to services such as health, mental health, housing, employment and parenting support, they are inevitably tailored to meet the needs of mainstream individuals and families. One of the main difficulties experienced by refugee families when engaging with child protection agencies and other mainstream services is the lack of cultural understanding on the part of workers. The report argued that lack of cultural knowledge and understanding affects not only the ability of services to engage effectively with these families, but also the appropriateness of service interventions for families and the expected outcomes of such interventions (Lewig, et al., 2010). An important finding of the report is that in most cases abuse and

approach taken by countries such as Denmark, Sweden, and the Netherlands (Bromfield & Holzer, 2008).

⁸³ The report used the following data sources: data extracted from Families SA, the statutory child protection agency in South Australia; survey, telephone interviews and a focus group of practitioners employed within Families SA; and community focus groups with seven refugee communities.

neglect were related to families experiencing multiple stressors, highlighting the lack of resources and the serious need for support for humanitarian migrant parents.

Box 9.1: Data on contact between South Australian child protection services and refugee families

The study by the Australian Centre for Child Protection was commissioned in response to increasing notifications of suspected abuse and neglect being received by Australian child protection authorities for families from refugee backgrounds, particularly new arrivals from African and Middle Eastern countries. The report found that most families from refugee backgrounds who come into contact with the child protection system have been living in Australia for five years or less, and a large proportion of them have difficulty speaking and understanding English.

The predominant incidents leading to families' involvement with the child protection system is concerned with physical abuse, domestic violence and leaving children alone without adult supervision. The majority of incidents of physical abuse were child reports of abuse by parents often in relation to discipline or punishment of the child, followed by children being the subject of domestic violence along with their mothers, or were assaulted as they tried to intervene with their parents. Incidents of children being left unsupervised included: children being left in the care of older siblings, or found wandering the streets and neighbours or police being unable to locate parent/s or adult carers. Nearly all of the families with such incidents were sole parent families.

Eight per cent of these notifications were substantiated. In most cases abuse and neglect was related to families experiencing multiple stressors.

Source: (Lewig, Arney, & Salveron, 2010)

Lack of cultural knowledge and understanding among child protection workers were also raised by most participants in this research, including a counsellor working for an NGO assisting refugee families, among them South Sudan families. It is evident that the attention given to the particular situation of families from a refugee background by child protection services is insufficient. For example, since 2008 cultural planning is mandatory for Aboriginal or Torres Strait Island families ("Children and Young People Act," 2008); however, there is no such requirement for families with refugee backgrounds.

In summary, parents in the Sudanese community questioned the appropriateness of government intervention preventing them from 'parenting' their children. They felt unsupported by the Australian system that, in their view, had given more rights to

children, without supporting parents to teach their children right from wrong and how to make the most of the opportunities presented to them in Australia. They felt confused, disempowered, and ill-served by government services and are unable to comprehend the ways in which services can help them improve their relationships with children.

9.5 Summary

In this chapter I explored the South Sudanese community's concern over losing their parental authority and ability to control their youth, and the perceived role of Australian government authorities in relation to this concern. The future and security of families is the principal focus of Sudanese Australians. Families provide social and financial support for their members and are an important source of identity, status and respect for family members.

On their arrival in Australia, Sudanese parents felt threatened for the future of their children under the influence of their new cultural environment. Moreover, most Sudanese parents have lacked the skills needed for managing the behaviour of their children and youth according to Australian parenting norms and values. To protect their children from high-risk behaviours they turned to their long-standing heritage parenting norms and practices. Although Sudanese parents were aware that their parenting practices did not fit within the cultural and legal norms of Australia, they could not see how Western parenting practices, which they had little experience of, would help them in raising respectable young adults. To resolve their family conflicts, in some instances Sudanese parents sought counsel from family members and elders in Africa. The limited understanding of Australian family law and norms among people in Africa has possibly reinforced their reliance on parenting practices outside of Australian cultural and legal norms. In other words, parents did not feel skilled and confident to take on Australian approved means of parenting to bring about their desired goals of raising capable young adults. Instead they turned to their heritage cultural norms and practices as proven means to achieve their desired goals of securing their family's future and their place and status within it. Lack of financial resources and means are another important deficit in

Sudanese families. Many Sudanese parents have poor financial resources and are experiencing multiple stressors.

Care and protection authorities could have supported Sudanese parents by providing resources and helping parents to adopt socially and legally-approved means to achieve their parenting goals. Simply informing Sudanese parents of Australian parenting values and family law is not enough to adequately support parents to transform their parenting skills to better respond to the challenges of the new cultural environment. Instead authorities should confer with parents, youth and elders to find common ground and shared understandings about parenting. Acknowledging the important roles of extended family members and the Sudanese community in managing children and youth would inject trust and respect between parties. Real dialogue between Sudanese parents and care and protection authorities may contribute significantly to identifying parenting pathways aligned with Australian family law while responding to the cultural dimensions shaping the lives of Sudanese families.

Instead, authorities responded to increasing family conflict and violence within Sudanese families by prosecuting parents and in some cases removing children. Sudanese parents felt unsupported and ill-served by the Australian system which, in their view, prevented them from accomplishing their parental obligation and responsibility. Confused by government intervention and disempowered in their attempts to discipline their children some Sudanese parents felt compelled to withdraw their parenting efforts leaving a gap in the effective behaviour management of Sudanese youth. That is, without confidence and support to use approved means, yet prevented from the use of heritage means, parents felt immobilised to accomplish their goals of keeping their families together.

The fragmentation of their families was particularly injurious to the South Sudanese Australian community. Families are of central importance both to the Sudanese community and for the individuals within it. For the Sudanese community, families confer the continuity of their culture. While for individuals, families confer their sense of identity and their position in their family and their community. Thus, intervention from government authorities was also seen as blocking their pathways to maintain the

continuity of their culture. This attack on their cultural and self-identity was especially demoralising for the Sudanese community leading to their strong sense of disrespect. In response, Sudanese parents distanced themselves from government authorities, making it more difficult for authorities to apply their regulatory influence.

Regrettably, most government organisations and workers do not see these connections and do not understand why their regulatory intervention intended at keeping family members safe is seen among the Sudanese community as an attack on the self-identity of parents and the cultural identity of the community. The next chapter will shed light as to why this is the case by looking at the individual and institutional level responses to the increasingly contested and fractured relationship between Sudanese Australians and Australian government agencies and authorities.

Chapter 10 – Individual and institutional level responses to disrespect

The previous chapter unpacked the high prevalence of family conflict and violence in South Sudanese Australian families, and subsequent interventions from care and protection authorities. These interventions were perceived as unhelpful intrusions in the private space of families. The absence of meaningful dialogue between family members and authorities, and lack of opportunities to discuss the impact of interventions on families has added to the perceived sense of unfairness and disrespect within Sudanese families. In this chapter I present and analyse micro responses from the Sudanese community in reaction to their interactions with government organisations and authorities. I also connect these responses to extant theories that lend themselves to theoretical interpretation of the findings to provide a more nuanced account of how understandings of respect in the community are related to their dealings with Australian social institutions and authorities. I will show how these dealings impact on the resettlement experiences and outcomes of the community.

In Chapter 6, I introduced Meidinger's (1987) theory on regulatory culture as a framework that recognises and values cultural differences and diversity. Meidinger's concept of the regulatory community contains different cultures that compete and cooperate as various actors come together. The theory explicates how dialogue, inclusion and respect will bring about trust and cohesion in communities (Meidinger, 1987). But these attributes were few and far between in government authorities' interaction with the Sudanese community. Instead, authorities used coercive power and in some instances criminalised the actions of parents. In response, Sudanese parents felt that they were disapproved of, viewed as callous people who ill-treated their children.

Regulatory theories explain why the use of these forms of power by authorities does not always have the intended consequences. In this chapter I demonstrate how institutions that could have supported Sudanese parents to adapt their parenting effort to the new external context have instead prevented them from carrying out their parental responsibilities. In response, some Sudanese parents distanced themselves from government authorities, making it more difficult for authorities to apply their influence.

Three main sections make up this chapter. The first two sections discuss in some depth how individuals from the Sudanese community adapted to the new micro regulatory system of Australia. The first section considers the perception in the community of the legitimacy of government intervention in their family space, while the second section describes how some parents positioned themselves in response to intervention from authorities. The third section considers how the principles of responsive regulation have the potential to reframe government interventions to better respond to the resettlement challenges of the South Sudanese community.

10.1. Legitimacy of government agencies and authorities

The main conflict between Sudanese parents and child protection authorities is the use of physical discipline by Sudanese parents. As described in earlier chapters, corporal punishment is a common and approved method in African cultures for teaching children and regulating their behaviour. Parents participating in this research saw intervention from authorities preventing them from corporal punishment of their children, without providing what are seen as effective alternatives, as depriving them of their parental responsibility for teaching their children good and respectful behaviour.

Many parents questioned the appropriateness and legitimacy of government intervention preventing them from exercising their parental rights. But what do Sudanese parents refer to when they question the legitimacy of government authorities acting on their power granted by law?

In Chapter 6, I described the two main types of legitimacy identified in the literature: institutional power—authorised by law to exercise power in order to shape people’s behaviour; and perceived legitimacy—granted when people perceive that the authority exercising power is upholding or furthering the prized values and goals of the society. While legitimacy built on institutional power provides a means to shape the behaviour of people on its own, it is legitimacy built on the perception that the authority is appropriate, proper and just that will attract cooperation from people (Tyler, 2006a). But unlike legitimacy built on institutional power, perceived legitimacy is created subjectively. In Chapter 6, I introduced the work of Suchman on legitimacy as a framework to define organisational legitimacy. Suchman (1995) argues that the legitimacy of organisations depends on the degree to which people believe, within their socially constructed system of norms and values that such organisations act in ways that are proper and appropriate. Thus perceived legitimacy represents the reaction of people to the organisation as they see it. In the remainder of this section I will use this perspective as a theoretical framework to examine the extent of legitimacy assigned by members of the South Sudanese community to Australian care and protection authorities.

10.1.1 Pragmatic legitimacy

The most tangible form of organisational legitimacy identified by Suchman is pragmatic legitimacy reflecting the self-interested judgement of the consequences of organisational behaviour, or in this case intervention from authorities. Below are some examples of the range of pragmatic consequences experienced by members of the community as a result of intervention by government authorities.

They would ask for emergency accommodation, saying that they are not treated well and that kind of stuff. And when they move out they refuse to go to school and the guardian has no chance to control him or her. (Male participant)

In the above quote, a Sudanese community worker describes how parents are losing their regulatory power over their children as a direct result of government intervention assisting youth to evade parental and guardian control. Parents are concerned for their

own loss, having lost status and their rights as parents and their control over their children, as well as the negative consequences for their youth who will often drop out of school. Beyond the loss of status as a parent there are more pragmatic results for some parents such as reduced income benefit payments and more complex eligibility requirements, as explained by another Sudanese community worker in the quote below.

For some families taking away the children also means reduced payment from Centrelink, or going onto a different payment type, such as Newstart Allowance, with more demanding and complex payment requirements and conditions. (Female Sudanese community worker)

In general, the pragmatic consequences of institutional interventions were largely perceived in the community as negative, and unhelpful at times even to the children it was designed to protect and assist.

10.1.2 Moral legitimacy

While pragmatic legitimacy is concerned with self-interest or the interest of a group, the core of moral legitimacy is a pro-social rationale concerned with social welfare in general. It is a normative evaluation of, in this instance, the intervention of authorities and what they accomplish, through what procedures and means and for what purposes. Participants raised strong concerns about all three of these aspects of intervention by authorities.

The government problem is that their only solution is to stop the parents parenting.... If they take that child away from you, then they have to parent that child and teach that child all the things. But they don't do that. If the government just impose the law, but they don't teach your child, it will just lead to a problem. (Male participant)

In the above quote, the participant questions both the accomplishments and the procedures of the agencies. He reasons that interventions from agencies are counterproductive as they only stop 'the parents parenting' and create a gap in behaviour management and the teaching of life skills to children.

Sudanese parents also had strong reservations about the procedures used by care and protection authorities, such as relying predominantly on the accounts of children without giving an opportunity to parents to give their understanding of the events. In Chapter 5, I explored how in South Sudanese cultures, unconditional respect to parents and to adults are fundamental principles. Thus parents in the community felt strongly about authorities only relying on the account of the child in these cases. They thought it was procedurally improper. A Sudanese community worker explained that their 'community leadership tried to intervene and tell the agencies that it is better to work with the parents, as it is culturally more appropriate and would lead to better outcomes for the children'. But the agencies refused to act on their request, as making a special case for the Sudanese community was seen as procedurally improper. The discord of what is considered to be procedurally improper by the Sudanese community and by the Australian bureaucracy is evident. In Chapter 6, I described how essential features of Australian government bureaucracy, such as uniformity and universalism, designed to give merit to government organisations, are believed to ensure procedural fairness to clients. In turn, procedural justice increases compliance with the law (Tyler, 1990, 1997). In this instance, however, uniformity and universalism significantly contributed to perceived procedural unfairness and subsequent poor outcomes in securing compliance from Sudanese parents.

But the agencies didn't agree; they said 'we are an independent agency and we are not working for Sudanese only, we are working for all the communities'. They [child protection agencies] listen to the child more than the parent.'
(Male participant)

There was also strong confusion and distrust about the purpose of government authorities and their intervention. A female community worker explained how parents in the Sudanese community are confused by the conflicting approaches of care and protection authorities when offering help yet prosecuting compliance at the same time. On their arrival Sudanese parents and their leaders were told to call care and protection services when they had family problems and needed help, but when they did so, they were faced with the potential removal of children and family members. Parents were shocked that services that were set up to help and protect families and their members have acted by prosecuting parents and in some cases removing children. Parents felt that

government interventions placed more stress on families and caused more conflict for them. One community worker summarised the confusion about the purpose and integrity of care and protection authorities by concluding:

We are thinking they are helping us, but they are destroying us. (Female Sudanese community worker)

Another participant questioned the integrity of various government and non-government agencies responding to allegations of family violence and neglect. He proposed that rather than considering the best interests of the child, they act with the purpose of securing funds for their agencies.

The agencies are supporting and influencing children more than their families. Because they get their funds based on the number of cases they are doing. (Male participant)

In summary, all participant parents have questioned to varying degrees if these interventions from Australian government agencies and authorities are morally justified.

10.1.3 Cognitive legitimacy

The least tangible and perhaps the most difficult legitimacy to achieve for organisations is cognitive legitimacy (Suchman, 1995). The focus of cognitive legitimacy in this instance is the extent to which interventions from the authorities are seen as meaningful and desired. An important point to make here is that this assessment tends to stem from existing cultural models, reviewed in Chapter 3, to provide plausible rationalisations for the actions taken by organisations and authorities.

The general sense of the community was that intervention from authorities lacked sense. Participants, including young adults, could not understand how removing children from their families would help them to grow up to be capable adults. A recurring theme in our conversation was how government intervention does not help parents parenting; rather it 'stops parents from parenting'.

Two of the Sudanese community workers also reflected on the rationalisations in the Sudanese community for removing children from families in response to reports of family violence. One community worker likened the removal of children by child protection authorities to slavery.

If someone takes your child they rob you, they take him like a slave. (Female Sudanese community worker)

Slave trade by invaders from the north has a long history in Sudan, at times supported by tribal hostilities and clashes in the south, involving the taking of people and livestock (Jok, 2001). More recently, during the second civil war (1983–2005), slavery re-emerged along with other atrocities to destabilise the southern Sudanese people. It is estimated that between 3,000 and 7,000 Dinka were enslaved during the 1980s (African Concord, 1987, cited in Nikkel, 2001, p. 235). These historical and more recent pre-immigration experiences have had a big impact on the collective history and memory of the South Sudanese community. At some level, the removal of children by authorities will inevitably be related to these experiences and helps explain an emotional response and collective sense of injustice and anger.

Another community worker of Southern Sudanese origin gave a more detailed account of one particular rationalisation in the community of intervention from child protection authorities. During my fieldwork I heard references to children being taken away by *corrupt* government institutions and officials in Australia. I asked a community worker if some people in his community really believed this to be the case.

Yes, some people really believe it. Because the system of the government and the police in Africa is not like here. ...the government in Africa is very corrupt so when they take the kid in here, they think that the government took the kid because they want to take all the black children away from their families, so that your children will not care for you. So that's what some people have in their mind. And when they see these movies about the government taking away Aboriginal children they think that that's what the government is doing to them now. It is a sad situation. (Male Sudanese community worker)

The above quotes reveal how South Sudanese and other immigrants coming to a new and at times confusing social world from countries with substantially different social

systems, values and institutions can struggle to arrange their experiences with regulatory authorities in their resettlement country into a coherent account. In response they construct meanings of their interaction with authorities based on their cultural values, norms and beliefs, which are often inaccurate in their new social setting. Importantly, many Australian authorities do not know or anticipate some of these rationalisations in the community.

The above example illustrates how lack of cultural knowledge and understanding among government services, or opportunities for real dialogue between parents and care and protection authorities, have constrained the awareness among government workers of how Sudanese parents experienced and made sense of government intervention.

At large, Sudanese families rejected the authorities' pragmatic, moral and cognitive legitimacy. Although concerns over pragmatic legitimacy, such as parents feeling restrained from parenting their children, were more broadly shared than questions of moral and cognitive legitimacy, it was the latter that triggered the strongest responses among the community. For example, while not every participant believed that care and protection agencies are responsible for destroying their families or that agency workers are corrupt, the related sense of injustice and despair was broadly shared. This finding corresponds with the work of Suchman (1995), suggesting that in moving from the pragmatic to the moral to the cognitive, organisational legitimacy becomes more subtle, but also more powerful in terms of the responses from stakeholders. In the next section I will detail an unexpected response from Sudanese parents to government interventions aimed at protecting children by enforcing lawful parenting practices.

10.1.4 Unintended consequences of government intervention:

Vacuum in the behaviour management of youth

An important unintended consequence of government intervention within Sudanese families is the vacuum it created in the behaviour management of Sudanese youth. In Chapter 9, I presented the strong concerns expressed by participating parents over losing their ability to regulate their children in Australia because of government

interventions interfering with parental discipline and undermining parents' control of their youth. Similar concerns were observed by Ong among Cambodian parents in the USA a couple of decades ago when American social workers sought to promote a parent-child relationship based on American norms and values. The study reported how Cambodian refugee parents had great difficulty reconciling themselves to non-corporal techniques of disciplining children. Parents felt demoralised by the sudden loss of their own rights in the matter and subsequently withdrew from their parenting role, leading to a vacuum in regulating and mentoring their children and youth (Ong, 2003). The responses of the South Sudanese parents in Australia are similar. Some members of the Australian South Sudanese community think that interventions from authorities to prevent what government agencies characterise as abuse, is an attack which destroys their authority and responsibility as parents. By feeling required to refrain from physically punishing their children, some Sudanese parents felt forced to refrain from all forms of discipline.

Parents remained confused about the intent and purpose of interventions by care and protection authorities. But out of fear of coercive measures, such as the removal of their children, they felt they had to submit to the power of authorities. Coupled with the evident lack of skills to use alternative parenting methods approved by Australian authorities, some parents responded by withdrawing all their regulatory efforts leaving a vacuum in the behaviour management and mentoring of their youth who were learning and testing their liberties and responsibilities in their new environment.

Organisations and authorities working with the Sudanese and other migrant communities need to consider the importance of perceived legitimacy. People are more likely to cooperate with organisations and authorities when they see them as legitimate, not simply due to their possession of power authorised by law, but by acting in ways that are proper, appropriate and meaningful. There is an increased recognition that rather than being a possession of organisations, legitimacy represents a relationship with stakeholders of organisations. Thus organisations and authorities working with the community should have strategies in place to check the interpretations, rationalisation and perceived moral value of their actions. As argued by Valerie Braithwaite in her work on compliance, authorities have to regularly ask and check how people regard

their moral obligations, and they have a responsibility to convince people of the benefits of their law (V. Braithwaite, 2009a, 2009c, 2010).

Sudanese parents remained unsuccessful at arranging their experiences with Australian regulatory authorities into a coherent account consistent with their cultural norms and beliefs. They could not make sense of why their parenting efforts were not supported, but rather opposed by Australian law and government authorities. They could not see how care and protection authorities could have acted in proper and appropriate ways. Yet parents felt coerced to submit to the power of authorities without a commitment to the objectives of those authorities. In the next section, parents' responses to intervention from care and protection authorities are analysed further to show how parents responded to threats to their much valued, yet at risk, cultural and self-identities.

Misunderstandings among Sudanese parents about the purpose, appropriateness and value of interventions from government authorities resulted in a lack of commitment to the goals and objectives of the authorities. I propose that this absence of commitment to these goals and objectives, and subsequent questioning of their moral and cognitive legitimacy, is an important contributing factor to a vacuum in behaviour management and mentoring of South Sudanese youth. Thus, Australian government agencies and authorities working with the Sudanese community would benefit from exploring and implementing a range of strategies to clarify their aims and purpose to Sudanese families. Implementation of these strategies would help to convince the community of the benefits of compliance and to consider the actions of government agencies to be desirable, proper and appropriate.

The purpose of the next section is to give a deeper understanding of the psychological processes that supported the opposition among Sudanese Australians to government intervention. I will use Valerie Braithwaite's motivational posturing theory to examine micro level responses from Sudanese parents to institutional level conditions in their new social environment.

10.2 Motivational postures

Government institutions and organisations embody the capacity to have an effect on our sense of worth and identity. In Chapter 6 I described how citizens are highly attuned to how government is treating them as individuals. They interpret the government's actions toward them as approval or disapproval of their behaviour. In the case of the South Sudanese community, the action of government organisations has also been experienced as disapproval of their much-valued cultural norms and values.

Regulatory authorities, such as child protection authorities, especially threaten self-identity as they use their power to directly and indirectly steer behaviour and change the flow of events (Parker & Braithwaite, 2003). In Chapter 6, I described the three aspects of identity, as categorised by Braithwaite (2013), which may come under attack from authorities. Sudanese families dealing with care and protection authorities are likely to experience an attack on all three selves. First, their moral self—a sense of doing the right thing is seriously challenged by authorities that consider that Sudanese families are breaking the law and are morally in the wrong when they use traditional disciplining practices. Second, their democratic collective self—a sense of being heard and listened to, both individually and collectively, is being ignored. A recurring grievance is that child protection authorities make decisions to take away children without talking to parents and hearing their account of the issues, and without acknowledging the risks of family breakdown within these communities. Finally, their status seeking self is under attack when pathways and practices aimed at holding families together, which are incompatible with Australian law and values, are blocked by authorities. Some parents in the Sudanese community became resentful towards Australian authorities and responded by distancing themselves socially and psychologically (V. Braithwaite, 2010) from the authority.

Such distancing from authorities has a number of adverse outcomes. It constrains communication from authorities to individuals on what is expected from them. It also constrains opportunities for dialogue to influence the individual to comply with the request of authorities. Additionally, it allows the individual to defy the authority of regulatory agencies (V. Braithwaite, 2009a; Meidinger, 1987). Distancing and defiance are reflected in Valerie

Braithwaite's motivational posturing theory on the determinants of compliance with authority (V. Braithwaite, 1995, 2009a, forthcoming).

Motivational postures, introduced in Chapter 6, capture a composite of attitudes, beliefs and preferences of how individuals position themselves in relation to authority. Five motivational postures have been identified empirically. Two of them, commitment and capitulation, represent compliance—a willingness to go along with authority. The other three postures reflect opposition. Resistance is an expression of opposition toward an authority while accepting its purpose. Disengagement is a socially distant posture, severing the relationship with authority to the point where the authority is irrelevant, while game playing is a combative posture, an attempt to outsmart authority (V. Braithwaite, forthcoming).

The motivational posturing model incorporates the concepts of socially shared goals and having means to achieve these goals from Merton (1968). Motivational postures were linked (V. Braithwaite, 1995) with Merton's typology of modes of adaptation. Compliance can be considered as a use of approved means to achieve socially shared goals, representing Merton's conformity. Ritualism and innovation may also be considered as a form of compliance. Ritualism involves following means without considering the end goals. As discussed in Chapter 6, in the resettlement context, ritualism is common among immigrant groups where the first generation typically settle for menial jobs and become part of the most marginalised strata of the resettlement country. Innovation can also be seen as compliance. Innovators adopt creative means to achieve shared goals. In the resettlement context, transnational connections can create opportunities within the South Sudanese community which are outside of standard means, yet within the law, to allow members of the community to achieve goals of economic security. In contrast, Merton's retreatism and rebellion reflect opposition. The theoretical importance of the link between Braithwaite's motivational postures and Merton's typology of adaptation in this thesis is to examine the dominant stance of social distancing among Sudanese Australians as a consequence of blocked pathways to their desired goals.

Motivational postures explain how individuals place social distance between themselves and authority and they seek greater independence in their behavioural choices. Braithwaite (1995) describes social distancing as a response when individuals perceive themselves to be holding different goals from authority and thus not trusting the authority to assist them in the realisation of their goals. Sudanese parents socially distanced themselves as they felt that their own goals of securing their children's and family's future were under attack from authorities. They felt that they could not trust authorities to assist them in the realisation of their goals. Social distancing represents Sudanese parents' reactions to authorities threatening to erode virtues conferring cultural and self-identity within their families and their community. The rest of this section seeks to understand in more detail the postures of capitulation, resistance, and disengagement among Sudanese parents. The other two postures of commitment and game playing were not evident among the participants of this study. Commitment is about belief in the authority, its goals and purpose (V. Braithwaite, forthcoming). None of the research participants expressed positive beliefs about the intent of care and protection authorities to do what is best for their families or felt a *moral obligation* to follow their requests and demands. Game playing is a posture to cleverly sidestep deference of authority by 'paying attention to the letter of the law' while showing little 'respect for the spirit of the law' (V. Braithwaite, forthcoming). While some Sudanese parents felt strongly about having their independence from authorities, none of the participants talked about outsmarting authorities.

10.2.1 Evidence of resistance

The motivational posture of resistance is about doubting the capacity of the government and its organisations to work in the interest of the community, and exerting pressure on organisations to change their ways or decisions. Resistance is a posture of protest and anger about how an authority operates. Though critical of the authority, it is accepting of its existence (V. Braithwaite, forthcoming).

Resistance was a frequent posture among participants. It was especially prevalent among better-educated participants and more prominent members of the community.

These participants acknowledged and accepted the legitimacy of Australian family laws, authorities and institutions, even though they questioned their effectiveness, signalling a resistant motivational posture. The participant below, while doubting the helpfulness of intervention from the Department of Community Services (DoCS), does not question their mission to help families.

'For me the Department of Community Services comes to help the family. But in the end it is not helpful for us.' (Female Sudanese community worker)

Instrumental to resistance is capacity to express it, and some hope that authorities will respond to it. Discussion about proposed ways of how authorities could improve their methods was evident in the Sudanese community. While participants talked at great length about the ineffectiveness and unhelpfulness of intervention from authorities, they also talked about alternative ways for authorities to respond to family violence. They talked about how consulting with community elders and leaders would provide authorities with a more complete understanding of conflict and violence within Sudanese families. Participants pointed out that the involvement of community elders and leaders would also add legitimacy to the process of government intervention. Participants also raised the important observation that their communities still have significant coercive power over individuals in the community. They thought that this power should be harnessed rather than fought or resisted by authorities in their attempts to control violence within Sudanese families. But these useful recommendations from the community for improving relationships between Sudanese families and authorities have often remained unheard or unnoticed by the organisations.

One of the reasons for this is lack of skills in the community, as explored in Chapter 8. Most members of the Sudanese community do not have the required skills, such as English proficiency or experience in communicating with influence in a Western context, to voice their resistance and their demands to be treated fairly. As one highly-educated participant explained, people in his community, especially those older or less educated, although they 'disagree with the rules, they just remain quiet, because there is no way they can speak up'. Instead they resign themselves to the power of the authority while feeling ill-treated by it. There is plenty of evidence in the literature that people are

more likely to engage in participative processes when they have the resources and supporting civic networks and organisations to enable their participation (Lowndes, et al., 2006).

Another important factor for participation, identified by Lowndes and colleagues, is a person's sense that they are being asked to make a contribution and that their engagement will make a difference. Participants could not identify viable pathways to transmit ideas and modifications to the system. As argued by Lipsky (1980), one of the reasons most encounters with bureaucracies and authorities appear to be characterised by consent of the client, is because the choices available to express resistance are limited and the choice of dissent would not be productive. In the view of one participating non-Sudanese community worker, the Sudanese community's defiance and resistance to the intervention and decisions made by authorities has taken authorities by surprise and with unease. Indeed, the South Sudanese community on the whole is very open about the high conflict experienced between them and regulatory authorities. For example, during my interviews none of the participants tried to talk down the high incidence of conflict with authorities. However their contestation and expressions of resistance in most cases have not understood and are rejected by public service workers. One of the participants, a non-Sudanese community worker with extensive experience in working with refugee communities, identified two main reasons for this. One is lack of experience among public service workers to deal with the self-assuredness of the South Sudanese community. She reflected how the evident pride of the community and their initial confidence to take on government institutions and contest their decisions has taken most government workers and service providers by surprise. They were used to the more deferential pose of previous humanitarian migrants groups.

The other main reason identified by this participant is lack of resources and structures within government organisations and workers to support effective engagement and dialogue with their clients. In Chapter 6 I described how essential characteristics of government organisations designed to give them merit (such as systemisation, technocracy, impersonality, and uniformity) also constrain them from adequately responding to the individual needs of their clients.

In summary, although parents and Sudanese community leaders wanted to have a dialogue with authorities in the hope of a better solution, the authorities by and large refused to give them an opportunity and labelled clients from the community as ‘difficult’ and ‘stuck in their culture’. These responses from authorities were seen by the Sudanese community as the denigration of their identity and subsequently they turned to disengagement.

10.2.2 Evidence of disengagement

The motivational posture of disengagement expresses more than resistance towards government authority. Disengagement is a posture of withdrawal, with no hope that further expressions of resistance might make things better. Cynical and disillusioned with the authority, it wants to sever the relationship with authority to the point where the authority is irrelevant. (V. Braithwaite, forthcoming).

Along with resistance, my interviews with the Sudanese community also found disengagement from Australian authorities. The differences between these two postures was that those showing disengagement did not think that authorities had any role or legitimacy in what is seen as a family matter. A young male unmarried participant, himself a university student, expresses in the quote below how their ‘internal’ affairs are seized by external authorities. Additionally, he blames government authorities and their interventions for preventing parents from disciplining children for the increasing truancy among their youth. This young man had no dealings or direct experience with care and protection authorities. He was expressing a community level concern over the legitimacy of government intervention in the private domains of their families.

*Our internal family affairs are being taken over by Australian authorities....
Give us a chance to solve our family problem and that's the respect we want.
Give us a chance to discipline our kids, so that they can learn, get education,
because this way there is no education they are loitering in the street. (Young
male participant)*

The posture of disengagement shows little tolerance for Australian law and law enforcement authorities whose actions, in the view of the participant below, have

‘clearly damaged’ Sudanese families. The participant below questions the moral right of parents being regulated on how to parent their children. His point is not to defend physical disciplining among Sudanese parents as an effective tool of behaviour management. Instead, he argues that it is the right of parents to decide how they want to bring up and discipline their children, and authorities have no legitimate role to interfere with that decision.

The legal system here in Australia is clearly damaging our families. For instance, the law enforcement agencies, they have no right to come into our families; parents have the right to bring their kids up the way they want them to. (Male participant)

The level of alienation and withdrawal by one of the participants was quite evident. When asked what would make care and protection services more effective when engaging with Sudanese families he responded with some weariness in his voice.

The problem is not how the system can engage better with our community. That’s not the issue. The issue is the system. The system here is wrong. (Young male participant)

This last quote seems to indicate that some people in the community have little hope that Australian family law and authorities can ever work for Sudanese families. The above participant is a well-educated and respected member of his community. He told me that he had acted as a translator and intermediary with authorities for many families in his community. He told me that he is tired of not getting any results, no matter how hard he tries. He arrived at the conclusion that tweaking the system or improving procedures aimed at better engaging with clients will not work. He told me how he does not want to act as a translator and intermediary anymore as he is ‘wasting’ his time and he want ‘nothing to do’ with care and protection authorities.

10.2.3 Evidence of capitulation

The last posture I am going to explore among Sudanese parents is capitulation. Capitulation is a form of compliance and as such it is usually discussed ahead of the defiant postures of resistance and disengagement. However, among Sudanese parents,

capitulation took a different form to that described by Braithwaite. Also, among Sudanese parents capitulation was often tempered with disengagement,⁸⁴ thus it made more sense to analyse it after I explained forms of resistance and disengagement among participants.

Capitulation is compliance oriented and accepts the power of authorities in order to get along with them. It generally rests on a positive relationship with authorities, without too much concern regarding their purposefulness or ultimate goals (V. Braithwaite, 2009a). It involves acquiescing to authority because it brings the least trouble (V. Braithwaite, forthcoming). But among South Sudanese parents, capitulation to authorities is characterised differently. As I demonstrated in the previous section on institutional legitimacy, the purposefulness and the moral value of the intervention from authorities was an important consideration for the community.

In the general population capitulation signals openness, cooperation and commitment to authorities (V. Braithwaite, forthcoming). But among South Sudanese parents it signalled submission to the power of authorities without a commitment to the goals or objectives of those authorities. And since it is not related to commitment it is not a positive outcome for the government.

In the view of Braithwaite (forthcoming), the choice to capitulate, as opposed to disengagement or game playing, depends on psychological readiness to engage with authorities. However, members of the Sudanese community, feeling threatened with their identities under attack or denigrated by authorities, did not feel psychologically ready to engage with authorities. Instead, parents capitulated to the demands of child protection authorities out of fear of coercive measures without a sense of any moral obligation. As demonstrated earlier, Sudanese parents had seen the intervention of authorities as inappropriate and undesirable and did not see their moral value. While initially they were hoping for a dialogue and some form of recognition of their

⁸⁴ In her research of agricultural reform of the tobacco industry, Cartwright (2011) observed widespread tempering of defiance with capitulation.

parenting rights and efforts from authorities, their initial attempts of protest and resistance were rejected and ignored. Their resistance ignored, they socially distanced themselves from authorities. Yet full disengagement from authorities was not an option for fear of coercive measures being used against the family. Thus it can be argued that their capitulation has edged closer to disengagement than to resistance.

The challenge for authorities then is to move Sudanese parents from the current position of mixed capitulation, resistance or disengagement to a position of commitment to the Australian family law system. Motivational postures are not characteristics that are set in stone; they come and go in response to the nature of dealings with authorities. However, once a sense of disrespect, lack of trust of authorities, grievance over processes and disillusionment over purposes are sufficiently embedded, an entrenched form of defiance and rejection of authorities is more likely to take hold.

What does this mean for family law enforcement authorities? Authorities cannot condone unlawful and harmful practices, and all Australian residents have to comply with Australian family laws. But, as I demonstrate in the next section, compliance is not solely about enforcing the letter of the law; it involves an interactional perspective. Authorities should look for ways to communicate respect to the Sudanese community, even though they may fundamentally disagree on critical aspects of family law. Threat in one area may be offset by recognition in others. When strengths in communities are acknowledged, it becomes easier to broach areas where there may be more fundamental disagreements on how best to achieve goals. There is evidence from the criminal justice field that communicating respect not only gives authority legitimacy and raises prospects for cooperation, it also leads to shared moral standards, which in turn leads to compliance with the law (Tyler, 2008). Likewise, recognition from a regulatory authority improves prospects of cooperation and compliance (Makkai & Braithwaite, 1993). Once some common ground is established, building more common ground becomes possible through greater mutual understanding and joint problem solving. The section below will argue that understanding from regulatory authorities and use of the principles of responsive regulation would lead not only to greater compliance with Australian family law, but also affinity with the goals of care and protection authorities.

10.3. Responsive regulation

Instrumental to the integration of new communities is a sense that one can understand the 'system' and can engage with government and social institutions. These two points can easily be mapped to the most important principle of responsive regulation, i.e. that people understand the rules and are given the opportunity to cooperate and comply. The responsive regulation model (Ayres & Braithwaite, 1992) was introduced in Chapter 6. The model argues that appropriate engagement with regulatees will lead to more cooperative attitudes and subsequent compliance with the goals of the law, rather than just the rules of the law. The distinction between compliance with the goals versus the rules of the law is particularly important in the case of Sudanese parents' relationship with care and protection authorities. In previous sections I demonstrated how Sudanese parents' submission to comply with the rules of care and protection authorities without a commitment to their goals and objectives, has led to unintended negative outcomes for Sudanese youth. Considering that the objective of government intervention was in the interest of Sudanese children, the result is particularly concerning. Another consequence of Sudanese parents being coerced into compliance without a commitment to the objectives of those authorities is a sense of distrust and resentment from this group and their subsequent social distancing from authorities.

I propose that to move towards responsive regulation in the space of Sudanese families and care and protection authorities, micro as well as macro level issues in the current system need to be addressed. To argue my point for micro level reforms I refer back to the work of Meidinger (1987), Ayres and Braithwaite (1992), and Braithwaite (1995). Meidinger, and Ayres and Braithwaite emphasise the importance of greater understanding of regulatory relationships, and appreciation of the culture and diversity of regulatory communities. Awareness and understanding of complexity and diversity in how people respond can contribute importantly to cooperation and compliance among regulatees. The main emphasis in the work of Meidinger and Braithwaite is the significance of fostering compliance through creating a regulatory culture of shared understandings that reinforces strong bonds. In her work exploring postures within regulatory communities, Braithwaite highlights the importance of trust, respect and

social bonds in the development of shared understandings (V. Braithwaite, 1995). Using empirical analysis, Braithwaite argued that compliance with the law is more likely when regulators and regulatees identified shared goals and trusted each other. She maintains that non-compliance was more likely when regulatees opposed the objectives of the regulator and considered the regulator untrustworthy. The reason, argued Braithwaite, is that trust, respect and communication injects shared understandings and goodwill, which in turn translates into cooperation and compliance (V. Braithwaite, 1995).

For example, in the case of the cultural practice of physical disciplining of children as a form of behaviour management and Australian law prohibiting corporal punishment, the differences are irreconcilable. In these instances a dialogue and understanding is the only way forward even when it is creating more work for authorities. Government authorities and agencies working with the Sudanese community need to understand the personal psychology behind the resistance of the community to adopting alternative parenting practices offered to them in Australia. Parents need to be given the opportunity to explain their reasons for unwillingness to adopt new practices. Giving an opportunity to people to explore and express why they feel uncomfortable with, or are averse to, adopting new parenting practices by no means weakens the application of the law. Rather, engagement with the issues, such as how applications of Australian family law would play out in particular communities, would create opportunity to provide relevant and appropriate skills and resources to steer parents towards approved parenting practices in a supportive, rather than a punitive manner.

Real dialogue between parents and care and protection authorities would also provide an opportunity for authorities to explain to parents their goals of building safety around their children. One of the important findings of this chapter is that many Sudanese parents do not realise that the ultimate goal of care and protection services is to build safety around children, including Sudanese children. Similarly, care and protection services do not recognise that keeping their children and families safe is the main reason for Sudanese families adhering resolutely to their long-standing heritage parenting norms and practices. Open conversations between Sudanese parents and authorities have the potential to uncover the goals of each party and to display to both parties the apparent and considerable overlaps. Keeping children safe and supporting their

development is a shared consideration and goal for both Sudanese parents and care and protection authorities. Yet currently there is little recognition of this from either party. Once shared goals are established, it becomes easier to broach pathways and means to achieving these goals.

Interactions based on the principles of trust, respect and open dialogue also have the potential to reframe government intervention. Rather than being seen as a coercive punitive measure, leaving parents threatened and withdrawn from authorities, intervention could be seen as training aimed at supporting parents in developing new models of parenting which better fit the social structures of their new environment. Working closely with the community and having people from the community employed by these programs is more likely to deliver alternative parenting tools which not only comply with Australian law, but are also seen as workable pathways among Sudanese parents. The approach described above responds to the concerns raised by Sudanese parents in this study at a micro level.

At a macro level, one of the main concerns is that the current Australian child protection system lacks focus on *prevention* of abuse and neglect. The primary focus of the current system is investigation of rapidly increasing notifications and coercive actions for substantiated cases. There are concerns that the system is geared toward taking statutory intervention on cases of children at high risk from specific episodes of harm. The majority of cases that are being notified are children in vulnerable families in which there is a risk from chronic adverse family circumstances (O'Donnell, Scott, & Stanley, 2008). As reported in Box 9.1 in the previous chapter, analysis of administrative data on contact between South Australian child protection services and refugee families found that all substantiated notifications were related to families experiencing multiple stressors (Lewig, et al., 2010). High levels of intervention in these cases can unnecessarily traumatise parents and make them suspicious of and distant from services. This in turn may increase the risk of child abuse.

Dorothy Scott and her colleagues (O'Donnell, et al., 2008) argued for a new approach based on the Responsive Regulation Model by Ayres and Braithwaite (1992). The proposed approach emphasised the importance of universal prevention activities (such

as health services, welfare and education services and programs) as an important step for preventing abuse and neglect. Universal prevention services would also have the ability to identify vulnerable families before risky behaviours set in. Vulnerable families should be offered targeted services such as nurse visiting programs aimed at monitoring the well-being of the child and supporting parents. At the next step, parents and families with low levels of risk would be referred to community child and family support services for support through specialised services and programs. An important consideration is for programs to have cultural awareness and flexibility to be able to respond to the complex and unique needs of migrant families. At this point parents should also be informed of the importance and benefits of compliance. However, if cooperation and compliance is not achieved, increasing levels of coercive and deterrent responses would be activated by the child protection system, including the removal of children. Approaches built on these principles of providing adequate support and resources to marginalised communities and using the principles of responsive regulation would bring more positive outcomes for Sudanese and other humanitarian migrant communities.

10.4 Summary

This chapter presented the analysis of responses from the Sudanese community in reaction to their experiences with government, especially regulatory authorities. The objective of the chapter was to connect and analyse micro level responses from Sudanese parents to institutional level conditions in their new social environment. It demonstrated the significance of different experiences, perspectives, and interpretations and how they importantly contribute to people's response to regulatory engagements and interventions.

Parents in the community questioned the appropriateness and legitimacy of government intervention which have prevented them from exercising their parental rights. The research demonstrated how lack of cultural knowledge among government workers, and opportunities for real dialogue between parents and care and protection authorities, have

constrained the awareness among government workers of how Sudanese parents made sense of their interventions.

One of the important findings of this research is that currently care and protection services do not give enough attention to how people make sense of government demands. Contrary to earlier studies (for example, Lewig, et al., 2009; Milos, 2011), which found that there was a lack of knowledge among refugee families and communities about Australian laws and norms on corporal punishment, the current study found that all participants, even those who came to Australia recently, had an understanding of Australian laws and norms on this topic. In fact, while I was working in Kakuma refugee camp as a volunteer in 2011, some of the Sudanese refugees expressed to me their concerns and anger about Australian laws on this matter and their disbelief that some of their family or kin members, already in Australia, had been subject to police and other authority intervention over these matters. I argue that within the Sudanese community the issue is no longer lack of knowledge of Australian family law and norms, but rather inability to make sense of them.

Sudanese parents do not understand that the ultimate goal of intervention from care and protection services is to build safety around all children. Rather they see it as an attack on their parenting efforts, their families and their heritage culture. Additionally, parents cannot see how alternative parenting methods they are supposed to adopt can provide viable pathways towards their goals of securing the future of their families and their place within it.

Judging that care and protection authorities hold different goals from themselves, Sudanese parents feel that they cannot trust authorities to assist them in the realisation of their parenting goals. This coupled with a sense of threat that intervention from authorities erodes virtues conferring cultural and self-identity within families and their community, has led Sudanese parents to socially distance themselves from authorities, their influences and demands.

The challenge to authorities became how to move Sudanese parents from their current position of opposition and disengagement, to positions where authorities can have more

opportunities to apply influence on parents to comply with official requests. I argued that open dialogue and respectful communication between Sudanese parents and authorities has the potential to uncover shared goals. Once shared goals are established, it becomes easier to broach pathways and means to achieving these goals. Open dialogue based on trust and respect, and opportunities for parents to explain their reasons for unwillingness to try to adopt new parenting practices would help to unblock psychological resistance from parents. And providing appropriate support can help parents adapt their parenting effort to the new external context. Parallel efforts to restore the self-identity and dignity of the South Sudanese community in other aspects of their resettlement would increase the effectiveness of this approach. Importantly, efforts to unblock pathways to their economic and social inclusion and to recognise their achievements, as discussed in Chapters 7 and 8, would help to affirm achieved and status respect among Sudanese Australians and to build trust and confidence in Australian society, Australian government, and social institutions.

Chapter 11 – Conclusion

This final chapter comments on the study's relevance, and makes final remarks about the importance of respect; respect for humanitarian migrants from the Australian Government and its authorities. An important aim of this research was to transfer insights from micro empirical research on the individual experiences of disrespect in the resettlement of the South Sudanese community to policy-makers developing and influencing social policies and programs. Part of this transfer is making the connection between micro and macro phenomena. At the micro level is a sense of disrespect and subsequent social withdrawal from authorities by South Sudanese refugees—an expression of personal feeling and choice. At the macro level are government actions of structural exclusion and institutional unfairness—an issue of public policy. The focus of the first section of this chapter is to make this connection. The second section of this chapter identifies primary themes for policy development and implementation emerging from the study.

11.1 Respect in the humanitarian migration context

An important finding of this study is the need for real dialogue and engagement with migrant communities and their settlement concerns. Such dialogue creates a space where policy-makers can deliberate from an informed position rather than from incorrect assumptions about the needs and concerns of humanitarian immigrants. The thesis demonstrated the importance of creating a space for the South Sudanese Australian community to talk about their resettlement experiences through the lens of disrespect. Assumptions of meanings of universal concepts, such as respect and disrespect, can be too easily made without recognising that it can mean different things in different social contexts. And even when contextual differences are recognised, wrong assumptions can be made. For example, of the three types of respect—human,

achieved, and status respect, the focus of much public discourse, especially in the context of African humanitarian migrants, has tended to be on human respect and disrespect. Disrespect of this kind, manifested in racial vilification, dehumanises people from other ethnic groups by communicating difference and inferiority. While Sudanese participants were familiar with this kind of disrespect and have expressed their repulse for it, they seemed to be more concerned by disrespect that targeted their achieved and status self-qualities.

Sudanese Australians saw employment as one of their main pathways to inclusion in their new country and a pathway to affirm their achieved self-qualities. Many young Sudanese participants worked hard to obtain educational qualifications, in which they took great pride. Yet their achievement in most cases did not lead to expected acknowledgment and offers of employment. Sudanese refugees felt aggrieved by the lack of recognition of their achievements and the disregard of their potential contribution.

Unemployment or employment in low skilled unattractive jobs and subsequent poverty of Sudanese immigrants also affected Sudanese Australians' dignity and social status. The status of individuals is assigned through the positions they hold in the social structures of their various social groupings. When Sudanese and other humanitarian migrants take up low status jobs, despite their professional qualifications, their status in their new country is fixed at a low level. Similarly, when they crowd into unpleasant and insecure housing, a low status is accorded to them. The lack of accessible means to economic well-being has greatly contributed to the sense among Sudanese Australians that they have been robbed of their dignity and social status in the public arena.

The inability to financially provide for their families has also eroded the status of Sudanese men within their families. Unemployment and the unfamiliar cultural environment have significantly damaged the stability and continuity of family roles and the subsequent status attached to them in Sudanese families. The future of families and their youth became the main concern of most Sudanese Australians. Parents saw their heritage cultural norms and practices, even when in conflict with Australian law, as proven and worthy means to achieve their desired goals of securing their families'

future and their place and status within it. Care and protection authorities responded to increased family violence in the community by prosecuting parents and in some cases removing children. Most parents wanted to contest and debate these decisions often with the assistance of their community elders whose roles are instrumental in conflict resolution in South Sudanese communities. But authorities declined to engage with these debates to the extent that parents considered appropriate. Participants saw these refusals to debate as a denial of their rights to be heard, and the snubbing of their community leaders and as denigration of their heritage culture and social structures.

Thus, Sudanese Australians' strong sense of disrespect is linked to a range of barriers or threats from the government and its authorities to pursue and cultivate aspects of their selves which are fundamental to their core identity, aspects which all people value about themselves. Braithwaite's work on how aspects of one's self-identity can come under threat in relation to government and authorities was discussed in Chapter 6. She has identified three selves that may come under attack and which may come forward to defend against a regulatory regime. The three selves are: our moral self—that we are people of worth and we do the right thing; our democratic collective self—we should have our rights respected and we are listened to with respect and acknowledgment; and our status seeking self—we all have the right to achieve our goals and we should be respected for doing that. In response to threats to these central valued selves, individuals may withdraw or resist authority and give expression to motivational postures (V. Braithwaite, 2013). The motivational postures of Sudanese Australians described in the previous chapter are expressions of these three kinds of individual identity.

Sudanese Australians pursued their status seeking self through education and employment, which they hoped the Australian Government would support and acknowledge. They also pursued their status seeking self by maintaining their traditional family and community structures, which they hoped would receive the approval of the Australian Government. They hoped that their ethical and moral self of being good parents, trying to bring up responsible children who will be upstanding members of the Sudanese and the Australian community, will be recognised. And finally, as members of the Australian society, Sudanese Australians believed that they have a right to be heard and express their democratic self. They believed that as

residents or citizens of this country the government has a responsibility towards them to engage and do something about their structural exclusion.

Instead the Sudanese Australians found that their enthusiasm and efforts to gain employment and advance their status seeking self has received little support from the government. For some parents, their parenting efforts were met with condemnation and coercion from authorities. And when members of the community and their leaders looked to their democratic self, sometimes in the form of contestation, authorities failed to engage with their contribution, leaving the community feeling overlooked and socially marginalised. Expressions of status seeking self, moral self, and the democratic collective self were denied by the Australian Government and its authorities. Defiance ensued in the Sudanese community, leading to calls for respect and postures of resistance. Lack of response from governments to engage with the grievance and resistance of the community has contributed to the transformation of these initial forms of defiance transforming to disengagement among some members of the community.

Many of the participants believed that the Australian Government and its institutions did not live up to their expectations to be 'welcomed' into Australia. The community's call for respect was an expression of grievance to elicit some response of care and concern, to assert their personal dignity, and to express that their neglectful treatment is wrong. It was an appropriate and responsible thing to do, and the Australian Government needed to hear these voices. In Chapter 1, I introduced the work of Axel Honneth (1992) and his proposition that personal disrespect can be a moral driving force for social development. Hearing the voices of Sudanese Australians and responding to them appropriately is not only an obligation to the Sudanese community; it is also an opportunity to develop more responsive resettlement policies and practices which ultimately benefit the whole of Australia.

Braithwaite argues that grievance and resistance in response to intervention is a healthy reaction and authorities should engage with it without fear or trepidation. It may be difficult for authorities to manage, but suppressing defiance can mean degrading the identity that the defiance is protecting (V. Braithwaite, 2009a). Overlooking or demeaning the positive identities of Sudanese Australians will also rob the wider

Australian community of human and social capital that humanitarian migrant communities can bring to Australian society. Also, by not engaging with the contestation and defiance of the Sudanese community, the government fails to appreciate institutional shortcomings and fix them. (V. Braithwaite, 2009a).

In the case of South Sudanese resettlement in Australia, the government and its authorities locked themselves into a one-dimensional conception of all humanitarian immigrants. While the capacity gap for reaching socially shared goals through institutionally and socially approved means is a shared issue for most humanitarian migrant groups, their responses to these gaps are likely to be very different. Most Sudanese Australians have responded by defiance by expressing their grievance and resisting and contesting the fairness of decisions by the Australian Government. Another shortcoming is that when the government realised that responses from Sudanese Australians were notably different, the government overemphasised the cultural differences of the Sudanese community as the main reason, rather than listening to the voices and other expressions of the community for clues as to what were the main issues for the community. Finally, government organisations failed to recognise that the purpose of resistance from Sudanese Australians was not to question the relevance and existence of government authorities. On the contrary, they wanted the government to engage and deliberate on how to ensure viable means for the economic and social inclusion of the community. They wanted government authorities to engage with their contestation questioning the appropriateness and usefulness of current government intervention in response to conflict and violence within Sudanese families. The government should have taken up these openings to establish contacts, ties and mutual recognition and obligations, rather than taking the risk of losing their influence and relevance among migrant communities at the crucial period of resettlement and enculturation.

Braithwaite proposes that authorities can 'reclaim relevance by addressing moral legitimacy, respecting individual advancement, and by persuasive appeals to a collective as well as individual self' (V. Braithwaite, 2009a, p. 248). In terms of the status seeking selves, authorities can be instrumental in restoring the status of Sudanese Australian in the broader community by unblocking pathways to education and employment, which

give social and economic status to people. The status seeking self and moral self among Sudanese Australians are also implanted in their positions within their families and cultural community and connection with their heritage culture and norms. Government and social organisations can work closely with the community to promote the many positive identities in Sudanese cultures to affirm self-identities among Sudanese Australians and bring back some feelings of trust towards the government. It is also important to engage constructively with the defiance of Sudanese Australians by giving opportunities to the community members and their leaders to explain their dissatisfaction and then to adopt fair principles for debating and acting on the issues (V. Braithwaite, 2009a). This would help to affirm the democratic collective self among Sudanese Australians.

11.2 Main themes for policy development and implementation

This section of the chapter identifies key points for policy implications emerging from this study on treating Sudanese and other humanitarian migrants in ways that are more respectful and responsive to their resettlement needs. Key findings from the study can be grouped under two main policy implications: disconnect between social goals and means providing real access to humanitarian migrants for reaching these goals, and lack of responsiveness from government and social institutions to the needs of humanitarian migrants.

11.2.1 Disconnect between goals and means

A consistently emerging theme from this research is the disconnect between cultural goals towards which all members of the Australian society, including humanitarian migrants, are expected to strive and social structures providing, or in some instances restricting, access to approved means of reaching these goals (Merton, 1968). In essence, current Australian resettlement policies are dominated by a strong emphasis on migrants adopting their new country's cultural goals (such as economic participation,

and conduct affirmed in Australian cultural values), without a corresponding emphasis on ensuring that there are effective means for migrant groups to achieve these goals.

The two important goals of the Sudanese community are social and economic inclusion, and the future of their families and their sense of self within it. Both of these goals are affirmed in Australian cultural values. Approved modes for social and government institutions to achieve, support, or regulate these ambitions include employers, schools and higher education institutions, employment agencies, resettlement services, government authorities and departments, and NGOs commissioned by the government. While the mechanisms to ensure these government institutions provide equitable access to all members of Australian society and ensure people are treated fairly are government protocols and codes of conduct such as systemisation, technocracy, impersonality, equity, uniformity and universalism, or merit-based employment selection. Together I call these 'mechanisms of fairness'.

This research found that ritualistic application of these protocols and procedures is dysfunctional and unresponsive to the needs of the South Sudanese Australian community. Thus 'mechanisms of fairness' become a charade as government institutions no longer provide an equitable path to shared goals and ambitions, but rather serve those already socialised to the functioning of these institutions and thus know how to 'work the system'. 'Understanding the system' or 'knowing the system' is a major data-derived concept in this research. It has been a powerful metaphor communicating the exclusion of the Sudanese community by subjecting them to protocols and processes that are either inaccessible to them or lacking in meaning and moral values. Essentially, the current simplistic, difference-blind application of equal recognition principles, without some targeting in them for disadvantaged groups, restricts access to cultural goals for particular groups, such as Sudanese and other humanitarian migrant groups. Singular emphasis on social policies of formal, as opposed to substantially equal, rights and access has led to unfair and discriminatory outcomes for the South Sudanese community.

This thesis argues for public policies that recognise and address the inherent social, cultural, economic, and linguistic disadvantages of forced migrants groups. Currently

there are a few small-scale, state government or private enterprise-based initiatives, such as the Work Experience and Support Program by the ACT Government, or the African Australian Inclusion Program by National Australia Bank and Jesuit Social Services. But there is a need for large-scale, more systematic programs administered or funded by the Federal Government to provide opportunities for humanitarian immigrants to improve their skills, gain experience, and develop the necessary informal networks in the labour market.

Additionally, the government should introduce policies to support immigrant integration, including the use of affirmative action to empower migrants and refugees to improve their participation through representation. Affirming more balanced gender representation in Australian social institutions is, with varying success, under way. For example, over half of Australia's largest companies have adopted diversity policies for achieving gender diversity (T. Clarke & Klettner, 2013). There is no reason why ethnic diversity should not be furthered within government and non-government organisations. Humanitarian migrants should especially be encouraged to become involved in managing settlement services in government and other sectors to bring forward more culturally inclusive views.

On the whole, Sudanese Australians were hoping to integrate into Australian society by economically and socially contributing to their new country either directly or through the participation of their family members. South Sudanese Australians are a highly motivated group, but they found their pathways to social and economic inclusion blocked. Despite empirical evidence, the government is not picking up on the systemic issue of disconnect between cultural goals and pathways to access them among humanitarian migrant communities. This research found that the Sudanese Australian community has a good analytic understanding of the issues, but the government and government organisations are not engaging with their understanding and perception. A recent initiative to improve communication and create a more direct and less bureaucratic link between the Australian Government and Australians from African communities is the African Ministerial Consultative Committee, established in 2012. The committee comprises four members, drawn from African community leaders across Australia and meets regularly with the co-chairs and at least twice a year with relevant

ministers. The government will also hold an annual forum for the committee to facilitate access to the Prime Minister and other senior government ministers (Kyriakopoulos, 2012). It is envisaged that this high level of direct involvement of refugee communities in decision-making processes by-passes the exhausting consultation processes that often deliver little beyond a symbolic gesture. At this point it is too early to assess how effective this initiative will be.

11.2.2 Responsive government and social institutions

Another main theme for policy development and program implementation is the need for Australian government and social institutions to be more responsive to the needs of the Sudanese and other humanitarian migrant communities. Responsive institutions are fundamental to supporting resettlement (Jupp, 2011; UNHCR, 2013a). This includes a decision-making structure with a division of responsibilities, allocation of resources, and also information-sharing, training and evaluation processes for key partners, including all levels of government, non-governmental organisations, and other service providers. Participation from refugees and refugee advocacy groups in the development, implementation and evaluation of integration programmes are particularly critical for identifying and addressing challenges (UNHCR, 2013a).

While many of the elements identified by the UNHCR for responsive institutional support of resettled refugees are already provided and delivered in Australia, a critically missing element is effective partnership with the South Sudanese and other newly arrived communities. The current service delivery to client model focuses on the impoverished status of migrant communities, further threatening their sense of dignity and achieved and status seeking self. The alternative of fostering partnerships with migrant communities and developing capacities among their community organisations would appeal to both the status seeking self and the democratic collective self of the community.

Another consistently emerging relevant policy theme is the limited scope among government-managed and funded organisations to respond to the needs of immigrant

communities, including capacity building within communities and use of existing resources. To a large extent this issue is also related to the characteristics of bureaucracies. The absence of respect and responsiveness in our government institutions is not unique to interactions with the Sudanese population. Ritualism by bureaucrats produces a sense of disrespect even by those in the mainstream society, but is felt even more by those on the periphery of society where humanitarian migrants are often located.

Procedural justice protocols such as uniformity and universalism founded in the idea of equality before the law, but in their ritualistic application experienced as inflexibility, have a much larger impact on migrant communities from high context cultures. The inability of the system to accommodate for diversity becomes more apparent. Minimal scope for local discretion and flexibility in service or regulatory design have made it difficult, and in some cases impossible, to meet the needs of Sudanese families, leading to poor outcomes for both parents and children in essential areas such as high family fragmentation and increasing rates of truancy among Sudanese youth.

Also, technocratic and hierarchical governance structures have restricted collaboration and reciprocal exchange between parties, leading to feelings of being unrecognised and disapproved of. This was especially injurious to the dignity and personal integrity of South Sudanese and other humanitarian migrants already conscious of their marginal position in their new society. In the field of care and protection, more capacity for flexibility in regulatory design or less technocratic governance structures, and thus better collaboration between Sudanese parents and government organisations, would no doubt lead to better outcomes. The deliberative process of listening, understanding, problem-solving, identifying options and taking actions would not only respond to the needs of Sudanese parents, but it would also connect with their democratic collective self (V. Braithwaite, 2009a). These issues are not specific to the needs of the Sudanese community. These are systemic issues of bureaucracies already identified as important impediments to responsiveness of government and social institutions in the broader context. It is the subject matter of numerous recent reviews (for example, Advisory Group on Reform of Australian Government Administration, 2009, 2010). However, the

impact of these impediments was amplified and has led to especially dire outcomes among the Sudanese community.

The question is, how can government authorities win over Sudanese parents who are distrustful of the intent of authorities and whose level of engagement with authorities is already minimal? Efforts of direct communication from government authorities are likely to be met with deep cynicism about their motives and capacities. In these instances, the use of third parties to 'broker a peace' between the community and government authorities to arrive at mutually satisfactory arrangements can increase the prospect of cooperation with the government (V. Braithwaite, 2009a).

This research found that despite their diminishing authority, community leaders are still influential in the South Sudanese Australian community. For instance, they are still the first point of contact for many families dealing with family violence. Yet their effectiveness in assisting families to arrive at durable agreements is limited. One of the main reasons is that many of them tend to hold conservative positions and maintain the status quo, and this may mean tolerating measures that are abusive towards women or youth in their community, as described above. This is also one of the main reasons why government agencies and service providers often refuse to acknowledge and support their role in the community. I would argue, however, that this is even more reason to work closely with community leaders to ensure that in the future they are able to provide appropriate support for victims and perpetrators. Furthermore, community leaders should be provided with training on Australian legal frameworks and policy to the point where they understand the intent and benefits of Australian policies on family relations.

There are other reasons why some leaders remain conservative. Participants have quoted a number of examples when community leaders, who took a more progressive view or have developed good working relationships with various government organisations, were accused by the community of being 'cultural traitors'. Upon examining the issue of community policing in South Sudan, Baker (2009) found that the legitimacy of elders and chiefs is based on them being separate from the police. Thus, it is not surprising if some members of the community become suspicious of their leaders and elders when

they find them working closely with government authorities and the police. But this perception is likely to change if they see those institutions as legitimate.

Diminishing or not supporting established courses of conflict resolution in the community will only leave a gap in the conflict management options available to the community. All the participants, including women, were critical of the effectiveness, especially in the long-term, of current government interventions responding to family conflict and violence. They thought that there was not enough emphasis and opportunity for mediation with the help of authorities and extended family members and community leaders to identify strategies to resolve family conflicts, instead of removing and alienating family members. Leaders who already have the trust of the community could be developed through training, mentoring, and professional and monetary support to fill this emerging gap in the community. The role of community elders and leaders may become especially crucial now that dismissiveness of government authorities has become high among some members in the Sudanese community.

In reality a policy or intervention in one area affects many others. Economic and social inclusion and recognition, and cohesive families, are both embedded in South Sudanese cultural norms and values and are both key issues to the South Sudanese community. They contribute instrumentally to the identity formation of a community experiencing a complex cultural transition. Adjusting to new cultural values and cultivating new social identities is made difficult for Sudanese parents not only because of the strong links between their identity and their heritage norms and values, but more importantly because of the shock of the threat to their identity from Australian authorities. Sudanese Australians are frustrated and aggrieved by government agencies thwarting their attempts to affirm their identities in both areas. The areas also impact on each other. Status identity in the public space needs to be restored to assist and support cultural transition in the private space. This has important implications on social policy, which is often divided up into topics, and is developed and administered by different departments.

11.3 Limitations of the research

Representations of life and life experiences are never complete. I view my research as an initial contribution towards a larger, more comprehensive body of research on respect for humanitarian migrants by the government and its authorities. I especially would have liked to interview policy-makers and people working for organisations contracted to deliver services to South Sudanese and other newly arrived humanitarian migrant communities. However, the information and nuances I had to uncover, document and integrate with existing contributions and theoretical frameworks have limited the extent to which I could engage with the accounts and understanding of both sides, specifically that of government organisations and authorities. Yet I tried to remain aware and present the constraints of government bureaucracies and their impact on assisting the resettlement of humanitarian refugees. Resettlement policies and programs do not happen in a political vacuum. Accordingly, I also acknowledged and reviewed the domestic and international political context providing a backdrop to the resettlement of Sudanese humanitarian migrants.

I also did not explore every issue of the Sudanese community's resettlement experiences. An important issue in the community is gender conflict within families and the related experiences of South Sudanese women. However, as an outsider I was not in a position to adequately and accurately contribute to this highly sensitive and complex topic. I have instead focused my attention on those aspects that have given rise to most concern among both male and female members of South Sudanese community.

11.4 Concluding comments

The South Sudanese Australian community, like all societies, is not homogenous. But the call for respect and the sense of disrespect was uniform across all of the participants in this study. Some participants emphasised their sense of disrespect in response to government intervention in the private domain of their family, while other participants related their sense of disrespect to structural exclusion in the public domains of employment or education. However, irrespective of individual experiences, all

participants felt strongly about the need for more respect in both the private and public space.

The overall issue in this research is how to support humanitarian migrants undergoing complex changes as a result of forced migration and subsequent resettlement; how to ensure that they are treated in ways that they perceive as fair, just and respectful of their positive understanding of themselves. Answers include acknowledgement and praise of past and present endurances and achievements. It also includes having future opportunities opened up and made accessible to the point where social and economic inclusion of people from migrant communities becomes achievable. It includes recognition of their heritage cultures and social structures. Finally, it includes supporting individuals from migrant communities to adjust to the regulatory frameworks and requirements of their new country in a manner that is respectful, instead of belittling, unintentionally as it may be, to core aspects of their self.

In terms of lessons for the future, the narratives have illustrated that when pathways for regaining respect and reducing disrespect are blocked or are denied, individuals express anger and frustration, and withdraw from those they see as holding responsibility for providing relief for their problems. In the case of South Sudanese refugees, the Australian Government is seen to be the source of the problem as well as holding the answers. Blocked pathways and the inability to find means to transcend their feelings of being disrespected have led some Sudanese Australians to a range of responses from frustrated conformity to resistance and social withdrawal from Australian government authorities and institutions. Blocked pathways preventing the inclusion of humanitarian migrants, and subsequent social distancing from government and social institutions in a position to change outcomes for particular social groups, can lead to entrenched resentment and systemic problems, including anomie and deviance in structurally excluded and stigmatised communities.

Yet, resettlement need not be a fraught and discouraging experience. Despite its enormous challenges, if managed with care and with respect for the personal dignity of refugees, resettlement can be a flourishing passage, contributing positively both to the life of forced migrants and the cultural, intellectual and economic wealth of the

receiving country. In my research I have tried to show the strong character, pride, and the resolve of the South Sudanese community to meaningfully contribute to their new country. I have also tried to live up to my own ethical obligation to present the grievance, concerns and aspirations of the community that has trusted me, and to transmit these findings not only to other researchers, but also to people appointed to govern and administer programs to support refugee resettlement.

References

- Abdelkerim, A., & Grace, M. (2012). Challenges to employment in newly emerging African communities in Australia: A review of the literature. *Australian Social Work Journal*, 65(1), 104-119.
- ACT Government Community Services. (2012). Work Experience and Support Program (WESP) from http://www.dhcs.act.gov.au/multicultural/services/work_experience_and_support_program
- Advisory Group on Reform of Australian Government Administration. (2009). Reform of Australian Government Administration: Building the world's best public service. Canberra: Attorney-General's Department.
- Advisory Group on Reform of Australian Government Administration. (2010). Ahead of the Game: Blueprint for the Reform of Australian Government Administration. Canberra: Australian Government Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet.
- Aisbett, N. (2006). Cover story: Give us time and understanding, say our new African migrants, and Australia will never regret allowing us to stay in their country, *The West Australian Weekend Extra*, 18 March 2006, pp. 4-5.
- Allport, G. (1943). The ego in contemporary psychology. *Psychological Review*, 50(5), 451-478.
- Allport, G. (1954). *The nature of prejudice*. Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley.
- Altheide, D. L., & Johnson, J. M. (1994). Criteria for assessing interpretive validity in qualitative research. In N. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), *Handbook of qualitative research* (pp. 485-499). London: Sage.
- Anderson, E. (1993). *Value in Ethics and Economics*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Andrews, K. M. (2007). Priorities of Australia's refugee and humanitarian intake for 2007-08. *Media Release*. Retrieved from http://parlinfo.aph.gov.au/parlInfo/download/media/pressrel/1L006/upload_binary/110o62.pdf;fileType=application/pdf
- Armitage, F. (2006). Respect and types of injustice. *Res Publica*, 12(1), 9-34.

- Arnold, M., & Le Riche, M. (2012). *South Sudan: From Revolution to Independence*: Hurst & Co.
- Åsander, A.-S., Rubensson, B., Munobwa, J., & Faxelid, E. (2013). 'We have taken care of our children according to an African-Swedish method': HIV-infected Ugandan parents in Sweden. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, in print.
- Atem, A. (2012). *South Sudanese in transnational social spaces*. Paper presented at the Emerging Scholars Workshop, Melbourne, 8-10 November 2012.
- Atwell, R., Gifford, S. M., & McDonald-Wilmsen, B. (2009). Resettled refugee families and their children's futures: Coherence, hope and support. *Journal of Comparative Family Studies*, 40(5), 677-697.
- Australian Broadcasting Corporation (Writer) & G. Doogue (Director). (2012a). Aussie African Dads [WMV]. In T. Spring (Producer), *Compass*. Australia: Australian Broadcasting Corporation (ABC).
- Australian Broadcasting Corporation (Producer). (2012b). Police worried by crime in immigrant communities. Retrieved from <http://www.abc.net.au/lateline/content/2012/s3572059.htm>
- Australian Bureau of Statistics. (2011a). 2011 QuickStats Country of Birth, from http://www.censusdata.abs.gov.au/census_services/getproduct/census/2011/quickstat/4105_0
- Australian Bureau of Statistics. (2011b). *Migration, Australia, 2009-10*, (Vol. 3412.0). Canberra: Australian Bureau of Statistics.
- Australian Bureau of Statistics. (2012). *Labour Force, Australia* (Vol. 6202.0). Canberra: Australian Bureau of Statistics.
- Australian Human Rights Commission. (2010). *African Australians: A review of human rights and social inclusion issues*. Sydney: Australian Human Rights Commission.
- Australian Survey Research. (2011). *Settlement outcomes of new arrivals: Report of findings*. Canberra: Department of Immigration and Citizenship.
- Awulian Community Development Association. (2010). *Walking to freedom*. Toowoomba: Awulian Community Development Association Inc.
- Ayisi, E. O. (1979). *An introduction to the study of African culture*. Nairobi: East African Education Publishers.

- Ayres, I., & Braithwaite, J. (1992). *Responsive regulation: Transcending the deregulation debate*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Baker, B. (2009). A policing partnership for post-war Africa? Lessons from Liberia and southern Sudan. *Policing and Society* 19(4), 372-389.
- Balint, P. (2006). Respect relationships in diverse societies. *Res Publica*, 12(1), 35-57.
- Barry, B. (2001). *Culture and equality: An egalitarian critique of multiculturalism*. Cambridge: Polity.
- Becker, H. S. (1982). Culture: A sociological view. *The Yale Review*, 71, 513-527.
- Benhabib, S. (2002). *The claims of culture: Equality and diversity in the global era*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Berry, J. W. (1980). Acculturation as varieties of adaptation. In A. M. Padilla (Ed.), *Acculturation: Theory, models and some new findings* (pp. 9-25). Boulder, CO: Westview.
- Berry, J. W. (1997). Immigration, acculturation and adaptation. *Applied Psychology: An International Review*, 46(1), 5-68.
- Berry, J. W. (1998). Acculturation and health, theory and research. In S. S. Kazarian & D. R. Evans (Eds.), *Cultural clinical psychology: Theory, research and practice* (pp. 39-57). New York: Oxford University Press.
- Berry, J. W. (2001). A psychology of immigration. *Journal of Social Issues*, 57(3), 615-631.
- Bhabha, H. (1990). *Nation and narration*. London: Routledge.
- Bhaskar, R. (1978). *A realist theory of science*. Brighton: Harvester Press.
- Bloch, E. (1961). *Naturrecht und Menschliche Würde*. Frankfurt: Suhrkamp.
- Bogdan, R. C., & Biklen, S. K. (1998). *Qualitative research for education: An introduction to theory and methods* (3rd ed.). Boston, MA: Allyn and Bacon.
- Bourdieu, P. (1991). *Language and symbolic power*. London: Harvard University Press.
- Bourhis, R. Y., Moïse, L. C., Perreault, S., & Sene'cal, S. (1997). Towards an interactive acculturation model: A social psychological approach. *International Journal of Psychology*, 32, 369-386.

- Bowen, C. M. (2010). *The role of immigration and migration through to 2050*. Paper presented at the Informa Conference, Population Australia 2050 Summit, Sydney Harbour Marriott, 28 June 2010.
- Braithwaite, J. (2002). *Restorative justice and responsive regulation*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Braithwaite, J., & Pettit, P. (2001). Republicanism and restorative justice: An explanatory and normative connection. In J. Braithwaite & H. Strang (Eds.), *Restorative Justice: Philosophy to Practice*. Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing Company.
- Braithwaite, V. (1995). Games of engagement: Postures within the regulatory community. *Law and Policy*, 17, 225-255.
- Braithwaite, V. (2003). Dancing with tax authorities: Motivational postures and non-compliant actions. In V. Braithwaite (Ed.), *Taxing democracy: Understanding tax avoidance and evasion* (pp. 15-40). Aldershot, UK: Ashgate.
- Braithwaite, V. (2009a). *Defiance in taxation and governance: Resisting and dismissing authority in a democracy*. Cheltenham, UK and Northampton, USA: Edward Elgar.
- Braithwaite, V. (2009b). Security and harmony value orientations and their roles in attitude formation and change. *Psychological Inquiry*, 20, 162-167.
- Braithwaite, V. (2009c). Tax evasion. In M. Tonry (Ed.), *Handbook on crime and public policy* (pp. 381-405). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Braithwaite, V. (2010). *Compliance with Migration Law Report to the Department of Immigration and Citizenship*. Canberra: Department of Immigration and Citizenship.
- Braithwaite, V. (2013). Resistant and dismissive defiance toward tax authorities. In A. Crawford & A. Hucklesby (Eds.), *Legitimacy and compliance in criminal justice* (pp. 91-115). Abingdon: Routledge.
- Braithwaite, V. (forthcoming). Defiance and motivational postures. In D. Weisburd & G. Bruinsma (Eds.), *Encyclopedia of criminology and criminal justice*. Verlag: Springer.
- British Broadcasting Corporation. (2011a). Profile: Southern Sudan leader Salva Kiir. Retrieved from <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/4738295.stm>

- British Broadcasting Corporation. (2011b). South Sudan backs independence - results. (7 February 2011). Retrieved from <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-africa-12379431>
- Broadbent, R., Cacciattolo, M., & Carpenter, C. (2007). The relocation of refugees from Melbourne to Regional Victoria: A comparative evaluation in Swan Hill and Warrnambool. Melbourne: Institute for Community, Ethnicity and Policy Alternatives, Victoria University.
- Bromfield, L., & Holzer, P. (2008). A national approach for child protection: Project report. Melbourne: National Child Protection Clearinghouse, Australian Institute of Family Studies.
- Bureau of Immigration Multicultural and Population Research. (1996). English proficiency and immigrant groups (Vol. 1). Canberra: Bureau of Immigration.
- Burgoyne, U., & Hull, O. (2007). Classroom management strategies to address the needs of Sudanese refugee learners. Adelaide: National Centre for Vocational Education Research.
- Buss, S. (1999). Respect for Persons. *Canadian Journal of Philosophy*, 29, 517–550.
- Butt, A. (1952). *The Nilotes of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan and Uganda*. London: International African Institute.
- Buttny, R., & Williams, P. L. (2000). Demanding respect: The uses of reported speech in discursive constructions of interracial contact. *Discourse and Society*, 11(1), 109–133.
- Caldwell, A. (2007). Andrews under fire for cutting African refugee intake. Retrieved from <http://www.abc.net.au/news/stories/2007/10/03/2050091.htm>.
- Carrington, K., McIntosh, A., & Walmsley, J. (2007). The social costs and benefits of migration into Australia Armidale, NSW: Centre for Applied Research in Social Science, The University of New England.
- Cartwright, S. (2011). *Policy, obligation and justice in Australia's tobacco growing industry*. PhD dissertation, The Australian National University, Canberra.
- Cassity, E., & Gow, G. (2005). Making up for lost time: The experiences of Southern Sudanese young refugees in high schools. *Youth Studies Australia*, 24(3), 51-55.
- Centre for Multicultural Youth Issues. (2006). Information Sheet No. 14: Refugee Young People and Resettlement. Carlton: Centre for Multicultural Youth Issues.

- Charmaz, K. (2006). *Constructing grounded theory: A practical guide through qualitative analysis*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Children and Young People Act, ACT, A2008-19 Stat. (2008).
- Clarke, A. (2003). Situational analyses: Grounded theory mapping after the postmodern turn. *Symbolic Interaction*, 26(4), 553–576.
- Clarke, T., & Klettner, A. (2013). Targets and quotas: A two-pronged approach to increase board diversity. *The Conversation*. Retrieved from <http://theconversation.com/targets-and-quotas-a-two-pronged-approach-to-increase-board-diversity-12553>
- Colic-Peisker, V., & Tilbury, F. (2003). Active and passive resettlement: The influence of support services and refugees' own resources on resettlement style. *International Migration*, 41(5), 61-91.
- Colic-Peisker, V., & Tilbury, F. (2006). Employment niches for recent refugees: segmented labour market in 21st-century Australia. *Journal of Refugee Studies*, 19(2), 203-229.
- Colic-Peisker, V., & Tilbury, F. (2007). Integration into the Australian labour market: The experience of the three “visibly different” groups of recently arrived refugees. *International Migration*, 45(1), 59-85.
- Coll, C., & Pachter, L. (2002). Ethnic and minority parenting. In M. H. Bornstein (Ed.), *Handbook of parenting: Social conditions and applied parenting* (2 ed., Vol. 4, pp. 1-20). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Collier, A. (1994). *Critical realism: An introduction to Roy Bhaskar's philosophy*. London: Verso.
- Collins, R. O. (2008). *A history of modern Sudan*. Cambridge, UK and New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Correa-Velez, I., & Onsando, G. (2009). Educational and occupational outcomes amongst African men from refugee backgrounds living in urban and regional Southeast Queensland. *The Australasian Review of African Studies*, 30(2), 114-127.
- Crisp, J. (2000). A state of insecurity: The political economy of violence in Kenya's refugee camps. *African Affairs*, 99, 601-632.
- Crothers, C. (2004). Merton as a general theorist: Structures, choices, mechanisms, and consequences. *The American Sociologist*, 35(3), 23-36.

- Crotty, M. (1998). *Foundations of social research: Meaning and perspective in the research process*. Australia: Allen & Unwin.
- Daly, M. W. (1986). *Empire on the Nile: The Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, 1898-1934*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Daly, M. W. (1991). *Imperial Sudan: The Anglo-Egyptian Condominium 1934-1956*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Darwall, S. (1977). Two Kinds of Respect. *Ethics*, 88, 36–49.
- Deng, A., Deng, B., Ajak, B., & Bernstein, J. (2005). *They poured fire on us from the sky: The true story of three lost boys from Sudan*. New York: Public Affairs.
- Deng, F. M. (1971). *Tradition and modernization: Challenge for law among the Dinka of the Sudan* (1st ed.). New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Deng, F. M. (1972). *The Dinka of the Sudan*. Prospect Heights: Waveland Press.
- Deng, F. M. (1978). *Africans of two worlds*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Deng, F. M. (1990). A cultural approach to human rights among the Dinka. In W. Twining (Ed.), *Human rights, Southern Voices*: (pp. 44-52). Cambridge: University Press.
- Deng, F. M. (1998a). The cow and the thing called "What": Dinka cultural perspectives on wealth and poverty. *Journal of International Affairs*, 52(1), 101-129.
- Deng, F. M. (1998b). Human rights, universalism and democracy. In W. Twining (Ed.), *Human rights, southern voices: Francis M. Deng, Abdullahi An-Na'im, Yash Ghai and Upendra Baxi* (pp. 30-44). Cambridge: University Press.
- Deng, L. B. (2010). Social capital and civil war: The Dinka communities in Sudan's civil war. *African Affairs*, 109(435), 231-250.
- Denzin, N. K. (2007). Grounded theory and the politics of interpretation. In A. Bryant & K. Charmaz (Eds.), *SAGE Handbook of grounded theory* (pp. 454-471). London: SAGE Publications Ltd.
- Department for Community Development Government of Western Australia Family and Domestic Violence Unit. (2005). African communities forum on domestic violence report. Working towards a collaborative approach to addressing family support and conflict within the African communities in Western Australia. Western Australia: Office of Multicultural Interests.

- Department of Immigration and Citizenship. (2006a). Annual Report 2005-06. Canberra: Australian Government.
- Department of Immigration and Citizenship. (2006b). The evolution of Australia's multicultural policy. Canberra: Australian Government.
- Department of Immigration and Citizenship. (2009). *Community information summary*. Canberra: Australian Government Retrieved from <http://www.immi.gov.au/media/publications/statistics/comm-summ/pdf/sudan.pdf>.
- Department of Immigration and Citizenship. (2011). Fact Sheet 60 – Australia's refugee and humanitarian program. Canberra: Australian Government.
- Department of Immigration and Citizenship. (2012). Australia's Humanitarian Program 2013–14 and beyond. Canberra: Australian Government.
- Department of Immigration and Citizenship. (2013). Humanitarian Settlement Services Retrieved 22 June 2013, from <http://www.immi.gov.au/living-in-australia/delivering-assistance/government-programs/settlement-programs/hss.htm>
- Department of Multicultural and Indigenous Affairs. (2003). Report of the review of settlement services for Migrations and Humanitarian Entrants. Canberra: Department of Multicultural and Indigenous Affairs.
- Dhanji, S. (2009). Welcome or unwelcome? Integration issues and the resettlement of former refugees from the Horn of Africa and Sudan in metropolitan Melbourne. *The Australasian Review of African Studies*, 30(2), 152-178.
- Dillon, R. S. (2014). Respect. In Z. N. Edward (Ed.), *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (Spring ed.).
- Dompierre, S., & Lavallée, M. (1990). Degré de contact et stress acculturatif dans le processus d'adaptation des réfugiés Africains. *International Journal of Psychology*, 25(2), 417–437.
- Dona, G., & Berry, J. W. (1994). Acculturation attitudes and acculturative stress of Central American refugees. *International Journal of Psychology*, 29(1), 57-70.
- Doney, G., Eckert, R., & Pittaway, E. (2010). African women talking: "We want the best thing for our family". Sydney: University of New South Wales, Centre for Refugee Research.

- Doss, M. (2000). Evans-Pritchard and segmentary structures amongst the Nuer: A reappraisal. *Mankind Quarterly*, 41(2), 157-174.
- Downie, R. S., & Telfer, E. (1969). *Respect for persons*. London: George Allen and Unwin.
- Dworkin, R. (1977). *Taking rights seriously*. London: Duckworth.
- Earnest, J., Housen, T., & Gillieatt, S. (2007). Adolescent and young refugee perspectives on psychosocial well-being. Perth, Western Australia: Centre for International Health, Curtin University of Technology.
- Eggers, D. (2006). *What is the What: The autobiography of Valentino Achak Deng*. New York: Vintage Books.
- Epstein, S. (1973). The self-concept revisited: or a theory of a theory. *American Psychologist*, 28(5), 404-416.
- Este, D. C., & Tachble, A. (2009). Fatherhood in the Canadian context: Perceptions and experiences of Sudanese refugee men. *Sex Roles* 60(7-8), 456-466.
- European Council on Refugees and Exiles. (2005). *Towards the integration of refugees in Europe*. Retrieved from www.ecre.org/resources/Policy_papers/258.
- Evans-Pritchard, E. E. (1940). *The Nuer: A description of the modes of livelihood and political institutions of a Nilotic people*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Evans-Pritchard, E. E. (1951). *Kinship and marriage among the Nuer*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Evans-Pritchard, E. E. (1969). *The Nuer: Economy and political institutions of a Nilotic people*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Fadlalla, M. (2004). *Short history of Sudan*. Lincoln, NE: iUniverse.
- Fadlalla, M. (2009). *Customary laws in Southern Sudan*. Bloomington: iUniverse, Inc.
- Farah, O. M. (2010). *The African employment challenge*. Melbourne: Carlton Neighbourhood Centre Inc.
- Feinberg, J. (1975). Some Conjectures on the Concept of Respect. *Journal of Social Philosophy*, 4, 1-3.

- Fennema, M., & Tillie, J. (2008). Social capital in multicultural society. In D. Castiglione, J. van Deth & G. Wolleb (Eds.), *Handbook of social capital*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Firth, R. (1957). *Man and culture: An evaluation of the work of Bronislaw Malinowski*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd.
- Flanagan, J. (2007). *Dropped from the Moon: The settlement experiences of refugee communities in Tasmania*. Tasmania: Social Action and Research Centre, Anglicare.
- Fozdar, F., & Torezani, S. (2008). Discrimination and well-being: Perceptions of refugees in Western Australia. *The International Migration Review*, 42(1), 30–63.
- Frankena, W. K. (1986). The ethics of respect for persons. *Philosophical Topics*, 14(2), 149–167.
- Friedl, J., & Pfeiffer, J. E. (1977). *Anthropology*. New York: Harper's College Press.
- Fullinwider, R. (2011). Affirmative action. In E. N. Zalta (Ed.), *The Stanford Encyclopedia of philosophy* (Winter 2011 ed.). Stanford: Stanford University.
- Gebre-Selassie, H. (2008). *Integration strategies of migrants and refugees: The Winston Churchill Memorial Trust of Australia*.
- Gibson, J. L., Caldeira, G. A., & Spence, L. K. (2003). The Supreme Court and the US Presidential election of 2000: Wounds, self-inflicted or otherwise? *British Journal of Political Science*, 33, 535–556.
- Gibson, J. L., Caldeira, G. A., & Spence, L. K. (2005). Why do people accept public policies they oppose? Testing legitimacy theory with a survey-based experiment. *Political Research Quarterly*, 58, 187–201.
- Gibson, S. (2006). Respect as esteem: The case of counselling. *Res Publica*, 12(1), 77–95.
- Glaser, B. (1992). *Basics of grounded theory analysis*. Mill Valley, CA: The Sociology Press.
- Glaser, B., & Strauss, A. (1967). *The discovery of grounded theory*. New York: Aldine Publishing Company.

- Goodkind, J. R. (2006). Promoting Hmong refugees' well-being through mutual well-being through mutual learning: Valuing knowledge, culture, and experience. *American Journal of Community Psychology, 37*(1-2), 77-93.
- Gorman, J. (1995). Being and doing: Practicing a secret profession. *Reflections, 4*(1), 35-40.
- Granovetter, M. (1983). The strength of weak ties: A network theory revisited. *Sociological Theory, 1*, 203-233.
- Guba, E. G., & Lincoln, Y. S. (2005). Paradigmatic controversies, contradictions, and emerging influences. In N. K. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), *The Sage handbook of qualitative research* (3 ed., pp. 191-215). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Guerin, P., & Guerin, B. (2007). Research with refugee communities: Going around in circles with methodology. *The Australian Community Psychologist, 9*(1), 150-162.
- Gyekye, K. (1995). *An essay on African philosophical thought: The Akan conceptual scheme*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.
- Hammersley, M. (1992). *What is wrong with ethnography?* London: Routledge.
- Hammersley, M., & Atkinson, P. (1983). *Ethnography: Principles in practice*. London: Tavistock.
- Hansen, A. (1982). Self-settled rural refugees in Africa: The case of Angolans in Zambian villages. In A. Hansen & A. Oliver-Smith (Eds.), *Involuntary migration and resettlement: The problems and responses of dislocated people* (pp. 175-194). Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press.
- Hanson-Easey, S., & Augoustinos, M. (2010). Out of Africa: Accounting for refugee policy and the language of causal attribution. *Discourse & Society, 21*(3), 295-323.
- Harris, A. (2011). Too dark, too tall, too something: New racism in Australian schools. In M. Broderick & A. Traverso (Eds.), *Trauma, media, art: New perspectives* (pp. 211-226). Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.
- Harris, N. (2011). Shame, ethical identity and justice: Interventions: Lessons from research on the psychology of influence. In S. Karstedt, L. Ian & S. Heather (Eds.), *Emotions, crime and justice* (eds ed., pp. 193-209). Oxford: Hart Publishing.

- Hart, C., & Maiden, S. (2007). Race to point finger of blame, *The Australian*. Retrieved from <http://www.theaustralian.news.com.au/story/0,25197,22538228-28737,00.html>
- Hebbani, A., Obijiofor, L., & Bristed, H. (2009). Generational differences faced by Sudanese refugee women settling in Australia. *Intercultural Communication Studies*, 28(1), 66-82.
- Hill, T. E. J. (1998). Respect for persons. In E. Craig (Ed.), *Routledge Encyclopedia of philosophy*. London: Routledge.
- Hogg, M. A., & Turner, J. C. (1987). Social identity and conformity: A theory of referent information influence. In W. Doise & S. Moscovici (Eds.), *Current issues in European social psychology* (Vol. 2, pp. 139-182). Cambridge: University Press.
- Holstein, J., & Gubrium, J. (1995). *The active interview*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Holtug, N., & Mason, A. (2010). Introduction: Immigration, diversity and social cohesion. *Ethnicities*, 10(4), 407-414.
- Honneth, A. (1992). Integrity and disrespect. Principles of a conception of morality based on the theory of recognition. *Political Theory*, 20(2), 187-201.
- Hudson, S. D. (1980). The Nature of Respect. *Social Theory and Practice*, 6, 69-90.
- Hugo, G. (2011). Economic, social and civic contributions of first and second generation humanitarian entrants. Canberra: Department of Immigration and Citizenship.
- Human Rights Watch. (2009). "There is no protection": Insecurity and human rights in Southern Sudan. New York: The Human Rights Watch.
- Hutchinson, S. E. (1996). *Nuer dilemmas: Coping with money, war, and the State*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Hwang, W. (2006). Acculturative family distancing: theory, research and clinical practice *Psychotherapy: Theory, Research, Practice and Training*, 43, 397-409.
- James, W. (1915). *Psychology: The briefer course*. New York: Holt.
- Janoff-Bulman, R., & Werther, A. (2008). The social psychology of respect: Implications for delegitimization and reconciliation. In A. Nadler, T. Malloy &

J. D. Fisher (Eds.), *The social psychology of inter-group reconciliation* (pp. 145-170). New York: Oxford University Press.

Jesuit Social Services. (2012). African Australian Inclusion Program Retrieved 1 June 2013, from <http://www.jss.org.au/programs/all-programs/african-australian-inclusion-program>

Jok, M. J. (2001). *War and slavery in Sudan*. Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Jupp, J. (2007). *From white Australia to Woomera: The story of Australian immigration* (2 ed.). Cambridge UK: Cambridge University Press.

Jupp, J. (2011). Politics, public policy and multiculturalism. In J. Jupp & M. Clyne (Eds.), *Multiculturalism and integration: A harmonious relationship* (pp. 41-52). Canberra: ANU E Press.

Jupp, J., Nieuwenhuysen, J., & Dawson, E. (Eds.). (2007). *Social cohesion in Australia*. Melbourne: Cambridge University Press.

Kant, E. (1797). The metaphysics of morals. In M. Gregor (Ed.), *Immanuel Kant Practical Philosophy*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Kellenberg, J. (1995). *Relationship morality*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press.

Khawaja, N. G., White, K. M., Schweitzer, R., & Greenslade, J. (2008). Difficulties and coping strategies of Sudanese refugees: A qualitative approach. *Transcultural Psychiatry*, 45(3), 489-512.

Kirwen, M. C. (2010). *African cultural domains: Cycle of family & interpersonal relationships*. Nairobi: Mias Books.

Kotchick, B. A., & Forehand, R. (2002). Putting parenting in perspective: a discussion of the contextual factors that shape parenting practices. *Journal of Child and Family Studies*, 11, 255-269.

Kumlin, S., & Rothstein, B. (2005). Making and breaking social capital. The impact of welfare state institutions. *Comparative Political Studies*, 38, 339-365.

Kumlin, S., & Rothstein, B. (2008). Minorities and mistrust: The cushioning effect of social contacts and institutional fairness *QoG Working Paper Series*. Sweden: Quality of Government Institute, University of Gothenburg.

- Kunz, E. F. (1969). *Blood and gold: Hungarians in Australia*. Melbourne: Cheshire.
- Kunz, E. F. (1973). The refugee in flight: Kinetic models and forms of displacement. *International Migration Review*, 7(2), 125-146.
- Kunz, E. F. (1981). Exile and resettlement: Refugee theory. *International Migration Review*, 15(1/2), 42-51.
- Kvale, S. (1996). *InterViews: An Introduction to qualitative research interviewing*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Kyle, L., MacDonald, F., Doughney, J., & Pyke, J. (2004). Refugees in the labour market: Looking for cost-effective models of assistance. Fitzroy: Ecumenical Migration Centre.
- Kyriakopoulos, B. (2012). *Government announces inaugural members of African Ministerial Consultative Committee*. Canberra: Retrieved from <http://woodfordnewspaper.com/african-ministerial-consultative-committee/>.
- Larsen, B. R. (2010). 'A future for the children is what you wish the most': *The impact of intergenerational dynamics and crises on refugees' sense of well-being and social inclusion in Denmark*. Paper presented at the 11th European Association of Social Anthropologists Biennial Conference, Crisis and Imagination, Maynooth, Ireland, 24-27th August 2010.
- Lewig, K., Arney, F., & Salveron, M. (2009). The working with refugee families project. South Australia: University of South Australia, Australian Centre for Child Protection.
- Lewig, K., Arney, F., & Salveron, M. (2010). Challenges to parenting in a new culture: Implications for child and family welfare. *Evaluation and Program Planning*, 33(3), 324-332.
- Ley, D. (2013). Does transnationalism trump immigrant integration? Evidence from Canada's links with East Asia. *Journal of Ethnic Migration Studies*, 921-938.
- Lienhardt, G. (1961). *Divinity and experience: The religion of the Dinka*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Lincoln, Y. S., & Guba, E. G. (1985). *Naturalist inquiry*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.
- Lipsky, M. (1980). *Street-level bureaucracy. Dilemmas of the individual in public services*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.

- Lowndes, V., Pratchett, L., & Stoker, G. (2006). Diagnosing and remedying the failings of official participation schemes: the CLEAR framework. *Social Policy and Society*, 5(2), 281-291.
- Lucas, D., Jamali, M., & Edgar, B. (2011). The Sudan-born in Australia: A statistical profile. *The Australasian Review of African Studies*, 32(2), 10-24.
- Lucas, D., Jamali, M., & Edgar, B. (2013). A statistical profile of the Sudan-born in Australia. In J. M. Marlowe, A. Harris & T. Lyons (Eds.), *Sudanese diaspora in Australia and New Zealand: Reconciling the past with the present* (pp. 48-66). Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.
- Macarthur Diversity Services Inc. (2005). Rural-urban settlement in Macarthur and Nepean Regions. Campbelltown, NSW: Macarthur Diversity Services Inc.
- Macdougall, N. (2007). Friendship and kinship: pathways to community inclusion. In V. Colic-Peisker & F. Tilbury (Eds.), *Settling in Australia: The social inclusion of refugees* (pp. 64-76). Perth: Murdoch University.
- Mackenzie, C., McDowell, C., & Pittaway, E. (2007). Beyond 'do no harm': The challenge of constructing ethical relationships in refugee research *Journal of Refugee Studies* 20(2), 299-319.
- Mahmud, U. A., & Baldo, S. A. (1987, 10 Dec 1987). The Dhein massacre: Slavery in the Sudan, *African Concord*, pp. 8-13.
- Makec, J. M. (1988). *The customary law of the Dinka people of Sudan: In comparison with aspects of Western and Islamic laws*. London: Afro-world Pub.
- Makkai, T., & Braithwaite, J. (1993). Praise, pride and corporate compliance. *International Journal of the Sociology of Law*, 21(1), 73-92.
- Markovic, M., & Manderson, L. (2000). Nowhere is as at home: Adjustment strategies of recent immigrant women from the former Yugoslav Republics in Southeast Queensland. *Journal of Sociology*, 36(3), 315-328.
- Markus, H., & Nurius, P. (1986). Possible selves. *American Psychologist*, 41(9), 954-969.
- Marlowe, J. M. (2009). Accessing 'authentic' knowledge: *Being and doing* with the Sudanese community. *The Australian Community Psychologist*, 21(1), 39-49.
- Marlowe, J. M. (2010a). Beyond the discourse of trauma: Shifting the focus on Sudanese refugees. *Journal of Refugee Studies*, 23(2), 183-198.

- Marlowe, J. M. (2010b). *'Walking the Line': Southern Sudanese narratives and responding to trauma*. PhD dissertation, Flinders University, Adelaide, South Australia.
- Marlowe, J. M. (2012). 'Walking the line': Southern Sudanese masculinities and reconciling one's past with the present. *Ethnicities*, 12(1), 50-66.
- Marlowe, J. M., Harris, A., & Lyons, T. (2013). *Sudanese diaspora in Australia and New Zealand: Reconciling the past with the present*. Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.
- Marschall, M. J., & Stolle, D. (2004). Race and the city: Neighborhood context and the development of generalized trust. *Political Behavior*, 26, 125-153.
- Martin, J. N., & Nakayama, T. K. (2008). *Experiencing intercultural communication* (3rd ed.). Boston: McGraw-Hill.
- Matthews, J. (2008). Schooling and settlement: Refugee education in Australia. *International Studies in Sociology of Education*, 18(1), 31-45.
- Maxwell, J. A. (1992). Understanding and validity in qualitative research. *Harvard Educational Review*, 62(3), 279-300.
- McDonald-Wilmsen, B., Gifford, S. M., Webster, K., Wiseman, J., & Casey, S. (2009). Resettling refugees in rural and regional Australia: Learning from recent policy and program initiatives. *The Australian Journal of Public Administration*, 68(1), 97-111.
- Meidinger, E. (1987). Regulatory culture: A theoretical outline. *Law & Policy*, 9(4), 355-386.
- Merton, R. K. (1968). *Social theory and social structure*. New York: Free Press.
- Middleton, D. (2006). Introduction. *Res Publica*, 12(1), 1-7.
- Migrant Information Centre. (2008). Family violence within the Southern Sudanese community. Project evaluation report. Melbourne: Migrant Information Centre, Eastern Melbourne.
- Miles, M. B., & Huberman, M. A. (1994). *Qualitative data analysis: An expanded sourcebook* (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Miller, D. T. (2001). Disrespect and the experience of injustice. *Annual Review of Psychology*, 52, 527-553.

- Miller, K. (2004). Beyond the frontstage: Trust, access, and the relational context in research with refugee communities. *American Journal of Community Psychology*, 33(3/4), 217-227.
- Milner, K., & Khawaja, N. G. (2010). Sudanese refugees in Australia: The impact of acculturation stress. *Journal of Pacific Rim Psychology*, 4(1), 19-29.
- Milos, D. (2011). South Sudanese communities and Australian family law: A clash of systems. *The Australasian Review of African Studies*, 32(2), 143-159.
- Ministry of Education. (2009). Education statistics for Southern Sudan, 2009, National Statistical Booklet, v.2.0. Juba: Ministry of Education.
- Ministry of Health Government of Southern Sudan. (2006). Sudan household health survey, 2006. Khartoum: Ministry of Health/Government of Southern Sudan.
- Mulama, J., & Bimenyimana, P. (2011). South Sudan is on the long long road of nation building, *Saturday Nation, Kenya*, 9 April 2011.
- Murphy, K. (2005). Regulating more effectively: the relationship between procedural justice, legitimacy and tax non-compliance. *Journal of Law and Society*, 32(4), 562-589.
- Murray, K. E. (2010). Sudanese perspectives on resettlement in Australia. *Journal of Pacific Rim Psychology*, 4(1), 30-43.
- Nelson, D., Pricea, E., & Zubrzyckiab, J. (2013). Integrating human rights and trauma frameworks in social work with people from refugee backgrounds. *Australian Social Work Journal*, in print.
- Neumann, K. (2004). *Refuge Australia: Australia's humanitarian record*. Sydney: University of New South Wales.
- Neumann, K. (2013). The resettlement of refugees in Australia: a bibliography (6th rev.ed.). Vol. 10 December 2013. Retrieved from http://apo.org.au/files/Resource/resettlement_bibliography_10_december_2013_0.pdf
- Nicassio, P. (1985). The psychological adjustment of Southeast Asian refugees: An overview of empirical findings and theoretical models. *Journal of Cross Culture Psychology*, 16, 153-173.
- Nikkel, M. R. (2001). *Dinka Christianity: The origins and development of Christianity among the Dinka of Sudan with special reference to the songs of Dinka Christians*. Nairobi: Paulines Publications Africa.

- Nsubuga-Kyobe, A., & Dimock, E. (2002). African communities and settlement services in Victoria: towards better service delivery models. Melbourne: La Trobe University Publications.
- O'Donnell, M., Scott, D., & Stanley, F. (2008). Child abuse and neglect - is it time for a public health approach? *Australian and New Zealand Journal of Public Health*, 32(4), 325-330.
- Ochocka, J., & Janzen, R. (2008). Immigrant parenting: A new framework of understanding *Journal of Immigrant and Refugee Studies*, 6(1), 85-111.
- Ogbu, J. (1995a). Cultural problems in minority education: Their interpretations and consequences, Part one: Theoretical background. *The Urban Review*, 27(3), 189-205.
- Ogbu, J. (1995b). Cultural problems in minority education: Their interpretations and consequences, Part two: Case studies. *The Urban Review*, 27(3), 271-297.
- Oliver, C. (2012). Critical realist grounded theory: A new approach for social work research. *British Journal of Social Work*, 42, 371-387.
- Olwig, K. F. (2011). 'Integration': Migrants and refugees between Scandinavian welfare societies and family relations. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 37(2), 179-196.
- Ong, A. (2003). *Buddha is hiding: Refugees, citizenship, the New America*. Berkeley, California: University of California Press.
- Papastergiadis, N. (2000). *The turbulence of migration: Globalization, deterritorialization and hybridity*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Parker, C., & Braithwaite, J. (2003). Regulation. In P. Cane & M. Tushnet (Eds.), *The Oxford handbook of legal studies* (pp. 119-145). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Patton, M. Q. (2002). *Qualitative research and evaluation methods* (3rd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Pettigrew, T. F. (1998). Intergroup Conflict Theory. *Annual Review of Psychology*, 49, 65-85.
- Piddington, R. (1950). *Introduction to social anthropology*. London: Oliver & Boyd.

- Piontkowski, U., Florack, A., Hoelker, P., & Obdreza 1ek, P. (2000). Predicting acculturation attitudes of dominant and non-dominant groups. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 24, 1-26.
- Piper, M. (2007). Evaluation of the Shepparton Regional Settlement Pilot. Canberra: Department of Immigration and Citizenship.
- Piper, M. (2008). Evaluation of the Mount Gambier Regional Settlement Pilot. Canberra: Department of Immigration and Citizenship.
- Piper, M. (2009). Evaluation of the Ballarat Regional Settlement Pilot. Canberra: Department of Immigration and Citizenship.
- Pittaway, E., & Muli, C. (2009). "We have a voice – Hear us". The settlement experiences of refugees and migrants from the Horn of Africa. Sydney: Centre for Refugee Research, University of New South Wales.
- Povinelli, E. A. (2002). *The cunning of recognition: Indigenous alterities and the making of Australian multiculturalism*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press.
- Putnam, H. (1990). Realism with a human face. In H. Putnam (Ed.), *Realism with a human face* (pp. 3-17). Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Putnam, R. D. (2000). *Bowling alone: The collapse and revival of American community*. New York: Simon & Schuster.
- Refugee Council of Australia. (2008). Submission to the general review of employment services. Surry Hills: Refugee Council of Australia,.
- Refugee Council of Australia. (2009). Australia's Refugee and Humanitarian Program: Community views on current challenges and future directions. Melbourne: Refugee Council of Australia.
- Refugee Council of Australia. (2012). Report on the 2012 UNHCR-NGO Consultations and Annual Tripartite Consultation on Resettlement, UNHCR-NGO consultations, 3-5 July, Geneva, Switzerland Surry Hills, NSW: Refugee Council of Australia.
- Reus-Smit, C. (2007). International crises of legitimacy. *International Politics*, 44(2/3), 157-174.
- Rousseau, C., Rufagari, M., Bagilishya, D., & Measham, T. (2004). Remaking family life: Strategies for re-establishing continuity among Congolose refugees during the family reunification process. *Social Science and Medicine* 59, 1095-1108.

- Ruati, R. (2011, 12 February 2011). USAID and South Sudan launch \$225 million tarmacing of Juba-Nimule road, *Sudan Tribune* Retrieved from http://www.sudantribune.com/spip.php?iframe&page=imprimable&id_article=37968
- Run, P. (2012). 'Out of place'? An auto-ethnography of refuge and postcolonial exile. *African Identities, iFirst*, 1-9.
- Ryan, D., Dooley, B., & Benson, C. (2008). Theoretical perspectives on postmigration adaptation and psychological well-being among refugees: Towards a resource-based model. *Journal of Refugee Studies, 21*(1), 1-18.
- Sang, D., & Fielding, A. (2007). Community formation and collective resilience in refugee communities. In V. Colic-Peisker & F. Tilbury (Eds.), *Settling in Australia: The social inclusion of refugees* (pp. 77-96). Perth: Centre for Social and Community Research, Murdoch University.
- Schaffer, F. (2006). Ordinary language interviewing. In D. Yanow & P. Schwartz-Shea (Eds.), *Interpretation and method: Empirical research methods and the interpretive turn* (pp. 150-160). Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe.
- Schweitzer, R., Greenslade, J., & Kagee, A. (2007). Coping and resilience in refugees from the Sudan: A narrative account. *Australian and New Zealand Journal of Psychiatry, 41*, 282-288.
- Schweitzer, R., Melville, F., Steel, Z., & Lacherez, P. (2006). Trauma, post-migration living difficulties, and social support as predictors of psychological adjustment in resettled Sudanese refugees. *Australian and New Zealand Journal of Psychiatry, 40*, 179-187.
- Scott, W. A., & Scott, R. (1989). *Adaptation of immigrants: Individual differences and determinants*. Oxford: Pergamon Press.
- Scroggins, D. (2003). *Emma's war: Love, betrayal and death in the Sudan*. London: HarperCollins.
- Sennett, R. (2003). *Respect in a World of Inequality*. New York: Norton.
- Shakespeare-Finch, J., & Wickham, K. (2010). Adaptation of Sudanese refugees in an Australian context: Investigating helps and hindrances. *International Migration, 48*(1), 23-46.
- Shepley, C. (2007). *Regional settlement in Australia: Research into the settlement experience of humanitarian entrants in regional Australia*. Canberra: Citizenship,

Settlement and Multicultural Affairs Division, Department of Immigration and Citizenship.

- Sherman, L. W. (1993). Defiance, deterrence, and irrelevance: A theory of the criminal sanction. *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency*, 30(4), 445–473.
- Sommers, M., & Schwartz, S. (2011). Dowry and division, youth and State building in South Sudan. Washington DC United States Institute of Peace.
- Southern Sudan Centre for Census Statistics and Evaluation. (2009). National Baseline Household Survey, 2009. Juba: Southern Sudan Centre for Census, Statistics and Evaluation.
- Special Broadcasting Service (Producer). (2013). How committed is Abbott to multiculturalism? Retrieved from <http://www.sbs.com.au/news/article/2013/09/17/how-committed-abbott-multiculturalism>
- Spinks, H. (2009). Australia's settlement services for migrants and refugees *Research Paper no. 29*. Canberra: Parliamentary Library, Parliament of Australia.
- Steele, C. (1988). The psychology of self-affirmation: Sustaining the integrity of the self. *Advances in Experimental Social Psychology*, 21, 261–302.
- Stepick, A., & Stepick, C. D. (2003). Becoming American: Immigration, identity, intergenerational relations, and academic orientation. In N. Foner (Ed.), *American arrivals: Anthropology engages the new immigration* (pp. 129-162). Santa Fe, New Mexico: School of American Research Press.
- Strauss, A., & Corbin, J. (1998). *Basics of qualitative research: Techniques and procedures for developing grounded theory*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Sturgess, G. L. (2001). Beating the bureaucracy: Humanising modern government. In P. Botsman & M. Latham (Eds.), *The enabling state: People before bureaucracy* (pp. 187-217). Sydney: Pluto Press.
- Suchman, M. C. (1995). Managing legitimacy: Strategic and institutional approaches. *The Academy of Management Review*, 20(3), 571-610.
- Tajfel, H., & Turner, J. C. (1979). An integrative theory of intergroup conflict In W. G. Austin & S. Worchel (Eds.), *The social psychology of intergroup relations* (pp. 33-47). Monterey, CA: Brooks/Cole.

- Tajfel, H., & Turner, J. C. (1986). The social identity theory of intergroup behavior. In W. G. Austin & S. Worchel (Eds.), *Psychology of intergroup relations* (pp. 7-24). Chicago: Nelson-Hall.
- Tanner, L. (2008). African-Australians confronted by challenges, *Business Day Blogs*. Retrieved from <http://blogs.theage.com.au/business/lindsaytanner/2008/08/04/africanaustrali.html>
- Tavan, G. (2006). *John Howard's multicultural paradox*. Paper presented at the John Howard's Decade Conference, Australian National University, Canberra, 3-4 March 2006. <http://parlinfo.aph.gov.au/parlInfo/search/display/display.w3p;query=Id%3A%22media%2Fpressrel%2FIMYI6%22>
- Taylor-Neumann, L. V. N., & Balasingam, M. R. (2009). Sustaining settlement in Murray Bridge, South Australia. Murray Bridge, South Australia: Lutheran Community Care.
- Taylor, C. (1992). *Multiculturalism and the politics of recognition*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Taylor, J., & Stanovic, D. (2005). Refugees and regional settlement: Balancing priorities. Fitzroy, Victoria: Brotherhood of St Laurence.
- Terreberry, S. (1968). The evolution of organizational environments. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 12, 590-613.
- The World Bank. (2013). South Sudan Overview Retrieved 22 May 2013, from <http://www.worldbank.org/en/country/southsudan/overview>
- Thomas, W., & Collier, V. (2002). A national study of school effectiveness for language minority students' long-term academic achievement: Final report. Santa Cruz, CA: Centre for Research on Education, Diversity and Excellence.
- Tilbury, F., & Colic-Peisker, V. (2007). Skilled refugees, employment and social inclusion: A Perth case study of three communities. In V. Colic-Peisker & F. Tilbury (Eds.), *Settling in Australia: The social inclusion of refugees* (pp. 108-127). Perth: Centre for Social and Community Research, Murdoch University.
- Trigg, R. (2005). *Morality matters*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Turner, J. C., Hogg, M., Oakes, P., Reicher, S., & Wetherell, M. (1987). *Rediscovering the social group: A self-categorization theory*. Oxford: Blackwell.

- Twining, W. (Ed.). (2009). *Human rights, southern voices: Francis M. Deng, Abdullahi An-Na'im, Yash Ghai and Upendra Baxi*. London: University College.
- Tyler, T. R. (1989). The psychology of procedural justice: A test of the group-value model. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 57(5), 830-838.
- Tyler, T. R. (1990). *Why people obey the law*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Tyler, T. R. (1997). The psychology of legitimacy: A relational perspective on voluntary deference to authorities. *Personality and Social Psychology Review*, 1(4), 323-345.
- Tyler, T. R. (2006a). Psychological perspectives on legitimacy and legitimation. *Annual Review of Psychology*, 57, 375-400.
- Tyler, T. R. (2006b). Restorative justice and procedural justice. *Journal of Social Issues*, 62, 305-323.
- Tyler, T. R. (2008). Psychology and institutional design. *Review of Law and Economics*, 4(3), 801-887.
- Tyler, T. R., & Blader, S. (2003). The group engagement model: Procedural justice, social identity, and cooperative behavior. *Personality and Social Psychology Review*, 7(4), 349-361.
- Tyler, T. R., & Blader, S. (2005). Can businesses effectively regulate employee conduct? The antecedents of rule following in work settings. *Academy of Management Journal*, 48(6), 1143-1158.
- Udo-Ekpo, L. (1999). *The Africans in Australia: Expectations and shattered dreams*. Adelaide: Seaview Press.
- UNHCR. (2004a). Protracted Refugee Situations, Executive Committee of the High Commissioner's Programme, Standing Committee, 30th Meeting: United Nations.
- UNHCR. (2004b). Resettlement Handbook. Geneva: UNHCR, Department of International Protection.
- UNHCR. (2006). *The state of the world's refugees: Human displacement in the New Millennium*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- UNHCR. (2011). The 1951 Convention relating to the status of refugees and its 1967 Protocol. Geneva, Switzerland: UNHCR.

UNHCR. (2012). UNHCR global trends 2011: UNHCR.

UNHCR. (2013a). The Integration of Resettled Refugees: Essential for Establishing a Resettlement Programme and Fundamentals for Sustainable Resettlement Programmes. In UNHCR (Ed.). Geneva, Switzerland.

UNHCR. (2013b). UNHCR Global Trends 2012: UNHCR.

United Nations Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination. (2010). Consideration of reports submitted by States parties under article 9 of the convention: concluding observations of the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination, Seventy-seventh session, (Vol. CERD/C/AUS/CO/15-17): CERD.

Uslaner, E. M. (2011). Trust, diversity, and segregation in the United States and the United Kingdom. *Comparative Sociology*, 10, 221-247.

Uslaner, E. M., & Brown, M. (2005). Inequality, trust, and civic engagement. *American Politics Research*, 33, 868-894.

van Manen, M. (1977). Linking ways of knowing with ways of being practical. *Curriculum Inquiry*, 6(3), 205-228.

Varela, R. E., Vernberg, E. M., Sanchez-Sosa, J. J., Riveros, A., Mitchell, M., & Mashunkashey, J. (2004). Parenting style of Mexican, Mexican American, and Caucasian-Non-Hispanic families: social context and cultural influences. *Journal of Family Psychology*, 18, 651-657.

Wakholi, P. (2007). African cultural education and social inclusion of refugees. In V. Colic-Peisker & F. Tilbury (Eds.), *Settling in Australia: The social inclusion of refugees* (pp. 4-22). Perth: Centre for Social and community Research, Murdoch University.

Ward, C. A., Bochner, S., & Furnham, A. (2001). *The psychology of culture shock*. East Sussex: Routledge.

Weinreich, P. (2009). 'Enculturation', not 'Acculturation': Conceptualising and assessing identity processes in migrant communities. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 33(2), 124-139.

Weisner, T. S. (1997). Support for children and the African family crisis. In T. S. Weisner, C. Bradley & L. Kilbride (Eds.), *African families and the crisis of social change* (pp. 20-44). Westport Connecticut: Bergin & Garvey.

- Westoby, P. (2008). Developing a community-development approach through engaging resettling Southern Sudanese refugees within Australia. *Community Development Journal*, 43(4), 483-495.
- White, S. (1991). *Dignity, self-ownership and the redistributive state*. M. Phil. Dissertation, Oxford University.
- Wolcott, H. (1994). *Transforming qualitative data: Description, analysis and interpretation*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- World Health Organization. (2014). World Health Statistics, 2013, Part III Global health indicators: World Health Organization.
- Ying, Y. W., & Han, M. (2007). A test of the intergenerational congruence in immigrant families – Child Scale with Southeast Asian Americans. *Social Work Research*, 31, 35-43.
- Young, I. M. (1990). *Justice and the politics of difference*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.
- Young, I. M. (2000). *Inclusion and democracy*. Oxford: University Press.
- Zhou, M., & Bankston, C. (2000). *Straddling two social worlds: The experience of Vietnamese refugee children in the United States*. New York: ERIC Clearinghouse on Urban Education.
- Zick, A., Wagner, U., van Dick, R., & Petzel, T. (2001). Acculturation and prejudice in Germany: Majority and minority perspectives. *Journal of Social Issues* 57, 541-557.
- Zucker, L. G. (1983). Organizations as institutions. In S. B. Bacharach (Ed.), *Research in the sociology of organizations* (pp. 1-42). Greenwich: JAI Press.

Appendices

Appendix A: Ethics Approval

Dear Ms Ibolya Losoncz,

Protocol: 2010/388

Community connection and settlement of Sudanese Australians

I am pleased to advise you that your Human Ethics protocol received approval by the Chair of the Humanities and Social Sciences DERC on 16 September 2010.

For your information:

1. Under the NHMRC/AVCC National Statement on Ethical Conduct in Human Research we are required to follow up research that we have approved. Once a year (or sooner for short projects) we shall request a brief report on any ethical issues which may have arisen during your research or whether it proceeded according to the plan outlined in the above protocol.
2. Please notify the committee of any changes to your protocol in the course of your research, and when you complete or cease working on the project.
3. Please notify the Committee immediately if any unforeseen events occur that might affect continued ethical acceptability of the research work.
4. The validity of the current approval is five years' maximum from the date shown approved. For longer projects you are required to seek renewed approval from the Committee.

All the best with your research,

Ms Kim Tiffen
Ethics Manager/rDNA Secretary
Office of Research Integrity,
Research Office,
Level 3, Innovations Bldg 124
Eggleston Rd
The Australian National University
ACTON ACT 0200
T: +61 6125 3427
F: +61 2 6125 4807
Kim.Tiffen@anu.edu.au or
human.ethics.officer@anu.edu.au
http://www.anu.edu.au/ro/ORI/Human/human_index.php

Appendix B: Letter of invitation to potential participants

Dear Potential Participant,

My name is Ibolya (**Ibi**) Losoncz. I am from The Australian National University where I am doing research for my PhD. My topic is the settlement experience of people from Southern Sudan – such as yourself.

I am writing to ask you for your help, as I understand that you moved here from Southern Sudan in the last 10 years.

I would like to talk to you about **your experiences** of building your life in Australia. I would like to find out how you and your family are treated by other people and organisations in Australia. Also, I would like to hear what you think about respect.

If you are willing to share your story, it will remain totally anonymous and I won't use your name or any personal information about you in my research. As a thank you for your time I would like to offer you a \$30 gift voucher.

If you would be more comfortable to talk in a small group, or with family or friends, let me know and we can do that instead.

It is important that you know that this is completely voluntary and you can change your mind about being involved at any time. By collecting about 20 stories I am hoping to capture the main experiences of people like you.

What to do:

I hope it is OK if I call you in a couple of weeks to chat more about my research and if you are happy to talk to me about your experiences. If you would like to contact me in the meantime, please call or sms me 041 6248 133 or call me (02) 6125 4603. You can also email me on Ibolya.Losoncz@anu.edu.au

Yours Sincerely,

Ms Ibolya (Ibi) Losoncz
PhD Candidate
The Australian National University

Prof Valerie Braithwaite
PhD Supervisor
The Australian National University

Appendix C: Letter of invitation to potential participants

Information sheet for Canberra participants

The research project.

In this interview I would like to ask you about two things. Firstly, I would like to ask you what is it like for you to live in Australia, how you get along with other people in your community and how you, and your family, are treated by other people and organisations. Also, I would like to hear what you think about respect. What is respect to you? How important is it? Do you think we treat each other respectfully in Australia in our families and in the community?

What the interview involves

The interview will take about 1 to 2 hours and will involve general questions about your family and community life in Australia.

Things that are important for you to know

1. You can withdraw from the research at any time. Just tell me and we will stop.
2. Personal information, such as your name and contact details, will be kept confidential so far as the law allows.
3. While I have taken steps to keep all information confidential, this may not be possible if you tell us something which indicates that someone could be hurt.
4. I hope to publish the results of this study in journal articles and reports and present it at conferences (including the *Engaging Africa/Engaging Africans* conference in Melbourne in December this year) but no individuals will be identified.
5. I would like to ask your permission to record the interview so that I can check my notes later. I will store the recording securely in a locked cabinet in a locked office, and I will erase it as soon as I have checked my notes.

If you are concerned about this research

If you have any questions or complaints about the study please feel free to contact my PhD supervisor: Prof. Valerie Braithwaite, telephone 02 61254601, or the Human Ethics Officer, Human Research Ethics Committee, The Australian National University, telephone (02) 6125 7945.

If you need assistance

If this interview raises any issues for you or if you need assistance, some useful resources are: Companion House (02) 6251 4550, Parentline (02) 6287 3833, and Lifeline 131 114.

Thank you so much for your participation.