

**THE SETTLEMENT EXPERIENCE OF
ASIAN IMMIGRANT AND HUMANITARIAN
ENTRANT PEOPLE LIVING IN THE
AUSTRALIAN REGIONAL CENTRE OF COFFS
HARBOUR NEW SOUTH WALES**

BY

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THESIS

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ABSTRACT

Australia has accepted several million immigrant and humanitarian entrant people since the large-scale immigration program began at the end of World War II. Since the White Australia Policy was completely abandoned in the early 1970s, many more Asian immigrant and humanitarian entrant people have arrived in Australia. They have disproportionately moved to and settled in the metropolitan centres, and not the regional centres. There is very little literature about the settlement of Asian immigrant and humanitarian entrant people in Australian regional centres.

This research used a dialectic social work lens to analyse critically how settlement was structurally and individually framed by exploring the settlement experience of Asian immigrant and humanitarian entrant people living in an Australian regional centre, using Coffs Harbour NSW as a case study. Respondents (31) and key informants (16) were interviewed using in-depth, semi-structured, face-to-face interviews.

There were six themes that proved to be significant that exhibited minimal social inclusion of Asian immigrant and humanitarian entrant people, resulting in a position of social inequality:

Firstly, compatriots were present in small numbers, but were not deemed important. They did not play much of a role in the settlement of the respondents.

Secondly, DIMIA funded hours of English language tuition were quite limited, and this resulted in most respondents only learning survival to functional English.

Thirdly, the respondents had to interact with the townspeople, because of a lack of compatriots. Through this interaction, the respondents were forced to speak and learn more English. They were seen to be reaching out, by the townspeople.

Fourthly, the respondents reported experiencing mainly low-level and unintentional discrimination and racism. The townspeople were reported overall as polite but tentative (tolerant but not accepting).

Fifthly, the respondents were employed in part-time and casual work ranging from unskilled to semi-skilled. Their level of English kept them out of the occupations they wanted to work in, and this was not likely to change in Coffs Harbour; although, most of the respondents were employed in some capacity.

Sixthly, belongingness, acceptance by the dominant group and the respondents' sense of place, was attributed to Australia and in some cases to Australia and the country of origin. Belongingness was not attributed to Coffs Harbour or to compatriots. This reflects Australia, as the preferred country in which to live because of its standard of life.

The respondents' settlement was found to be one of minimal social inclusion (tolerance) resulting in a position of social inequality. This research has advocated change and reform, by striving to individualise the structural and giving voice to a marginalised group of people and then using this collectivised voice to advocate for change on the structural level. The commencement of this change and reform is the reconceptualisation of regional settlement.

STATEMENT OF CONTRIBUTION OF OTHERS

I declare the following statements below concerning the contribution of others:

1) All research procedures reported in the thesis received the approval of the relevant Ethics committee on 27 February 1997 (Approval number H648)

2) The only persons who have contributed to the design of the research and analysis of the research have been my thesis supervisors: Associate Professor and Head of School Dr Anthony McMahon from James Cook University in Townsville and Associate Professor and Rector Dr Peter Camilleri from Australian Catholic University in Canberra.

3) The only nature of any assistance received has been from James Cook University:

- a) purchase of a micro cassette recorder
- b) attendance at a conference for post-graduate students held at ANU in early February 1999 for four days and return train fare from Coffs Harbour to Canberra
- c) payment of \$390.00 to reimburse the payment to an individual to edit spelling, punctuation, and grammar of a draft of the thesis, in July 2003.

4) There has no contribution of any other authors with any co-authored material or papers.

5) There has been no other financial support of any kind. I have fully paid for all aspects of the thesis, except for those listed above.

Candidate's signature Date

Declaration on Ethics

The research presented and reported in this thesis was conducted within the guidelines for research ethics outlined in the *National Statement on Ethics Conduct in Research Involving Human Subjects* (1999), the *Joint NHMRC/AVCC Statement and Guidelines on Research Practice* (1997), the *James Cook University Policy on Experimentation Ethics, Standard Practices and Guidelines* (2001), and the *James Cook University Statement and Guidelines on Research Practice* (2001). The proposed research methodology received clearance from the James Cook University Experimentation Ethics Review Committee (Approval Number H648, 27 February 1999).

Roger Van Der Veen

Monday 5 April 2004
Date

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CHAPTER ONE - INTRODUCTION

'I thought that from this day my life is going to be very hard' is a reflective thought a woman had upon her arrival in Australia about what she thought her settlement was going to be like. She migrated with her husband (same cultural background) and children to Coffs Harbour New South Wales (NSW) in the late 1980s because they had visited Australia before and liked the country, climate, and other things Australia had to offer. Their situation in their country of origin was satisfactory, but they lived in a metropolitan centre and the pace of life was hectic. The woman came to Coffs Harbour because her husband's sister had married an Australian man and they lived in Coffs Harbour. The woman who migrated was speaking reflectively 10 years later about how she thought at the time her settlement was going to unfold. She was not sure about making friends, finding work, how the locals would accept her, whether she would find her way around Australian culture and mores, whether services and organisations would be helpful, what the emotional journey would be like, and whether she would feel that she belonged. She wondered what would she do if she did not like Coffs Harbour and Australia. Could she return or would she? She was not sure what was going to happen, but she knew that settlement was going to be or could possibly be difficult. Her settlement was shaped by who she was, what she did, and the environment around her in which she settled.

However, as a Caucasian man who speaks English as a first language and who holds recognised professional degrees, I found settlement challenging. Arguably, there are few things in life that would cause more trepidation (given free choice and absence of disaster, disease, human rights violations, ill health, poverty, and war) than, as an adult, migrating to and settling in another country

with another mainstream culture and national language. What is settlement like for such immigrant and humanitarian entrant people? Millions of immigrant and humanitarian entrant people have settled in Australia. What implications does this settlement have for social work? Having made the decision to migrate, and then migrating, the reflection that 'I thought that from this day my life is going to be very hard' begins the settlement experience for this woman. Settlement is dealing with emotionally coping, finding accommodation and work, making friends, learning and speaking English, navigating Australia's social customs, and processing the loss and grief of the country of origin and the left behind loved ones. Settlement is the emotional journey of who and what the person has left behind and who and what the person is now facing. This thesis is about those settlement experiences and stories, shaped by the individual Asian Immigrant and Humanitarian Entrant (AIHE) person and the person's environment.

I became interested in settlement for three reasons. Firstly, I migrated to Australia in 1988 and settlement was undoubtedly one of the most profound experiences and influences in my life. Secondly, I have been a social worker by profession since 1984 and a want-to-be social worker long before then because I love analysing and reflecting on experiences such as settlement. Thirdly, in 1991, I undertook a three-year full-time position funded by the Department of Immigration Multicultural and Indigenous Affairs (DIMIA) to work with new arrival immigrant and humanitarian entrant people from non-English speaking Countries (NESC). Because of my own settlement, my profession, and the particular job I had at the time, I became very interested in other people's settlement. I wanted to learn about their settlement experience, how they constructed it, and how settlement could be changed to make it more socially equal.

I chose Asian immigrant and humanitarian entrant people for this research because they were the largest group of new arrivals I was working with in the DIMIA-funded job, because they made up the largest percentage of new arrivals in the immigration program, and because of Australia's proximity to Asia. Their language and culture seemed more dissimilar to the English language and Australian mainstream culture than was the case for immigrant and humanitarian entrant people from other parts of the world, and I assumed settlement would be more arduous. There was little literature about Asian immigrant and humanitarian entrant people's settlement in regional centres. I have chosen regional centres as they are where I have always lived and worked in Australia and Australia.

The first objective of this research is to discover and explore the settlement experiences of Asian immigrant and humanitarian entrant people residing in a regional centre, and to find out what their stories of settlement mean for them. This research has described and analysed Asian immigrant and humanitarian entrant people's subjective settlement experience and stories. The background, context, decisions made and action taken, and history behind the settlement experiences will provide a more complete picture of settlement in a regional centre. Asian immigrant and humanitarian entrant people's settlement experiences in Coffs Harbour have been showcased as a case study. This will then give voice to contextualise the uncovered dramatic, sad, and triumphant stories from marginalised people who are not part of the dominant group: by that I mean people or segments of society who have the power to influence what happens, such as ensuring that employment is not equally available or that resources are not equally distributed.

The second objective of this research is to reconceptualise how settlement occurs in a regional centre to lead to structural change of the position of social inequality experienced by Asian immigrant and humanitarian entrant people in regional centres. Such structural change could be changes in social work in terms of policy development, improved service delivery, and practice.

Settlement does not feature much in the Australian social work literature (McMahon 2002, pp. 174, 177), but many of the issues that occur in settlement also occur in social work, such as belongingness, community relations, discrimination, gender, relationships, social inequality, and social inclusion. Social work is all about giving voice to people's stories of their experiences and people's reconstitution of their identity, and then deriving meaning: atomising a situation of social inequality. There is then learning from people's experiences – collectivising people's stories - resulting in input to create better social work theory to deliver better social work services and practice to Asian immigrant and humanitarian entrant people in regional centres.

Settlement has all the hallmarks of social work. Social work is about making changes to improve the situation for individuals and society through individuals and society (AASW 2000, p. 1). Thus, background and context play an important role in informing social work because they shape what is happening, has happened, and what can be done to change the situation. Like other situations in social work, how settlement occurs is based on Asian immigrant and humanitarian entrant people's premigration and migration experiences. Additionally, how settlement occurs also depends on micro level and macro level factors such as ability in English language, conditions in the country of origin, family status of the

individual, gender, the nature of the receiving country and the host society, the past, personality, resources, and skills.

The thesis has been developed through a literature review of migration theory, the settlement of immigrant and humanitarian entrant people from NESCs (especially Asian countries), settlement in Australian regional centres, regionality, and showcasing in Coffs Harbour as a case study of the regional settlement of Asian immigrant and humanitarian entrant people. Data were then qualitatively collected from face-to-face interviews with 31 respondents, using a list of sequential discussion and trigger points. The respondents were asked about their experiences and stories, for example, what led them to leave their country of origin, culture, family members, friends, and language, and what it felt like to arrive in Australia and to have to rebuild; obstacles they faced; how they experienced Australia and the Australian people; how they coped and adapted; what has happened to them; how Australians and Australian society treated them; if they were discriminated against; and where they felt they belonged. Additionally, 16 key informants were interviewed and asked about their impressions of the settlement of Asian immigrant and humanitarian entrant people in Coffs Harbour, for the purpose of confirming and/or extending the settlement picture provided by the respondents. The data were then analysed and interpreted.

People migrate to Australia for a number of reasons such as adventure, employment, to be with family members, lifestyle and climate, marriage, or to leave unfavourable conditions in their country of origin. Australia has a long and rich history of accepting millions of immigrant and humanitarian entrant people since 1946. These people have played a role in shaping Australia, as have the Indigenous traditional owners of Australia, the early settlers, and

the immigrant and humanitarian entrant people who arrived before 1945. The wide diversity of their countries of origin, cultures, and the sheer number of people who have arrived, given the small size of the Australian population, have changed Australia from a predominantly Anglo-Celtic society (and historically overlooked Indigenous cultures) to a multicultural society. The White Australia Policy was being dismantled from the mid 1960s, but it was officially abandoned in 1972. People born in Asian countries now make up a significant percentage of the immigration program's annual intake, more than from any other region of the world (Department of Immigration and Multicultural Affairs [DIMA] 2000, p. 28).

Australia is a highly urbanised country, with the majority of its population living in its large metropolitan centres (Beer, Bolam, and Maude 1994, p. 25; Castles, Foster, Iredale, and Withers 1998, p. 42). There are fewer people living in non-metropolitan centres compared to other countries, but this is changing with non-metropolitan growth (Salt 2001, p. 75), especially between the New South Wales (NSW) North Coast and South East Queensland (QLD) (Salt 2001, pp. 2, 28). Australia has only five cities (Adelaide, Brisbane, Melbourne, Perth, and Sydney) of a million or more people, and Australia has only a few cities between 100,000 and 1,000,000 people: Cairns, Canberra, Geelong, Gold Coast, Hobart, Newcastle, Townsville, and Wollongong. Most of the Australian population lives on or near the coast. This has to do with climate as well as history.

Immigrant and humanitarian entrant people mainly replicate the same population distribution as the Australian resident population, but with some differences. A higher proportion of immigrant and humanitarian entrant people live in the large metropolitan centres

(Australian Bureau of Statistics [ABS] 1996; Beer et al 1994; Bell and Cooper 1995; Castles et al 1998; The National Committee Secretariat and the Migration Planning Branch March 1994; and Shu, Goldlust, McKenzie, Struik and Khoo 1996), and a lower proportion of immigrant and humanitarian entrant people live in the regional centres, especially in rural and remote centres. Fewer still live in regional centres west of the Great Dividing Range. Bell and Cooper (1995, p. 98) found that in 1991 80.8 per cent of the overseas born lived in Australia's capital cities while these centres accounted for 63.3 per cent of the total Australian resident population or 58.3 per cent of the Australian-born population. The two largest cities, Melbourne and Sydney, account for less than 40 per cent of Australia's population but attract nearly 60 percent of immigrant and humanitarian entrant people. Shu et al (1996, p. 45) also found that 71 per cent of Australians lived in cities of over 100,000 people. Salt (2001, p. 49) says that 64 per cent of the Australian population live in the capital cities, 18 per cent live in provincial coastal cities (also pp. 58-59), 16 per cent live in rural Australia, and 1 per cent live in the outback. Castles et al (1998, p. 20) found 'Only 8 per cent of immigrants lived in rural Australia in 1991, compared with 17 per cent of non-immigrants'.

Overwhelmingly, immigrant and humanitarian entrant people are overrepresented in the five main metropolitan centres. In the regional centres, the immigrant and humanitarian entrant and the Asian immigrant and humanitarian entrant population are underrepresented compared to their percentage of the Australian population. Similarly, the settlement experience of Asian immigrant and humanitarian entrant people in a regional centre is less understood because it occurs less. The settlement of Asian immigrant and humanitarian entrant people in Coffs Harbour was chosen for this research because Coffs Harbour is similar to other

regional NSW centres in several respects: climate, coastal, conservatism, distance from a metropolitan centre, geography, rate of unemployment, size, and tourism. In particular, the range of birthplaces of Coffs Harbour's residents is similar to those of many other coastal regional centres in Australia. On a percentage basis, Coffs Harbour has far fewer immigrant and humanitarian entrant people and Asian immigrant and humanitarian entrant people than does Australia.

The occurrence of the settlement of Asian immigrant and humanitarian entrant people in Australian regional centres has not been researched. Coffs Harbour presents an ideal place for this research to occur. It is known that there are few settlement services, limited access to English language classes, few compatriots of Asian immigrant and humanitarian entrant people living in the region, and unemployment is high in Coffs Harbour. In addition to all these factors that place Coffs Harbour as an ideal location for this research, Coffs Harbour was also the geographical base for the researcher.

Location of Researcher within the Research

I immigrated to Australia from Canada in January 1988 and married an Australian-born woman living in Mackay, Queensland. I was born and raised in Southern Ontario in Canada, a Main English Speaking Country (MESCC), and my first language is English, but I speak a second language other than my parents' first language. My parents were born and raised in a NESCC. They separately migrated to Canada in the 1950s. Perhaps, for the first five years in Australia, I critically analysed my life (settlement) in Australia in terms of comparing and contrasting it with my life in Canada. I loved Australia, and at the same time, I deeply missed Canada.

This emotional journey I went through with my migration and settlement fascinated me – forever I was the social worker. I pondered this emotional journey, that migration and settlement were such significant emotional events in my life. This surprised me because I had spent five months in Australia as a traveller before migrating as a permanent resident. I spoke English as a first language, and I had qualifications and an employment history from an English speaking country. The social justice and economic standard of living of both countries were comparable. I did not experience any discrimination. Finally, my wife is an English speaking Australian.

Settlement should not have been that eventful for me, I thought. In the practical sense, it was not, such as finding accommodation and work and procuring Australian documents. The subtle differences between mainstream Australian and Canadian culture needed to be learned as well as adapting to the loss and grief of leaving Canada: the familiar, and my surroundings that had been for most of my life. I wondered what this journey would be like for people who migrated and settled under quite different circumstances and what the implications would be for social work. These were the origins of my interest in settlement.

My migration to and settlement in a regional centre in Australia motivated my interest in regional settlement. The two regional centres, in which I have lived in Australia, Mackay, Queensland, and Coffs Harbour, NSW, have attracted and kept few immigrant and humanitarian entrant people from NESCs. From 1991 to 1994, I was employed as a social worker in a three-year full-time contractual position funded by DIMIA to work with new arrival immigrant and humanitarian entrant people from NESCs. This job involved community development and casework. The position was

in Mackay, a regional centre 1,000 kilometres (km) north of Brisbane with a population of 58,343 people (ABS 1998). This position, combined with my migration and settlement, led me to seek a perspective and knowledge about the settlement of immigrant and humanitarian entrant people in regional centres. In early 1995, I moved from Mackay to Coffs Harbour to take up appointment as a lecturer with Southern Cross University. From early 1995 until late 2001, I was involved with the Multicultural Access and Resource Service (MARS) in Coffs Harbour, through membership on the management committee, supervision of the MARS Community Settlement Services (CSS) worker, and working on projects for the agency. In the mid 1990s, I started part-time study in a PhD in social work about the social inequality of settlement of Asian immigrant and humanitarian entrant people in Coffs Harbour.

My professional background in social work has influenced how I view research, what I research, and how I conduct research. I completed a Bachelor of Arts in 1983 and an Honours Bachelor of Social Work in 1984 in Canada and then a Master of Social Work in Australia in 1991. Howe (1987, p. 100-102) calls my original view of social work (my view has since evolved and my present view of social work will be described) 'seekers after meaning'. Social work is a profession that works towards the improvement of society and the lives of individual people in that society, in terms of social justice. This is done by facilitating the empowerment of people. Individuals construct meaning individually in their lives according to their perceptions and experiences (Ife and Morley 2002, p. 70; O'Connor, Wilson, and Setterland 1998, p. 91). Individuals are empowered on a micro level as they explore and interpret the meaning of their experiences and the position of these experiences within their context, environment, and past. Individuals are then

able to understand their emotions, motivations, and thoughts through insight, introspection, and perceptions. The role of the social worker is to facilitate these feelings and thoughts for people to strive to achieve coping or to make change.

My original view of social work was influenced by the ecological perspectives social work model in which I was educated in during the early 1980s. Germain and Gitterman (1980) write about the mutual and reciprocal adaptation of people to their environment and vice versa, recognising that adaptation might not be desirable adaptation. Other authors recognise context and environment as integral and reciprocal to the issue or problem as is the individual (Alston and McKinnon 2001; Arias 1994; Bland 2001; Bowles, R. 2001; Burke and Harrison 1998; Compton and Galaway 1999; Doel 1998; Dominelli 2002; Ife 1995; Ife 1997; Jones and May 1992; Mehr 2001; McKinnon 2001; O'Connor et al 1998; Payne 1997; Roberts 2001; Smith and Shaw 2001; Trotter 1999; and Wearing 2001); although, issues and problems tend to be more visible at the individual level. Changing the situation requires knowledge of the issue or problem from both the individual and contextual/environmental level.

Germain and Gitterman (1980) argue in the ecological perspectives social work model that there are three likely sources of stress: life transitions, maladaptive interpersonal processes, and unresponsive environments (p. 9). The social worker works to enhance the goodness-of-fit between the individual(s) and the environment. The strength of this model of social work is that it looks beyond the individual to the environment and how each affects the other. This model is particularly good for bringing about change with individuals because impinging factors in the environment, which might not otherwise be obvious, can be incorporated in the

intervention. I now knew that change needed to occur on two fronts with the individual and with the context/environment. Exploration and explanation of an issue or problem with an individual or among individuals required examining the micro and the macro levels because they are intertwined and reciprocal.

However, this model of social work is not aimed at making structural changes to the environment, but rather incorporating the factors located in the environment in the intervention. Mullaly (1997, p. 122) criticises ecological approaches, as 'they do not try to change the essential nature of the system but deal with individuals and/or environmental influences within the system'. My model of social work theory and practice evolved from the ecological perspectives model because I acquired more social work experience, saw more social injustice, and realised that more of the causes of social injustice were because of the structure of the environment.

My evolved view of social work moved beyond just incorporating the environment to changing the environment. Howe (1987) calls this type of social worker the 'raisers of consciousness'. This type of social work practice is locating the individual in his or her environment and 'exploring the mutual impact of the subjectivity on the individual and his (sic) society' (p. 121). Padgett (1998, pp. 121-122) outlines this type of social work as believing in the capacity of human agency - people to be active and resourceful rather than reactive - and the strengths perspective. Society is seen as oppressive, and people are only achieving part of their potential. What is needed is 'individuals taking hold of their own consciousness; and individuals also taking control of their own situation' (Howe 1987, p. 129).

Similar to Howe's (1987) type of social worker of 'raiser of consciousness' (also Padgett 1998) is Ife's (1997, pp. 56, 74-75, 150-151) desirable type of social worker, the radical social worker located in the humanist or anarchist camp. This perspective has the subjective experience of the individual at the forefront, much more located in the context/environment with a view to linking this to the context/environment and effecting change. Fitzgibbon and Hargreave (2001, p. 135) ask the following question to which the answer is the type of social work Howe (1987), Padgett (1998), and Ife (1997) describe:

How does a democratic society deal with the ongoing exclusion of individuals and some communities from participating in the mainstream of Australian society and the social problems that stem from this inequality?

My view of social work tries to answer this question. Thus, my view of social work is about advocating against social inequality, being reformist and radical. In this thesis, I want to engage social work, as a lens through which to view settlement and subsequently belongingness (an outcome of settlement) and then to bring about structural change that has shaped how settlement occurs. Little attention has been paid to settlement in the social work literature, but settlement is certainly an appropriate site for social work.

Social Work

This section will provide an overview of social work and social work theory to locate this research and its objectives in social work. There are many theoretical assumptions about social work because social work is varied and contested (Adams 1998; Alston and McKinnon 2001; Dominelli 1998; Dominelli 2002; Doyle 2001; Howe 1997; McDonald and Jones 2000; Mehr 2001; Mullaly 1997; Payne 1997; and Thorpe 1992). There is not agreement on what

constitutes social work and social work theory, nor 'the conditions in which social work is practised and understood' (Adams 1998, p. 254).

Social work's ideology, or its worldview on which its values and beliefs are based, sometimes has competing and contradicting elements. Mullaly (1997, pp. 34-35) outlines a summary of social work ideology.

The amalgam of social, economic, and political beliefs comprises social work's ideology. Social beliefs are based on the person as a social being. Economic beliefs are based on the notion that human wellbeing is the major criterion for economic decision-making. And political beliefs are based on people having the right and the responsibility to participate in those decisions that affect their lives. Taken together, these beliefs constitute social work's ideology for progressive social workers. This ideology comprises an interdependent, consistent, and mutually reinforcing set of ideas and ideals that should underpin the type of society that best promotes social work's fundamental values of humanism and egalitarianism.

Social work's values and what it wants to achieve, are based on its ideology. Australian social work values adopted by the Australian Association of Social Workers (AASW) are: competence, human dignity and worth, integrity, service to humanity, and social justice (AASW 2000, p. 4). The ideology, and thus values and beliefs, highlight the kind of world that social work desires to see: social fairness and social justice. The image of social workers is that of practitioners who work with and help distressed people, usually individuals, couples, families, and groups. Social work is also seen as a profession where the goal is societal change, but the effect of social workers will be marginal because their profession is not in a position of power.

Most social work practice takes place on the micro level with individuals, couples, families, and groups, and there are constraints to moving beyond this level. Most social workers have limited

opportunities to engage in macro change (Barber 1991, p. 124). Funding bodies and social work agencies are generally conservative and would argue that social workers are carers for society's disadvantaged, not for changing the system. Society also demands that social work helps control, as well as care for, the disadvantaged and marginalised (Ife 1997, p. x). Social workers have the dual roles of 'caring control' and 'controlling care'. Doyle (2001, p. 67) asks the question 'how much does social work support the institutional structures that perpetuate inequity and disadvantage, whether intended or not, for some people in society?' or are social workers agents for the government to carry out its 'rationing services and reducing demand?' (p. 65) to work against social justice for immigrant and humanitarian entrant people.

There is specific Australian social work literature about working with immigrant and humanitarian entrant clients on an individual level. Barnes (1997) presents ways of making social work practice with immigrant and humanitarian entrant people more culturally sensitive such as informing clients of what social workers do (p. 95) and acknowledging taboo subjects with the clients (pp. 95, 98). Barnes (1997, p. 98), like Cox (1989, p. 43), pays attention to the immigrant and humanitarian entrant clients' context. Their culture and migration and settlement experience are part of them as individuals, yet they still have a range of other contexts, for example they are men or women and perhaps parents. These social work authors write about individual clients and their context but not about structural change.

Ife (1997, p. x) then makes the point that society purports to value justice and equality, but the reality is different, an unjust and unequal society. Social work finds itself in a quandary as to what to do but knows that it must effect change on a larger scale (also

Bowles 2001, p. 37; and Doyle 2001, pp. 64, 66) because of social work's values and ideology.

Dominelli (1998, pp. 4-5) advocates for anti-oppressive social work practice, which is about fighting for and achieving social change. This might mean engaging in political issues. Anti-oppressive social work practices also mean looking at social work itself to examine if it reproduces the barriers that anti-oppressive social work practice is fighting (Dominelli 1998, p. 5). Doyle (1998, p. 65) raises the question, asking if social work is anti-oppressive, and this leads to examining the role of social work and its goals and responsibilities. Quinn (2000, p. 116) criticises social work for not integrating work with individuals with the social processes of domination and subjugation. Quinn (2000, p. 116) goes further and asks for 'the identification of the cultural base of theories and practices currently in use, and critiquing them for their claims to be international and intercultural'. The critical and structural theories, while looking at class and gender oppression, do not go far enough because they do not go far enough to address racial and cultural oppression (Quinn 2000, p. 111).

What is required is to use the strengths of social work's two opposites. However, this can be difficult because of the contested nature of social work. Authors such as Camilleri (1999, pp. 36-37), Fook (2000, pp. 130, 137), Ife (1997, pp. 136-137), and Mullaly (1997, pp. 22, 117) purport the dialectic analysis of social work because neither opposite of social work is sufficient for 'formulating emancipatory forms of social work theory and practice' (Mullaly 1997, p. 127). This is atomising the societal so that it becomes individual and making the individual societal. Atomising the societal in social work is about individuals in a position of social inequality being given voice to story their experiences as to how these stories

have been constructed to achieve their meaning. Experiences have been shaped by the individuals themselves and by the context in which the individuals are located, some of which is structurally oppressive, and social work might be part of this structural oppression. Giving voice on the subjective and personal level to individual people who have been marginalised is an established practice in social work (Alston and McKinnon 2001; Bland 2001; Briskman and Noble 1999 cited in Doyle 2001; Burke and Harrison 1998; Dominelli 2002; Ife 1995; Ife 1997; Kenny 1999; O'Connor et al 19981; and Wearing 2001). Giving voice collectivises individuals' experiences which then links the collectivisation to the societal arena where changes need to be made to improve the situation of a structurally disadvantaged group of people: Asian immigrant and humanitarian entrant people in an Australian regional centre. Therefore, the societal is individualised and the individualised is collectivised to make change. Ife (1997, pp. 136-137) outlines this approach (also Alston and McKinnon 2001, p. xxx).

An approach based on critical theory would require the incorporation of both approaches to empowerment, within the social work profession as a whole, and in the work of each social worker. It would assert that individual empowerment is not possible unless links are made to structural empowerment issues, and the client is helped to see the connection between individual powerlessness/oppression and broader political questions, through a reflection on her/his own experience not simply of personal oppression, but as a member of one or more oppressed groups. Similarly, it would maintain that empowerment at the structural level must incorporate the lived experiences of the people concerned, their own stories of oppression and disempowerment, and the impact of structural change on individual lives. Thus the idea of empowerment inherent in a critical paradigm is one that requires it to incorporate the personal and the political in the same process. The link between the personal and the political is made not just at the analytical or theoretical level, but also in practice, and this results in the dialogical consciousness-raising approach to practice

The use of the structural approach for collective change, without involving the individuals concerned and their constructed

experiences, is not the desired way to make change. The individual is lost in this approach because working only with individuals permits unchanged structural oppression to continue. The key is to work with individuals (micro) collectively to make structural (macro) change.

For example, it is argued in this thesis that Asian immigrant and humanitarian entrant people, as a whole, are a disadvantaged and marginalised group. In settlement, they suffer discrimination, have higher rates of unemployment, and cannot use settlement services as efficiently and effectively as the mainstream population because of their limited English and because of the social welfare services' mainstream ethos of 'one-size-fits-all'. The term discrimination is contested and socially constructed. It is the wielding of power by the dominant group to essentialise or hierarchicalise certain people or groups of people on arbitrary and variable grounds so that such people are not socially included, resulting in social inequality. Discrimination is not only perpetuated by individuals but also by institutions, organisations, and structures.

The situation of social inequality of Asian immigrant and humanitarian entrant people (for example marginalised by discrimination) in an Australian regional centre has been shaped by and disadvantaged by structural forces. How their settlement experiences have been constructed can be given voice. This is moving from the societal arena to the individual arena. This being given voice will be collectivised and used to make changes in the societal arena. Therefore, settlement is an appropriate site for social work. This is how this research is of relevance to social work, in that the settlement experiences of a an arguably disadvantaged group of people in a position of social inequality (the position of this thesis), about whose settlement little is known, will be explored and

collectivised to advocate for structural change, to bring about a reduction in social inequality they have experienced. Social inequality is the unequal and uninclusive position of certain groups in society because of institutional, organisational, and structural disadvantage caused by the dominant group.

Structure and Summary of the Thesis

Chapter One: The Introduction. The first of eight chapters shows why this research is important because very little research has been conducted about the settlement of Asian immigrant and humanitarian entrant people in an Australian regional centre. The introduction shows how settlement is an appropriate site for social work. Settlement is based on individual people, and like social work, is based on the macro picture. Some of the issues found in settlement such as coping and belongingness, gender, affordable housing, finding work, and other forms of social disadvantage and inequality are also concerns of social work. Settlement, again like social work, is constructed, in that it based on the meaning and the reality people ascribe to their interaction with their wider world. Social work then seeks to change the situation of social disadvantage and social inequality by giving voice to these unheard stories of settlement.

Chapter Two: Background and Theoretical Approaches. The literature has been critically analysed to provide background, context, and history to frame the settlement of Asian immigrant and humanitarian entrant people in an Australian regional centre. Since the inception of the White Australia Policy in 1901, the commencement of Australia's mass immigration program in 1946, and the abolition of the White Australia Policy in 1972, Australia has

had firm control of its immigration program, and this is still the case.

The second half of this chapter critically analyses the literature on migration, settlement, settlement services, multiculturalism, discrimination and racism, employment, and belongingness. It will be argued that Multiculturalism, like discrimination and racism, is disappointingly a part of settlement, being about keeping immigrant and humanitarian entrant people in a position of social inequality to perpetuate the status quo. The micro and macro factors of settlement contribute to Asian immigrant and humanitarian entrant people's sense of belongingness. Belongingness, regarding the sense of home or place and acceptance by the group, has a body of disparate literature, only offering an incomplete picture.

Chapter Three: Regionality and Coffs Harbour. This chapter focuses on the regionality literature and discusses uncritical and uncoordinated economic policy and development occurring in regional Australia, with the focus on agriculture and farmers. Social work, settlement, and immigrant and humanitarian entrant people do not figure as part of the regionality literature.

Coffs Harbour is almost halfway between Sydney and Brisbane. It has been showcased to frame the settlement experience, and resultant social inequality, of Asian immigrant and humanitarian entrant people in an Australian regional centre. It is argued that while Coffs Harbour is a pleasant place to live in terms of geographical beauty and small population, it is a conservative place and does not have strong economic indicators.

Chapter Four: Research Methodology. The rationale for the research methodology is presented. This chapter shows the epistemology of constructionism. The epistemology then informs the theoretical perspective which is critical social science. The theoretical perspective informs the methodology, which is a case study. The methodology of a case study was exploratory, interpretative, non-probability, and qualitative, carried out using the methods of in-depth, semi-structured, face-to-face interviews.

Chapter Five: The Respondents. This chapter analyses the responses of the four groups of respondents: Independents, Partners, Punjabi Sikhs (who are significant in Coffs Harbour), and Humanitarian Entrants. The Independents, who were unsponsored, also had commonalities within their group such as some were single and some were married to someone from their own culture. The Partners were Asian immigrant women who married Australian men. The role of marriage, although a large part of their settlement did not seem significant for them, as most of them did not marry for the sole purpose of migrating to Australia. The Punjabi Sikhs were men and women from the Punjab province in India who followed the Sikh faith. They married (albeit arranged marriages) women or men born in Australia from a Punjabi Sikh background. Migration was part of marriage or followed marriage rather than marriage for migration. The Humanitarian Entrants were people who fled their country of origin because of persecution and violation of human rights. They came to and stayed in Coffs Harbour for sanctuary and refuge.

Chapter Six: Living in Coffs Harbour. This chapter analyses the important aspects of living in the regional centre, such as the lack

of compatriots with whom to speak their first language and interact, the limited hours of English language tuition offered, and the respondents reported how the townspeople treated them.

Chapter Seven: Settlement in Coffs Harbour. This chapter analyses discrimination and racism, employment, and belongingness. These have resulted from the factors present in Coffs Harbour, outlined in the previous chapter. Discrimination and racism from the townspeople were reported by the respondents as mostly unintentional and stereotypical. The jobs respondents held ranged from unskilled to semi-skilled and casual and part-time. Belongingness is an outcome of settlement, and like settlement, is based on structural factors as well on the individual.

Chapter Eight: Reconceptualising Settlement. This chapter overviews the significance of the research in terms of the discovery of new knowledge as opposed to what was not known beforehand. The first significant finding was the four groups of respondents: the Independents, the Partners, the Punjabi Sikhs, and the Humanitarian Entrants.

There were six themes that proved to be significant that exhibited limited social inclusion of Asian immigrant and humanitarian entrant people, while still in a position of social inequality: compatriots and the interaction with them, the hours of English language tuition offered, the level of discrimination and racism, the jobs held, how the townspeople treated them, and how respondents saw their belongingness.

The final chapter reconceptualises regional settlement for Asian immigrant and humanitarian entrant people with a view to presenting settlement as relevant to social work and advocating for change to the social inequality experienced by regional Asian immigrant and humanitarian entrant people through changes to the knowledge, teaching, and practice of social workers, within social policy and service delivery of social work.

CHAPTER TWO – BACKGROUND AND THEORETICAL APPROACHES

Introduction

This literature review generally moves from the broad to the narrow. There are three main sections to this chapter on background and theoretical approaches: 1) History and Background of Immigration to Australia since World War II; 2) Population and Demographics; 3) Migration and Settlement, which includes gender in settlement, humanitarian entrant people, settlement services, multiculturalism, discrimination, employment, and belongingness. The purpose of sections one and two is to provide the larger picture of settlement through an examination of the background and context of post World War (WW II) immigration to Australia. Section three provides an understanding of the theory of migration, the theory of settlement, and differentiation between migration and settlement. The remainder of section three incorporates the key elements of settlement that contextualise settlement, what needs to be known before settlement can be analysed.

HISTORY AND BACKGROUND

Short History of Immigration to Australia since WW II

Australia's present immigration policy and program are still somewhat exclusionist, though not in the ways the policy and program once were. The Family and Skilled categories (based on eligibility criteria) of the immigration program (more fully explained in the next section) clearly and lawfully discriminate based on age, competence in English language, and skill. However, the program

does not officially discriminate based on country of origin, gender, first language, religion, etc. There are other more hidden ways the program discriminates against people from certain parts of the world. Australia's immigration program has always been about serving Australia's needs, mainly for cheap labour in controlled numbers, and yet to protect 'desirable jobs'. This is embedded in the history of Australia's immigration program.

For most of Australia's history as a nation, the exclusionist and racist White Australia Policy (WAP) was in place. The WAP started as the *Immigration Restriction Act 1901*, designed to keep out 'Asians and others considered as undesirable aliens' (Jayasuriya and Kee 1999, p. 8). 'Australia has long and strong xenophobic, racist and insular traditions, and they have always influenced immigration policy' (Jupp 2002, p. 6). Australia's fortress mentality was (and perhaps still is) a way of defining itself as a Caucasian, British outpost in the South Pacific. Australia thought it needed to defend itself from the millions of 'non-white' people in the region.

The WAP also played a role in early Australian social welfare by protecting domestic wages from being lowered by an influx of immigrant people who would work for lower wages (Jupp 2002, pp. 8, 145). The social welfare system at the time was designed to be secured through protected employment and wages, '....and an assumption that employment was the solution to social disadvantage' (Robbins 2002, p. 468). While the WAP was enacted to keep out certain peoples, it did suit Australia before WW II to permit the entry and residence of cheap 'coolie' labour from China and India to work in unskilled occupations where Australian labour could not be attracted. Jupp (2002, pp. 8, 9, 10) argues that the WAP did protect wages and quite effectively controlled the economic and labour scene (p. 141). Other supposed reasons given

for the WAP were to prevent civil disorder, cultural inferiority, and to maintain social harmony. However, the real reason was blatant racism for the dominant group to control Australia (pp. 8, 9, 10, 14-15, 209), 'to preserve the continent for the colonisers' (p. 10).

Organised, large scale immigration started in Australia at the end of WW II in 1946 because of the fear of invasion during WW II heightened Australia's belief that the country needed to increase its population for defence and to enhance economic development (Hollinsworth 1998, p. 234; Jupp 2002, p. 163; Jureidini 2000, p. 200; and Petruchenia 1992, p. 38). Arthur Calwell, the first Minister of Immigration, aimed to increase Australia's population by two per cent per year: one per cent by immigration and one per cent by births (Shu et al 1996, p. 22) by almost exclusively only accepting immigrants from the United Kingdom (UK) and Ireland, legally allowed by the WAP. Salt (2001, pp. 34, 36) says that part of the Australian consciousness is still the notion that populous countries to the north envy our situation of an empty continent (also Jupp 2002, p. 196; Mares 2002, pp. 4, 28, 72). This was encapsulated in the effective slogan at the time 'populate or perish' (Collins 1986, p. 3).

WW II really did necessitate an immigration program for Australia because of the loss of men and women in the battlefields, the masses of people who wanted to leave war torn Europe, and Australia's burgeoning manufacturing industries and large scale projects – a major example of which was the Snowy Mountains Scheme (MacCallum 2002, pp. 13, 14), which started in October 1949 and was the largest employer of immigrant and humanitarian entrant (IHE) labour during that era.

Many immigrant people came to Australia on assisted passage between 1950 and 1982. This scheme was created to attract workers who could not afford the fare (Jupp 2002, p. 23, 141), mostly people from the UK who satisfied criteria that they could be productively employed (Jupp 2002, p. 144) and to keep Australia British or perhaps Caucasian (Jupp 2002, p. 18). During the 1950s and 1960s, insufficient numbers of immigrant people from these desired countries migrated to Australia to meet the country's immigration needs. The Australian government was forced to accept IHE people from farther afield. Southern and eastern Europe provided people 'the more British looking the more desirable was the person' (Victory 1994, p. 36). However, one of the reasons for the public acceptance or tolerance of many new arrivals who were not English, Irish, or north western European, was that the refugees or displaced persons, as they were considered at the time, were sent, as a condition of their employment, for two years to designated areas. Such designated areas were the Snowy Mountain Scheme or Port Kembla, away from the majority of the Australian population (Sherington 1990, p. 136; also Jupp 2002, pp. 13, 174).

The federal government in the mid 1960s was starting to scale back the WAP (Jureidini 2000, p. 201). Concessions were made for non-Caucasians with professional and technical skills (Jayasuriya and Kee 1999, p. 13) to enter and take up residence in Australia. In the early 1960s, the Colombo Plan, which encouraged Western countries to offer tertiary education scholarships to students from developing countries, also brought Australia in contact with more non-Caucasians.

In 1972, the federal government officially dismantled the WAP (Jupp 2002, p. 10). The immigration program had become non-discriminatory on the basis of citizenship, colour, country of origin

or birth, ethnicity, gender, first language, race, and religion (DIMA Fact Sheet 1, 1999) but still remains discriminatory on the basis of employability (Jupp 2002, p. 19), age, disability, character (including affiliations/associations, criminal record, extremist views, and political affiliations) health, and, in some categories, English, qualifications, skills, and sponsorship by and relationship to citizens or permanent residents living in Australia.

Another factor influencing Australia's immigration history was the influx of the Indo-Chinese in the second half of the 1970s until the early 1980s, fleeing war, their war ravaged countries, or new military régimes. These arrivals were known as 'boat people'. Many more people from Asian countries and other parts of the world were arriving in Australia after the 1972 abolition of the WAP. Before 1972, arrivals mostly came from Europe. Australia's contact with people from non-northern and non-western Europe had significantly increased.

Australia's Immigration Program (Post-WAP)

Australia's present-day immigration program has three main categories:

- 1) Family - this category includes immediate relations who are sponsored by an Australian resident.
- 2) Skilled - Independent, Business, and Skilled Australian-Linked.
 - Independents are points tested on their English, qualifications, and skills. They are not sponsored.

- Business category applicants are points tested and are expected to use their business skills and experience to set up business ventures in Australia. They are not sponsored.
- Skilled Australian-Sponsored (formerly Concessional Family) are less immediate relations of Australian residents or citizens who sponsor them. They are points tested on English, qualifications, and skills.

3) Humanitarian - people who meet the United Nations (UN) definition of a refugee and people who are in hardship situations or who have suffered gross violations of their human rights.

Source: (DIMA 1999, Fact Sheet 1)

Immigration to Australia since 1901 and the immigration program since 1946 have been about protecting and advancing Australia's interests such as 'desirable labour'. Australia's immigration program has remained officially non-discriminatory since 1972 on certain criteria, especially country of origin/birth. Certainly and without question, many more people from NESCs and especially Asian countries have arrived in Australia in the last three decades. However, Australia firmly controls its immigration program in terms of the total number of applicants selected for each year, the number of applicants for each category, the categories, and the discriminatory criteria used to select and accept applicants. However, there have been other ways through which the program has been shaped to favour certain people. For example, the Family component of the immigration program has been scaled back, and

the Skilled component of the immigration program of unsponsored and skilled immigrant people has been increased. Both these measures support certain applicants and disadvantage certain applicants.

The objectives of Australia's immigration program are contested (Jupp 2002, p. 2). The immigration program is designed to meet the nation's 'humanitarian obligations and the domestic, social, economic and environmental objectives which guide the setting of the annual Migration Program' (DIMIA 2002, p. 15). The other objectives of the program are 'population and population growth' (Atchison 1997, p. 104), increasing the labour force and driving economic growth (Burnley, Murphy, and Fagan 1997, p. 2; also Jupp 2002, pp. 6, 30, 143, 162) especially since the shift in recent years to the increased focus on skilled immigrant people, and national security and international obligations (Burnley et al 1997, p. 4). Jupp (2002, p. 1) says the objectives are 'selection and control of the intake; services and support for those who have settled, and policies designed to manage the consequences of creating a multicultural society through immigration'.

DIMIA's objectives for the program do not mention population and population growth, especially since Australia does not have a population policy, nor do the DIMIA objectives include national security. Labour is an important part of the DIMIA economic objective of the immigration program because of Australia's need for labour. Employability is a heavily weighted criterion in the Skilled component. However, employability is coupled with assimilability (Jupp 2002, p. 162), but not as much as in the case of the years of the WAP (Jupp 2002, p. 6). During those years, many overseas arrivals were not rigorously selected except based on race (Caucasian) and youth (Jupp 2002, p. 34). The need for labour

was, and is, a major reason for the Humanitarian component of the immigration program according to Jupp (2002, p. 182):

...because it adheres to the United Nations Convention of 1951 and the Protocol of 1967; because it needs a co-operative image in the 'world community'; because refugees are often young and active and constitute a useful addition to the workforce and population; and because some religious and ethnic groups in Australia want relief for their compatriots suffering overseas. Refugee intake is not, then, a form of charity, although it is often seen as such.

Clearly, the immigration program is not about the interests of the people who apply or who are accepted. Intake levels of how many IHE people are allowed into Australia are decided each year after consultation with multicultural communities, other government bodies, and the public. Controversy occasionally occurs because environmental and anti-immigration groups, although for very different reasons, want significantly fewer or no new arrivals versus the business and multicultural groups who want many more new arrivals. Environmental groups want fewer arrivals because they argue that the damaged and fragile Australian environment cannot support any more people. The anti-immigration groups' argument is that new arrivals bring social problems and cost the Australian economy. Business and multicultural groups for very different reasons generally want more new arrivals. Business groups argue that new arrivals buy houses and goods, pay taxes, and stimulate the economy. Multicultural groups argue that resident IHE people need to have family members and people from their own background in Australia as part of their settlement. The government has set the number and composition of new arrival IHE people according to its interests.

DIMIA has also introduced State Specific Migration Mechanisms (SSMMs), subsets of the Skilled Category of the immigration program, designed to address skill shortages in regional centres

and to attract more immigrant people (DIMIA 2002, p. 20). Two other objectives of the program are, firstly, to attract overseas business people to establish business ventures, and, secondly, to encourage a more balanced dispersal of newly arrived skilled immigrant people (DIMA 29 August 2001 Fact Sheet 26). Excluded regions of the country are Brisbane and a 100 km radius, Sydney and a 150 km radius, and Perth. The SSMMs accounted for 3,846 visa grants in 2000-2001 (DIMIA 2002, p. 20), but only 4.1 per cent of 94,370 IHE people who arrived in Australia in 2000-2001 (DIMIA 2002, pp. 17, 25). NSW only attracted 7 per cent of immigrant people who entered Australia under this program (DIMIA 2002, p. 21). Victoria attracted 47.5 per cent (DIMIA 2002, p. 21) of such immigrant people, largely because Melbourne was not excluded for one of the SSMMs. Melbourne used to be the second largest receiving centre of IHE people, but its popularity has declined probably because of the economic downturn of Victoria in the 1980s and 1990s.

Theoretically, anyone can apply, once minimum criteria have been met, and supposedly has an equal chance of being selected for migration to Australia (DIMA Fact Sheet 1, 1999). Skill and English language requirements are not required for applicants in the Family component (DIMIA 2002, p. 22), 86 per cent of whom are fiancé(e)s or partners (DIMIA 2003, p. 26). Overseas born partners of Australian citizens or residents are normally granted a temporary visa for two years and then a permanent residence visa if the relationship continues (Jupp 2002, p. 67). If the relationship breaks down before the end of two years, the overseas born partner is expected to return to the country of origin. There is provision for overseas born partners to remain in Australia beyond the end of the two-year period if the relationship breaks down because of domestic violence and if this can be documented. 'In 2000-2001

partners, 62.3 per cent of whom were female, accounted for 86.3 per cent (28,880 persons) of Family Stream visa grants' (DIMIA 2002, p. 22).

Australia's immigration policy is indirectly still exclusionist because applicants from certain countries in the world are advantaged, such as countries where there is one or more Australian consulates from which to obtain information and to lodge applications (Jupp 2002, p. 208). For example, the DIMIA post in Nairobi Kenya serves 34 countries and by way of contrast, London UK has the largest overseas Australian post that serves only one country. Many more offshore refugee and humanitarian entrant visas were given to Europeans than to people from the Middle East and Africa (Mares 2002, p. 20). Applicants from countries where English is spoken as a first or second language, and countries where applicants' qualifications and skills are more likely to be recognised in Australia are more advantaged. The current immigration program also advantages applicants with a certain level of literacy in English to be able to navigate through the regulations and rules. Applicants with a certain level of monetary resources to pay for application bonds and fees are advantaged. Australia has also decided to accept more overseas students who have been studying in Australia (Jupp 2002, pp. 151, 208), and this disadvantages overseas applicants. The immigration program also accepts as many New Zealanders who wish to come to Australia, not subject to any of the criteria to which other IHE people are subject, as long as they possess a current New Zealand passport. Finally, there is preference given to previous Australian work experience, which again does not favour overseas applicants.

The humanitarian entrant category of the immigration program is not without bias. Australia has a fortress mentality when viewed through the lens of national sovereignty because of its suspicions of

'invaders from the north' wanting to occupy the 'empty continent'. Victory (1994, pp. 2-3) outlines the problem with the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) definition, on which admission to the Humanitarian category is based, that several of the terms are unclear and difficult to measure, such as well-founded fear and persecution. This works to the government's advantage to decide who is and who is not a refugee, for example, asylum seekers ('boat people') coming to Australia as onshore arrivals ('unauthorised'). Australia very effectively controls the number of offshore asylum seekers (applying and being processed in refugee camps outside Australia), but Australia is fearful that it cannot control the number of onshore asylum seekers. The number could be large, their claim to refugee status might be upheld, and Australia would be forced to accept them. Onshore arrivals have to meet the same criteria for refugee status as offshore arrivals, but the onshore arrivals are treated differently. They are held indefinitely in detention centres (Mares 2002, pp. 71, 216-217) because the Convention for the Status of Refugees allows signatory countries to refuse entry to asylum seekers (p. 321) until their claim for asylum is rejected or upheld.

These centres are run-for-profit, and their conditions of safety and commitment to social justice are questionable. This adds to the trauma of asylum seekers. Further, some asylum seekers have been sent to Papua New Guinea (PNG) and Nauru and held in detention for months while being processed, the so called 'Pacific Solution'. DIMIA's intention is to make the stay unpleasant for the detainees and to send a strong message to asylum seekers and people smugglers: that refugee status is hard to claim, asylum seekers will be languishing for a few years in a detention centre, and unsuccessful claimants will be repatriated. Onshore asylum seekers are then framed in the language of queue jumpers and juxtaposed with offshore asylum seekers (desirable) who have gone

through the proper channels because DIMIA can control their numbers.

Mares (2002, p. 230) summarises the hidden bias in the immigration program:

Australia, an affluent country, developed nation, demands for its people the right of free travel throughout the world, while simultaneously constructing a fortress that will keep others from arriving on our shores – unless, of course, they too come from affluent, developed nations, or from the upper strata of society in poorer countries.

The Family component previously made up more than 50 per cent of the intake of the non-humanitarian part of the immigration program. However, the federal government that came to power in 1996 allowed fewer people to arrive under that category and allowed more people to arrive under the Skilled category. In 2000-2001, 41.5 per cent of the non-humanitarian migrants came from the Family category versus 68.7 per cent who came from that category in 1995-1996 (DIMIA 2002, p. 22).

As is seen below (Tables 2.1 - 2.2), the Skilled category make up more than half (57.8 per cent) of the planned non-humanitarian part of the program for 2001-2002 (Table 2.1), and similarly made up more than half (57.5 per cent) of the actual non-humanitarian part of the program for 2001-2002 (Table 2.2). The argument is that skilled arrivals cost the economy less money because they have skills that the labour market is short of, and they do not have to learn English. Supposedly, they save the economy money because they earn money, contribute to the economy by spending, and pay taxes sooner.

Table 2.1

Planned Intake for the 2001-2002 Immigration Program for Australia

| | |
|---------------------|---------------------|
| Family | 43,200 (41.1%) |
| Skill | 60,700 (57.8%) |
| Special Eligibility | <u>1,100 (1.0%)</u> |
| Sub Total | 105,000 (100.0%) |
| Humanitarian | <u>12,000</u> |
| Total | 117,000 |

Source: Ruddock 7 & 8 May 2002

Table 2.2

Immigration Program Visas Granted for 2001-2002 for Australia

| | |
|---------------------|---------------------|
| Family | 38,090 (40.1%) |
| Skill | 53,520 (57.5%) |
| Special Eligibility | <u>1,470 (1.6%)</u> |
| Sub Total | 93,080 (100.0%) |
| Humanitarian | <u>12,349</u> |
| Total | 105,429 |

Source: DIMIA 2003, pp. 26, 32

Note: The total figure does not include New Zealanders who are not subject to immigration regulations because of the Trans-Tasman agreement, which allows each country's citizens and permanent residents to travel, settle, and work freely in the other country. In addition, this figure does not include Australian citizens born overseas, for example, children of Australian citizens. These arrivals are unvisaed, and thus are part of the number of 'settler arrivals'.

There is the misconception that most of Australia's IHE people come mainly from a few countries or one region of the world. This

is not the case, as Tables 2.3 and 2.4 show. The three combined regions of Asia make up the largest region (44 per cent) or about 39 per cent since 1983 to present (Jupp 2002, p. 35). Europe and Africa figure considerably. Likewise, the top ten source countries are diverse. New Zealand would be high on the list, but New Zealanders are categorised as settlers because they are not required to have a visa and do not have to be processed by the immigration program.

Table 2.3

Percentage from Visa Grants (Permanent Entry) from Region of Birth for 1999-2000

| | |
|---------------------------------|--------------|
| Northeast Asia | 16.0% |
| Southeast Asia | 17.0% |
| South Asia | <u>11.0%</u> |
| Sub Total | 44.0% |
| Africa | 10.0% |
| Middle East and Northern Africa | 9.0% |
| North America | 3.0% |
| Oceania | 3.0% |
| South and Central America | 1.0% |
| Europe | 25.0% |
| Unknown | <u>4.0%</u> |
| Sub Total | 55.0% |
| Total | 99.0% |

Source: DIMA 2000, p. 28.

According to the above list, no other continent is broken up into three or even two parts except Asia. The UK is not separated out of Europe. Additionally, the grouping of North Asia (Hong Kong, Japan, Korea - North and South, Macau, Mongolia, People's Republic of China, and Taiwan) consists of economically strong countries except Mongolia and North Korea, but very few IHE people from these two countries apply for migration to Australia.

Table 2.4

Visa Grants by Top Ten Countries of Birth in 1999-2000

| | | |
|----------------------------|-------|---------|
| United Kingdom | 9,091 | (11.3%) |
| People's Republic of China | 8,222 | (10.2%) |
| South Africa | 5,231 | (6.5%) |
| India | 5,046 | (6.3%) |
| Philippines | 3,886 | (4.8%) |
| Indonesia | * | |
| Former Yugoslav Republics | * | |
| Iraq | * | |
| Malaysia | * | |
| Viet Nam | * | |

*Figures not provided, but countries are listed in top ten source countries.

Figures do not include New Zealanders or on-shore asylum seekers.

Source: DIMA 2000, p. 28.

Tables 2.3 and 2.4 outline the figures, which only represent the intake of new arrival IHE people for one intake year. These figures do **not** represent people already resident in Australia such as New Zealanders and asylum seekers. The figures also do not include visitors, international students, or temporary workers.

Australia's immigration program has three components, is officially non-discriminatory and discriminatory on certain criteria, and the program is unofficially discriminatory on other criteria. Asia is the largest source region of new arrival IHE people for Australia. Jupp (2002, pp. 63, 65-67, 159) argues that the program is now about control and compliance in terms of visas, detention, and exclusionary practices, rather than settlement, to effect the increase in human capital in terms of age, education, points, skills, and speaking English (pp. 35, 36, 38, 59, 95, 145-147, and 156-157).

POPULATION AND DEMOGRAPHICS

Australia's Population

Immigration has been a significant social (as well as economic, demographic, and political) event for Australia since the organised immigration program started in 1946. Australia's population according to the 2001 Census was 18.8 million, of which 23.1 per cent was overseas born (DIMIA 2003, p. 14). Over six million people have migrated to Australia (DIMIA 2003, p. 13), a massive number of people, given the size of the country's population. Between 1972 and 2002, at least 320,000 people arrived in Australia, under the humanitarian entrant and refugee programs (Jupp 2002, p. 181) or over 600,000 since the end of WW II (DIMIA 2003, p. 13). Australia has a higher percentage of its population that is overseas born than other countries, such as Canada (17.4 per cent), New Zealand (17.5 per cent), and the United States of America (USA) (9.7 per cent) (DIMIA 2002, p. 12). The early years of Australia's organised immigration program attracted more immigrant and humanitarian entrant people from the MESC countries than from NESC countries because of the White Australia Policy.

Of the Australian resident population, 9.2 per cent is from MESC countries and 14.14 per cent is from NESC countries (DIMIA 2002, p. 4). The UK is still the single largest source country of residents in Australia, 26.2 per cent as of 30 June 1999 (DIMA 2000, p. 4) or 25% according to the 2001 Census (DIMIA 2003 p. 15). The AIHE population totalled 5.5 per cent of the Australian resident population in June 1999 as compared with 6.5 per cent from the UK and Ireland or 6.3 per cent from Europe (DIMA 6 September 2001 Fact Sheet 13).

Table 2.5

Percentage of the Overseas Born Population by Region of Birth June 1999

| | |
|------------------------------|-------|
| Other Europe | 28.0% |
| UK | 26.0% |
| Asia | 24.0% |
| Oceania | 11.0% |
| Middle East and North Africa | 5.0% |
| Other Africa | 3.0% |
| North America | 2.0% |
| Central and South America | 2.0% |

Source: DIMIA 2002, p. 4.

Table 2.5 shows that AIHE people are a substantial part of the overseas born population resident in Australia, but not as substantial as their percentage in the yearly immigration intake. As of 30 June 1999, of the top 20 countries of birth of the overseas born, eight of these countries were from Asia (DIMA 2000, p. 4).

Profile of AIHE People in Australia and NSW

There has been a dramatic shift in the countries of origin of Australia's IHE people when compared to the year 1974-1975 when the top 10 source countries supplied 68.0 per cent of all new arrivals, and India was the only Asian country in the top 10 source countries. The figure from India would have included United Kingdom citizens and children of Caucasian colonials. The rest of Asia and all the other countries (not in the top 10) supplied 32.0 per cent of arrivals (Shu et al 1996, p. 31). Going back to 1964-1965, according to Shu et al (1996 p. 31), of the Settler Arrivals Top 10 Source Countries of Birth, there was no Asian country. People from Asian countries may have appeared in the 'Other' category that made up 11.5 per cent of settler arrivals for the year.

Immigration is a significant part of Australia's history, especially AIHE immigration. NSW is the state with the largest population (DIMIA 2003, p. 8) and has the largest share of the IHE population in Australia (p. 9; also Castles et al 1998, p. 44). The IHE people who migrated to Australia in 1999-2000 were asked which state they intended to migrate and settle. More IHE people (including New Zealanders) said NSW (42.6 per cent or 39,311) (DIMA 2000, p. 68) than any other state. However, it is difficult to determine in which state new arrival IHE people live because their movement is not monitored.

IHE people's settlement is overrepresented in metropolitan centres. Of all the new arrivals from 1996-1999, 5.3 per cent of new arrivals to NSW did not settle in the Sydney Metropolitan Area (NSW Interdepartmental Committee on Migrant Settlement [NICOMS] 2000). According to Table 2.6, of the outside-Sydney population in NSW, 10.85 per cent of this population is overseas born. AIHE people make up significant numbers of each year's immigration intake (44 per cent) but only make up a slight percentage of the Australian resident population (5.5 per cent). The settlement of AIHE people in Sydney is more dramatic (Castles et al 1998, p. 44) when compared to the settlement of AIHE people in outside-Sydney. For example, 9.5 per cent of Sydney's population was born in Asia (Table 2.6). This figure drops to 1.1 per cent for outside-Sydney and 1.47 per cent for Coffs Harbour (Table 2.6). These figures contextualise the limited extent of AIHE settlement in regional centres.

Sydney was and is so popular as a point of arrival and settlement, as Australia's largest city, because aeroplanes and ships have arrived at Sydney and disembarked new arrival IHE people. This has never happened in regional centres such as Coffs Harbour.

Additionally, migrant hostels located in Sydney housed the new arrivals while they looked for work and met people from their own cultural and linguistic background. Jupp (2002, p. 30) says that most European IHE people were or became working class and settled in working-class neighbourhoods close to manufacturing industries. Additionally, until the 1970s, state public housing was usually not available for non-British IHE people (Jupp 2002, p. 31). Communities were established because of the above reasons, and these communities have attracted even more new arrivals.

Table 2.6 details the place of birth of the Australian resident population across Australia, NSW, Sydney, outside-Sydney NSW, and Coffs Harbour. These figures reveal that NSW has almost the same proportion of residents born overseas as does Australia as a whole. Outside-Sydney NSW and Coffs Harbour have less than half the percentage of the overseas born than do NSW and Sydney.

Table 2.6

**Population by Geographic Area by Birthplace - 1996
Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS)**

| | Australia | NSW | Sydney | Outside-Sydney | Coffs Harbour |
|-----------------|-----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|------------------|
| Australian Born | 13,227,776 (77.2%) | 4,394,218 (76.0%) | 2,420,543 (67.8%) | 1,973,675 (89.2%) | 49,573 (88%) |
| Overseas Born | 3,908,213 (22.8%) | 1,388,957 (24.0%) | 1,148,869 (32.2%) | 240,088 (10.8%) | 6,608 (11.8%) |
| MESCs Born | 1,545,834 (9.0%) | 441,012 (7.6%) | 314,680 (8.8%) | 126,332 (5.7%) | 4,047 (7.2%) |
| NESCs Born | 2,362,379 (13.8%) | 947,945 (16.4%) | 834,189 (23.4%) | 113,756 (5.1%) | 2,561 (4.6%) |
| Asian Born | 820,943 (4.8%) | 362,576 (6.3%) | 338,342 (9.5%) | 24,234 (1.1%) | 825 (1.47%) |
| Total | 17,135,989 | 5,783,175 | 3,569,412 | 2,221,763 | 56,168 |

Notes:

Total is the total of the Australian-born and the overseas born.

The MESC's are Canada, Ireland, New Zealand, South Africa, UK, and USA.

The figures under 'Not Stated' and 'Overseas visitor' have been excluded from the Total. 'Born Elsewhere Overseas' has been included.

Outside-Sydney NSW figures were derived by subtracting the Sydney figures from the NSW figures.

In calculating the Asian Countries of Birth figures, the figures of Born Elsewhere Overseas were excluded. Only 15 Asian countries were listed. Thus the final figures were derived from the total of the 15 Asian countries divided by the total of the Australian-born, MESC's, and the NESC's minus the Born Elsewhere Overseas figures. Thus, Asian countries of birth figures and percentages are somewhat underestimated but the uncertainty will be uniform across the five columns.

Source: ABS (1998): AUS Australia - X04 Birthplace (Countries) by Sex; Coffs - X04 Birthplace (Countries) by Sex; STE NSW - X04 Birthplace (Countries) By Sex; Statistical Division (SD) Sydney - X04 Birthplace (Countries) by Sex.

This section has shown that NSW, Australia's most populous state, has the largest share of the overseas born resident population and new arrival IHE people. This is largely because of Sydney, where 61.7 per cent of the state's population lives, but NSW only has the fourth highest growth rate of the states and territories (DIMIA 2003, p. 10). NSW and especially Sydney have high percentages of the overseas born. However, Outside-Sydney and Coffs Harbour have lower numbers of overseas born people, NESC's born, and Asian countries born. This is interesting because of the high population growth and the projected population growth of the NSW North Coast, which does not appear to include many IHE people from NESC's and particularly Asian countries. The focus of this research has been their settlement experience because the occurrences of their settlement are significantly lower. This research will show in a social work sense how such settlement is distinctly different, to understand the AIHE people who have moved

to regional centres and live there and what their experiences have been.

MIGRATION

Migration is the permanent moving from one country to another. Settlement, based on migration, is the post-arrival life between IHE people and the host society. Therefore, an analysis of migration theory is necessary to understand settlement better. Migration to Australia, because it is an island and a large distance away from most of the rest of the world, is more controlled than migration in other countries. Migration theory based on population movements as a result of disaster, guest workers, illegal residents, and war, play a negligible role in migration to Australia. The other factor in migration is that it is contextual, more than the simple push/draw model. Migration, like settlement, is based on the interplay of micro and macro factors such as the person's skills and personality, circumstances in the country of origin, the policies of Australia's immigration program, and the state of affairs of the receiving country.

Motivation to Immigrate

There are several theoretical constructs as to why IHE people leave their country of origin and/or why they choose to migrate to Australia. To find an appropriate theoretical construct for this research, the type of migration needs to be qualified for the purposes of this research. The IHE population examined in this research is legally and permanently resident in Australia and has been processed through the immigration program. Thus, not relevant to this research are forced population transfers, guest

workers or labour migrants (Lucas and Young 1994, pp. 105-106) illegals - overstayers and unlawful arrivals, return residents, students, temporary business migrants, or visitors and travellers.

A common but simple theoretical construct about migration is that influences can be classified as either 'push' or 'draw' factors (Pettigrew 1998, pp. 78-79). Examples of push factors are boredom, climate, natural disaster, political strife, poor economic opportunities, and war. Examples of draw factors are adventure, climate, family, freedom and democracy, and money. Migration is not usually only based on push or only draw factors, and motivation to migrate is more complex than the push/draw model. There are other factors that finally determine if a person migrates or not. These factors might include the person's education, personality, and resources.

Madden and Young (1991, pp. 151-152) find four situations affecting the decision to come to Australia. Their research involved 500 IHE people from the UK and Ireland, Lebanon, Malaysia and Brunei, and Viet Nam who lived in Adelaide and Sydney. The first situation was where minimal push factors existed and the draw factors reflected a great deal of choice ie these countries were interchangeable, such as the UK and Australia. The second situation was where, again, minimal push factors were experienced but where the choice of where to settle was greatly limited, such as the desire to be with a family member. The third situation was where the draw factors were strong, but perhaps less than compelling, and where the choice of where to settle was a broad range. The fourth and final situation was where the push factors were compelling and a choice of countries in which to settle did not exist, for example typifying the Vietnamese humanitarian entrant people.

Cox (1989, pp. 18-24) elaborates on the push/draw model. He writes that there are two elements influencing people's migration, which occur in their country of origin, which he calls premigration. The first element is the motivation to migrate, which can be divided into two categories: 'escape and dislocation' which are push motivators; and 'economic' which is a draw factor, drawing people to one country from another. The second element of the decision-making process also has two categories: who made the decision and the basis on which it was made. Cox's model, essentially a matrix model, is also a push/draw one, but adds the choice of who made or influenced the choice. However, choice is not always clear-cut.

Walmsley, Epps, and Duncan (1995, p. 27) argue that the decision to migrate conforms to a demand and supply model. The choices migrants make are not as simple as 'let's move here'. Macro level supply side factors can influence choice or negate choice.

Thus, micro-scale behavioural studies of migration need to take account of both choice in decision-making (the 'demand' side of migration opportunities), and constraints and restrictions, especially within the labour and housing markets (the 'supply' side of migration opportunities)' (Walmsley et al 1995, p. 27).

Jayasuriya and Kee (1999, p. 29) discuss what affects the choice of country of destination in addition to the other factors surrounding the decision to migrate, that is, the receiving country's immigration program and its rules and policies. The authors specifically mention AIHE people.

Many factors contribute to this pattern of intake, such as changes in immigration policy, especially those related to the intake of refugees, the implementation of global non-discriminatory policies, and importantly, shifting patterns of labour migration worldwide (Fawcett and Carina 1987; Kritz 1987; Appleyard 1992 cited in Jayasuriya et al 1999, p. 29).

An overlapping but separate factor has been the special consideration given to all those experiencing hardship and admitted under the special humanitarian program (SHP) because of civil strife or disruption in Asia... (p. 29).

A specific example of the rules and policies of Australia's immigration program is the change in migration laws in 1983 that dropped competency in English as a requirement and broadened the eligibility criteria of whom could be sponsored, for a certain section of the Family component (Jayasuriya et al 1999, p. 31). The Asian resident population accessed this change and sponsored increased numbers of relations. Another example, which is historical, is that most of Australia's migration until 1972 was based fulfilling the need for labour, favouring Caucasian and employable immigrant people from the UK and Northern Europe. One way many immigrant people arrived from these countries was through the assisted passage scheme, for whom the Australian government funded the trip to Australia for selected immigrant people (Jupp 2002, pp 12, 17-19, 23).

Jayasuriya and Kee (1999) propose the argument that migration for the individual is made up of various factors. Migration then is a choice even if it is by default, if the person is part of a chain of events in his or her life, or if the person made the decision by evaluating the advantages and disadvantages of migrating and their value and cost.

Adelman, Borowski, Burnstein, and Foster (1994, p. 45) evaluate a number of theoretical constructs of migration that are individual or structural. The first one is the push/draw. Partes and Borocz (1989 cited in Adelman et al 1994, p. 45) demonstrate how the push/draw fails to predict population flows in many parts of the world, and how it does not pay attention to macro structural determinants such as

the economic, political, and social asymmetries between the sending and receiving countries.

The social network theoretical construct is about friendship and ties among friends and relations in different countries. The social network theoretical construct fails to explain the origins of population flows (p. 46), but it does 'link the structural and individual determinants and emphasises their interaction' (p. 46).

Structural migration is about the economic and political relationships among countries that play a large role in the origins of where people move and why (Adelman et al 1994, pp. 46-47). For example, the British migrated to Australia in the 1950s and 1960s because of a shortage of housing in the UK (Jupp 2002, p. 12). One such theoretical construct is the Marxist position that IHE people from poorer countries serve capitalist needs in richer countries, but these new arrivals are marginalised by the host society once in the country (Lucas and Young 1994, p. 103). Another theoretical construct is involuntary migration. This again is caused by structural factors such as people being forced across borders because of civil strife, economic collapse, or natural disasters. This was the case for migration to Australia in the 1940s and 1950s because of the displaced persons who were relocated to camps in Europe after WW II (Jupp 2002, p. 12). The other more recent situation for the movement of humanitarian entrant people to other countries and Australia has been the UN sanctions against Iraq, and the refusal by Iran to host humanitarian entrant people from Afghanistan and Iraq (Jupp 2002, p. 193). For the most part, this type of structural migration to Australia is not very applicable because of its island status. There are only small numbers of people who flee to Australia or who are brought by 'people smugglers' for such reasons. A final example of the structural factors in migration

is in 1975 the government reduced the intake of IHE people to the lowest level between 1948 and 2002 because of the economic problems in Australia (Jupp 2002, p. 24).

Structural factors that exist in Australia are, for example, climate, freedom and democracy, labour market, political and economic arrangements, Australia's social policies, social networks between Australia and other countries, and treatment of people. Work is not always the principal reason for migration, as is commonly assumed. Betts (1996, p. 22) says that IHE people will not necessarily move to a place where there is work. 'They want to move to a country with political rights, a welfare safety net and the hope of better times for their children, and they want to settle near family and friends.' Adelman et al (1994, pp. 49-50) discuss gender as a factor in migration. There is the traditional migration of young men followed by a female partner. There is also female led migration ie women as humanitarian entrant people, women migrating to remit money to family in the country of origin (p. 49), women migrating to marry resident men in the country of destination, and women as the primary applicants and migrating because of jobs.

Structural migration theory largely ignores the individual who is part of the migration process. While this research is examining settlement from the individual's point of view, individuals have discussed structural factors and reasons that contributed to their settlement and migration. Their settlement and migration are seated in the broader background depicted in this chapter of theoretical concepts. Thus, the migration process will be seen to be an interplay of micro and macro factors. Adelman et al (1994, p. 51) express this well.

A consensus is developing among scholars of migration theory that explanations of international migration for any given historical case must link social-structural constraints to, and opportunities for, movement at the global, national and local levels in the sending and receiving countries ('macro' determinants) and individuals' plights, roles, motivations and decisions to move ('micro' determinants).

This section has described the theoretical constructs explaining the general motivation to migrate for the prominent groups of the AIHE people present in Coffs Harbour. Migration theoretical constructs are divergent and varied, focussing on a range from micro determinants to macro determinants. However, motivation/determinants, this research suggests, have to be an interplay between the two, especially for the AIHE population examined in this research. Many of the en-masse migrations solely explained by structural migration theory, are only part of the equation of people migrating to Australia, because Australia has no land borders, is geographically isolated, and has a strictly controlled immigration program. However, structural migration theory presents the larger picture, or part of the larger picture, for individual migration.

SETTLEMENT

This second half of this chapter is about settlement and its factors such as gender, humanitarian entrant people, settlement services, multiculturalism, discrimination and racism, employment, and belongingness. Settlement has not been a large part of social work in Australia as is evident by the limited social work literature in this area. There is Australian literature on settlement, and while settlement is contested, the settlement literature all adds up to portray a fuller picture of settlement.

Settlement is more clearly an appropriate site for social work than is migration. The profession of social work in Australia has little to do with pre-migration, the migration of new arrivals, or the formal immigration program. This is not to deny the importance of migration because migration and the events and background leading up to it form the basis of settlement. An important part of settlement is the host society in Australia, and how society and individuals within society treat new arrivals. This is reflected in the policy of multiculturalism and the provision of settlement services.

Settlement is not mentioned very often in the Australian social work literature (McMahon 2002). Searching through over 50 years of journal articles in *Australian Social Work*, McMahon (2002, p. 175) only found 27 articles about IHE people. Additionally, the articles were generally about social work that supported people's strengths and did not challenge the policy or political contexts in which practice occurred (p. 180). This is important as will be seen because settlement is cast as how an individual adapts to life and living in the new country, whereas settlement is also influenced by the broader picture of structural factors such as the host society. Settlement, on the micro or individual level only, is the post-arrival phase of IHE people's lives in a new country. It involves many things, such as coping with the day-to-day ways of doing things, finding work, learning the language and culture, separating from the country of origin (Jupp 2002, p. 93), emotional and psychological recovery, etc. The length of time settlement takes varies with each individual, although for some people it may never reach a conclusion. Settlement can be easy or difficult and traumatic.

Settlement is contested, as the literature does not agree on a definition of settlement. Morrissey, Mitchell, and Rutherford (1991, p. 32) have this to say about defining settlement:

The literature on general settlement leaves unresolved a number of extremely important issues. The most important of these is the question of precisely what is meant by settlement: is it a period of time following immigration or is it the successful accomplishment of a number of objectives? If the latter, then what should this list of objectives comprise?

The National Population Council in 1988 cited in Cox (1992 p. 18) defines settlement as:

The process by which an immigrant establishes economic viability and social networks following immigration in order to contribute effectively to and make full use of opportunities generally available in the receiving society.

There are two elements of this definition to consider: the individual and the receiving society. Both are essential for settlement. A third element of settlement could be the migrant or multicultural population, part of the host or receiving society, who (both overseas and in Australia) can be based on country of origin, culture, and/or language. The population can play a role in settlement through macro level awareness, socio-emotional and material support, and structural change. Burnett (1998, p. 9) cites Galbally's (1978, p. 4) definition of settlement:

...the complex process of adjusting to a new environment following migration. It is a long-term process affecting all immigrants.... Its end point is the acceptance by and the feeling of belongingness to the receiving society. It implies change both in the individual immigrant and the host society.

Cox (1987, p. 17) draws out the elements of the individual and host society more fully, listing several variable clusters that affect settlement. These are the immigrant person's background; the decision to migrate; the migration experience; the arrival and

reception stage; the integration stage; and the person who is the immigrant person. From Cox's clusters, it can be seen that there are three aspects from which settlement can be viewed: the pre-migration experience, the settlement experiences of the IHE people, and the attitude of the society in which they have settled.

Settlement obviously cannot occur without the host society. To some extent, IHE people's settlement issues and difficulties can be related to the host society. One view, not in the scholarly literature, is that IHE people have chosen to come to Australia. Therefore, the onus is on them to make the effort for acculturation, adaptation, and change. Burnett (1998, p. 14) makes the point that the difficulties in settlement that IHE people have are their own, and they must overcome these barriers. Clearly, this view exists but is short sighted. Petruchenia (1992, p. 43) writes about this.

Immigrants' ethnicity is still used as the explanation of their social situation and behaviour. Their structural position in the work force and in society at large is not taken into consideration, but rather issues related to ethnicity, such as 'problems of communication' are provided as explanations for particular behaviour. Thus, the focus has remained on the individual.

However, another way to examine settlement difficulties is to consider the structural barriers that are in place that can make settlement more difficult for new arrivals. For example, a structural constraint is that during the first two years of arrival, new arrivals (except humanitarian entrant people) cannot access Centrelink benefits. This can make it more difficult to live, especially since the first two years are when the need for support is most required (Jupp 2002, pp. 58, 153, 156, 208). Money is an important resource for settlement. Another example is the insufficient number of hours of English language tuition available that must be taken within the first three years of arrival, and yet English language competency is the single most important factor in settlement.

Settlement needs to be seen as an interplay of the individual, society, and society's structures.

Ross-Sheriff (1992, p. 46) cites Berry (1988) about settlement but calls it adaptation. 'Adaptation refers to strategies for dealing with the process of acculturation to the host society and the long-term outcome of acculturation'. Ross-Sheriff (1992, p. 46-47) goes on to write about acculturation on an individual level and on an immigrant population level, but not about the host society. Ross-Sheriff (1992) has added another element to the process of settlement, IHE people already arrived and settled in Australia, but has not recognised the importance of the receiving society.

The other aspect of settlement that the literature does not stress is the circumstances and history in the country of origin. Cox (1989, pp. 18-24) is one author who draws attention to these. While the literature of settlement does consider the individual, this is usually his or her age, employability, level of English, and qualifications. However, the country of origin also contributes to construction of the individual. This has to do with the circumstances in the country of origin, for example the economy and economic opportunities, political situation, and rights and freedoms. Other factors from the country of origin are culture, gender, level of English, religion, socio-economic status, etc. These have an impact on who people are and their reasons for leaving or being forced to leave. Further, who people are and where they have come from impact on their settlement. Thus, again settlement is based on migration.

This section has defined settlement and has attempted to establish the elements and factor that make up settlement. More specific settlement issues relating to the different experiences of IHE people

in metropolitan centres and regional centres are dealt with in the next two sections.

Gender in Settlement

Gender is a factor to consider in all aspects of social work, and settlement and migration are no different. The literature suggests the settlement experience is different for men and women, especially in the area of social support. Anecdotally, men have more power and status in society, and they find employment sooner and have fewer childcare needs, as women are more often the principal carers of families (Hollinsworth 1998, p. 236). Men also might have more control in the decision to migrate. For these reasons, this section looks at the impact of settlement on IHE women and AIHE women. First, this section examines the gender division for the Australian resident population and the new arrivals. More women than men are arriving in Australia.

The total number of female immigrants in 1994-95 (46 600) exceeded the number of males (40 800), corresponding to a sex ratio of 87 males to 100 females. This imbalance reflected the preponderance of females in the Preferential Family category [for both spouses and fiancé(e)s, and parents]; in other categories males and females were similar in numbers (Shu et al 1996, p. 28).

For the year 1998-99, most entry categories of the immigration program (excluding New Zealanders and other unvisaed arrivals) were nearly evenly balanced, according to gender (DIMA 2000, p. 29). The exception was the family migration category. Spouse and fiancé(e)s accounted for 86.3 per cent (28,880) of visas and 62.3 per cent of these visas went to women in 2000-2001 (DIMIA 2002, p. 22). Not all the partners were Australian-born, but some were born in the country of origin of the spouse or fiancé(e) being sponsored.

Of the spouse and fiancé(e) visas granted in 2000-2001 by country of birth, six Asian countries were in the top 10 source countries as Table 2.7 shows.

Table 2.7

Spouse and Fiancé(e) Visa Grants by Country of Birth 2000-2001

| | |
|----------------------------------|----|
| People's Republic of China (PRC) | 8% |
| Philippines | 6% |
| Viet Nam | 5% |
| Thailand | 5% |
| India | 3% |
| Indonesia | 3% |

Source: DIMIA 2002, p. 23

Pittaway (1991, pp. 7-8) describes what migration was like for the 200 IHE women she interviewed in metropolitan Sydney. Eighty-four of the 200 women came from Asia (Pittaway 1991 Table 3.2, p. 20).

While many women who migrate to Australia settle quickly and successfully into a new lifestyle, others do not. Migration from one country to another can be a traumatic experience. For women who have the care of children, it can be especially difficult. For people who do not speak English, the problem is magnified a hundredfold.

For cultural reasons many women take little part in decision making. They come to Australia because their husbands decide that it is to the advantage of the family. On arrival in Australia the resettlement needs of the women are usually the last to be fulfilled...

Women are not employed as quickly and easily as men, and they are expected to care for children and manage the household as well. This makes for more overall work for them, combined with the difficulties of an unfamiliar culture and language (also Maeda Furuto and Murase 1992, p. 245; Ross-Sheriff 1992, p. 58). Settlement

that occurs like this is demanding for IHE women particularly if they had little or no influence in the decision to migrate.

For the women who come to Australia and partner Australian men, settlement can have added dimensions and facets. The obvious differences are familiarisation with another culture, learning to speak English, and little choice in where they settle in Australia. In Northern NSW, except in the case of Filipino women, there is usually little contact with people from their country of origin who speak their language because of the low numbers of such people. These women can be more isolated than other IHE women. Social support, or the lack of it, plays a role in coping with events of settlement and the new life. How social support occurs, to whom, and by whom vary with culture and gender. Madden et al (1991, p. 147) examine social support for IHE women in Sydney and Adelaide.

Various responses relating to social support and contact (or lack thereof) with the family and friends were given by a total of 16 per cent of respondents. ...Thus, although the women respondents were more likely to have family here, they continued to miss other family members and friends.

In another study, Meemeduma and Moraes-Gorecki (1990) research social support by having interviewed AIHE women living in Cairns, Mackay, Mt Isa, and Townsville. They found that informal support is an important process in settlement (p. 35):

Informal support systems: From the interviews with the Asian women in the study it was clear that the informal support network system is the most important source of support in the lives of the women. This informal support network system was predominantly composed of family/kin members, conationals, and to a lesser degree Australians and migrants of other nationalities.

Thus, social support and/or kin may be a factor in attracting IHE people to regional centres and retaining them. This may vary according to gender.

An important part of settlement may be satisfaction with marriage. Matthews Brown (1993) interviewed 30 men and 43 women who migrated to Australia as the spouse or fiancé(e) of an Australian citizen or resident. Respondents came from Lebanon, Philippines, PRC, UK, USA, and Viet Nam. Matthews Brown (1993, p. 19) writes the following about the migrating female partners' satisfaction with their marriage.

The satisfaction of migrating spouses is more difficult to assess. While a larger percentage of women state that given what they know now, they would not migrate again, the underlying reasons for this are not clear. Though women stated lack of employment as a negative factor in their migration, other factors, which may determine the power balance in a marriage, were not assessed. It is possible that women do find themselves in isolated situations where they are subject to depression and abuse.

The quality of these relationships of Asian immigrant women married to Australian men has been considered and questioned by human service workers, the media, and the public. If divorce rates are an indication of unsteady marriages, Jackson and Flores (1989, p. 32) found that the divorce rates of the Filipino-Australian marriages they surveyed were similar to Australian-Australian marriages when the age differential was taken into account. Chuah, Chuah, Reid-Smith, Rice, and Rowley (1987, p. 580) similarly argue that if the age structure of Filipino women were similar to that of Australian women, the divorce rate would be much the same.

Divorce might not be an accurate indicator of abuse, exploitation, marital discord, or unhappiness. Filipino women's strong Catholic background might mean that divorce is not a possibility and thus not a strong indicator of domestic violence or marital discord. For

Asian immigrant women married to Australian men, it may be harder to leave abusive and domestic violence situations because of cultural pressures and expectations, isolation, and unfamiliarity with English and the resources and rights available to people in domestic violence situations. Additionally, some of the reasons why Asian immigrant women remain in abusive or exploitive relationships are the same as for non-AIHE or non-IHE women, such as blaming themselves, fear of being assaulted again or having children kidnapped, and lack of knowledge of information and services to deal with domestic violence.

There is another important aspect of settlement of AIHE women to consider on an Australia-wide basis and for regional NSW. This aspect is Filipino women married to Australian men. Shu et al (1996, p. 74-75) cite the Bureau of Immigration and Population Research (1994b: Philippines Born, pp. 3-4).

Of all birthplaces groups, the Philippines-born had the most skewed sex ratio with almost double the number of female immigrants to males in this group. To a large extent, this reflects the relatively high number of Filipino women who have entered into cross-cultural marriages with Australian men.

Filipino women make up 11 per cent of the AIHE people in Coffs Harbour. In Coffs Harbour (according to the ABS 1996 Census), Philippine born people were the second largest single group of AIHE people in the region, numbering 105. As most of these Filipinos (91) are women, it is assumed that in most cases they have married non-Filipino men. Where Filipino women live in regional Australia is largely dependent on where their partners live, not on where Filipino communities are located. The other significant group of Asian immigrant women is Thai women. The gender imbalance of Thais living in Coffs Harbour, while not as great as for the Filipinos

in Coffs Harbour, is substantial. It is speculated they too are mainly married to non-Thai men.

A relevant feature of this research is Punjabi Sikhs whose custom is arranged marriages. Young Punjabi Sikh men and women in Woolgoolga, usually born in Australia or India-born but have come to Australia as young children, often go to India to find a partner who then migrates to Australia. Both families have a say about whom the person partners or the families may agree on a small number of eligible partners from which to choose 'to avoid big differences in the standards of living and level of education of the partners concerned' and 'based on the potential of creating a happy and loving home together' (Arora 1986, p. 28). Time spent with the fiancé(e) is usually short and marriage quickly takes place. The custom of arranged marriages was not a tradition of any of the other AIHE people interviewed. Some Australian Punjabi Sikhs are marrying other Australian Punjabi Sikhs or Australians not from that background. de Lepervanche (1984, pp. 154-155) found arranged marriages was one of the areas the Punjabi Sikhs were reluctant to change to Australian customs – people choosing their own partners.

Many a new bride or groom is selected by trusted kin in India and then travels to Australia for the wedding. In other cases a family returns with a marriageable daughter who is wedded in India, or a son goes back to marry his arranged bride and returns with her to Australia. (p. 155).

Punjabi Sikhs are encouraged to marry a member of the Sikh faith and usually within one's caste (pp. 156, 157). Marriages in Punjab villages are sanctioned according to the village of one's parents and grandparents. This carries over into Woolgoolga.

Female IHE people have different experiences in settlement because of childbearing and childrearing, culture, permanent

relationships, and societal roles. Their views of settlement in regional centres have been examined because of the women's significant numbers and presence and how they have shaped movement to and settlement in regional centres.

Humanitarian Entrant People

Australia's history with humanitarian entrant people goes back to the end of WW II when Australia accepted displaced persons or refugees from Europe especially from non-north western Europe. Probably, today they would not meet the strict definition set down in the Convention for the Status of Refugees in 1951 (Victory 1994, pp. 1, 6, 40) and later the 1967 UNHCR Protocol for Refugees that extended the 1951 Convention beyond Europe (p. 6). These displaced persons and refugees were mostly Christian or Jewish people and not Asian and were deemed racially acceptable as defined by the WAP (MacCallum 2002, p. 14) and because they were escaping communism (Jupp 2002, p. 180).

The first 'boat people' from Viet Nam arrived in 1976, and the then government had provision for a generous resettlement plan for the Indo-Chinese until 1983. The government did not have a 'formal mechanism for dealing with onshore asylum seekers' (Mares 2002, p. 74). By 1983, the government felt it had to take control of the 'boat people' and their automatic acceptance (MacCallum 2002 p. 21). Small numbers of onshore arrivals started coming mainly from Cambodia after a 10 year absence, and the public reaction was panic (Jupp 2002, p. 47). In 1991, the government built an immigration detention centre in Port Hedland Western Australia for the 'boat people' (Jupp 2002, pp. 47, 189-190) remotely exiled away from compatriot communities, legal and welfare services, the media, the mainstream society, and relatives.

It was, as the department boasted, specifically designed to accommodate the boat people who had made the crossing and to deter others who might be thinking about it. While the real illegals – those who had breached their visa conditions and disappeared from view without approaching the authorities or claiming to be refugees – could be trusted near the cities, asylum seekers who had thrown themselves on the mercy of the authorities were to be kept as isolated as possible. Increasingly they were seen and treated not as refugees but as invaders – the enemy. (MacCallum 2002 p. 25).

In 1992, legislation was introduced to detain asylum seekers (p. 23). The public's perception changed from seeing asylum seekers as uninvited guests to people who needed to be locked up (p. 21; also Mares 2002, p. 12) and queue jumpers who judicially appealed (p. 42; also Mares 2002, pp. 18, 24, 259). However, there are much greater numbers of overstayers who subsequently become illegal as well, but they are seldom held in detention (p. 30; also Jupp 2002, p. 189) but are allowed to stay outside detention until their case has been processed.

Asylum seekers are people who have fled their country of origin because of oppression, persecution, and violation of their human rights such as torture (Mares 2002, pp. 225-226) and war. Bowles, R. (2001, p. 224) describes the conditions that asylum seekers endure while fleeing, such as assault and sexual assault, hiding, crossing minefields and rivers under fire, pirates, robbery, and walking for lengthy periods of time while facing exhaustion and starvation (also Victory 1994, p. 11). Usually, their destination was some country other than Australia, but Australia was the destination of the people smugglers (Mares 2002, p. 234; also Jupp 2002, p. 191).

Asylum seekers sometimes arrive in unseaworthy boats or small ships or by other unauthorised means. To remain legally in Australia, they have to satisfy DIMIA criteria that they are bona fide

humanitarian entrant people. While their claims are being processed, asylum seekers live for months and sometimes years in government owned and privately run-for-profit detention centres. However, life in the detention centres is not without its problems. Mares (2002, p. 3) mentions break-outs, protests, riots, and acts for two reasons: The first reason is it takes so long for DIMIA to make a decision about the asylum seekers' status. The second reason is a private company runs the detention centres for profit (p. 82; also Jupp 2002, p. 159) and inadequate or unenforced policy results in abuse (p. 91). Asylum seekers who are not deemed to be humanitarian entrant people are forcibly repatriated to their country of origin if DIMIA has deemed it safe to return. If they are deemed humanitarian entrant people, they are released into society. Australia discriminates against asylum seekers, 'between those without a visa, who are interned, and those arriving with a visa, who are not' (Jupp 2002, p. 189).

Asylum seekers also flee their country of origin to refugee camps in a second country. DIMIA processes the asylum seekers according to UNHCR criteria to determine that the asylum seekers are bona fide humanitarian entrant people. As humanitarian entrant people, they then may enter and live in Australia and are not placed in detention. Bowles, R. (2001, p. 224) describes the appalling life in refugee camps as grossly overcrowded, lack of law and order, and unhygienic conditions. Victory (1994, p. 15) says that camps vary enormously in their quality depending on the type of refugee emergency (how much planning) and the attitude of the host country, which might be trying to deter refugees by making life in the camps unpleasant. Asylum seekers might have to remain for months and often years in camps.

Women face different obstacles in refugee camps than men (Victory 1994, pp. 17-20, 45) because most inhabitants in refugee camps are women. For example, they bear more care of children, especially sick children, give up their food for children, are more likely to contract illness, not have food distributed to them but to men, not have access to specialist health services, and experience rape.

Trauma is a psychological state in which humanitarian entrant people can end up because of the conditions they had to endure in their country of origin, fleeing that country, life in the refugee camp or detention centre in Australia (Mares pp. 92-98). Bowles, R. (2001, p. 226) says that it is important to recognise trauma and to intervene appropriately but not to pathologise humanitarian entrant people who are experiencing trauma. She also says such people show amazing courage and resilience. Other issues that humanitarian entrant people face are relations left behind in the country of origin, loss and grief of settling in a new country, and ordinary life stage developments (pp. 226-227).

There can be little doubt that the decision to flee is not made lightly because of what can be lost. Victory (1994, p. 9) encapsulates that experience for refugees in the new country.

Sometimes resettlement appears to be the most desirable solution. A refugee can be leaving an underdeveloped country and moving to an advanced and wealthy western country such as America. However, the loss of a home and the need to commence a new life in a new country and culture without family connections can outweigh the advantages that being in a wealthy country can bring.

There are all the struggles that immigrant people face such as dealing with discrimination, learning English, navigating their way through services and entitlements, socio-emotional coping, finding work and housing, etc. Humanitarian entrant people have to face

these as well, but the journey is probably harder considering what has happened to them (Mares 2002, pp. 98, 209).

Settlement Services

Settlement services are designed to help the new arrivals with their life in Australia and to provide them with information and resources about the country in which they now live. The provision for the settlement needs of new arrivals makes good economic and social sense to engender a fuller participation in life in Australia. However, their effectiveness depends on how the settlement services were designed, how they are run, and how the workers are delivering the service.

IHE people can apply for government funding for entitlements and to provide services for their communities. While this helps in the short-term, obligations and dependence go hand-in-hand with funding. Deeper changes for which IHE people are striving have to be discarded. Funding can also force IHE people to follow funding bodies' policies that may not be in line with the needs of IHE people's communities and organisations. Thus, such funding can be a way of co-opting IHE people and controlling them (Castles and Davidson 2000, p. 149).

Settlement services are largely government-run or government-funded and community-managed, and thus usually government defined and not IHE people defined. The settlement services available in Australia are ethno-specific, migrant-specific, or mainstream. Ethno-specific services are for a particular cultural group or language group. Examples of migrant-specific services are the DIMIA, English language classes, Migrant Resource Centres (MRCs), recognition of overseas qualifications, Translating and

Interpreting Service (TIS), etc. Mainstream services are designed for everyone, for example, Centrelink, Department of Housing, the Jobs Network, neighbourhood centres, Institutes of Technical and Further Education (TAFE), etc. However, mainstream services cater for IHE people through bilingual workers, cultural awareness training, and the use of interpreters. For example, mainstreaming is often nothing more than tacked on cultural sensitisation training and service delivery for monocultural organisations to try to render themselves more culturally appropriate. Mainstream services providing culturally appropriate services are new to some regional centres in NSW, where there are fewer IHE people, and each cultural group is small in number. In Coffs Harbour, there are a handful of IHE specific services that are part-time and often contractual.

Coffs Harbour has a lower percentage of overseas born, especially AIHE people, than the metropolitan centres. Coffs Harbour has fewer settlement services as well. There is only one ethno-specific service in Coffs Harbour, and it is only partially ethno-specific. This is the half-time CSS grant for a worker in Woolgoolga to work with IHE people, of whom the main clientele is Punjabi Sikhs. The migrant-specific services in Coffs Harbour are a half-time CSS worker located and auspiced by the Coffs Harbour Neighbourhood Centre, a voluntary Community Refugee Settlement Scheme (CRSS), a few cultural/ethnic or language clubs for socialising, part-time English language classes funded by the Adult Migrant English Program (AMEP), an English Language Centre run on a fee-for-service basis, MARS (now unfunded), several migration agents operating on a fee-for-service basis, and a 0.7 Migrant Liaison Officer position with Centrelink.

There are several migrant-specific services that visit or are available by post or telephone: Community Relations Commission (CRC) in Newcastle and Sydney, DIMIA migration and citizenship visiting service and by telephone for the cost of a local call, English language tuition available by post and telephone, Newcastle and Hunter Migrant Resource Centre (MRC) by 1800 number, recognition of overseas qualifications by post, and TIS by telephone and locally contracted face-to-face interpreters.

Mainstream services provided in Coffs Harbour relevant to AIHE people include a base hospital, a private hospital, primary and extended health care as part of the Mid North Coast Area Health Service, community housing and the Department of Housing, income maintenance such as Centrelink, several employment agencies under the Jobs Network, two TAFE campuses, and a campus of Southern Cross University.

Cox (1996, p. 3) presents the dilemmas of the investment in settlement services.

Should new immigrants be provided with a range of services in addition to those generally available, to facilitate their settlement and ability to contribute to the country, or would that create resentment among the local born and trigger off a community relations problem? Are settlement services most effectively provided through separate agencies developed for this purpose, or would that segregation be ultimately detrimental to immigrants and result in a failure of society's mainstream agencies to respond adequately to the increasingly culturally pluralistic society? Is it economically and socially advantageous to invest heavily in meeting all immigrants' settlement needs, or would immigrants benefit from having to take the initiative in building a satisfactory niche for themselves in the new society?

Cox (1996) is of the opinion that society should fund mainstream settlement services and continue to provide migrant-specific and ethno-specific settlement services. Cox (1996, p. 8) cites what the Galbally Report (1978, p. 48) had to say. 'Migrant problems do not

“belong” to migrants alone, their resolution impinges on the larger society and on the adaptability/sensitivity of its institutions’.

The priorities and planning of settlement service delivery are incorporated in the National Integrated Settlement Strategy (NISS). The NISS (DIMA 1999, Fact Sheet 69) is a framework of committees, representatives from immigrant and humanitarian entrant bodies, and working parties, formed to coordinate the provision of settlement services to meet needs. However, the distribution of the general population affects the access to general services. Economies of scale prevail because tax dollars to fund services are limited, meaning it is more financially economical and viable to provide services to a population base of a sufficient size. Shu et al (1996, p. 46, also p. 56) agree about a country such as Australia:

[if there is] a pattern of highly concentrated population in one area, and highly dispersed population in other areas, then there are likely to be wide discrepancies in the services available to different members of the community.

Coffs Harbour would be one of those places because the number of IHE from NESCs and AIHE people are under-represented in regional centres.

There is a debate as to whether there should be ethno-specific and migrant-specific services or just mainstream services. The argument for ethno-specific and migrant-specific services is that IHE people have special needs that specific services should meet. The argument against them is that they are a duplication of services, and these two types of services do not encourage IHE people into the broader Australian society. Further, the government does not wish to be seen to be providing taxpayer-funded advantages to IHE people. In addition, it can be argued that

mainstream services already exist, and the workforce in these services has the responsibility to provide a culturally appropriate service to any clientele. These services create contact between IHE and mainstream communities. The arguments against mainstream services are that their delivery of culturally appropriate services is just an add-on to their monocultural and assimilationist service and delivery, and that mainstreams services cannot always adequately address special needs of IHE people (Doyle 2001, p. 61).

Page (1992, p. 3) stated that 'All permanent residents of Australia who have need of publicly funded services are equally entitled to access to those services'. Doyle (1993, p. 6) states his opinion:

My observations in Australia are that the generalist (mainstream) system of agencies is seen as having, or being able to develop, a generalist capacity to meet most of the service needs of members of racial (mainly Aboriginal) and ethnic (non-English speaking people) minority groups in Australia. This is a suspect assumption, as so-called mainstream agencies cannot, or will not, adequately change to serve all the needs of cultural and racial populations.

The government, usually DIMIA, funds most migrant-specific services. These services in general cater for IHE people or for IHE people from specific cultures or language backgrounds. Page (1992, p.4) outlines their purpose:

The role of special services now is to specialise in strategies which link individuals and groups into the whole range of services available to Australian residents. Thus, special services must take as much account of what a particular group has in common with other groups as of what is different about the group. This refocussing may help us overcome a problem, which has bedevilled us over the past decade or so. Special services need to be recognised as part of the mainstream capacity in a particular field and not as alternatives to the mainstream.

There needs to be a flexible balance between funding migrant-specific or mainstream settlement services because some of IHE population's needs differ from the needs of the Australian-born.

Therefore, for some needs, IHE people require migrant-specific settlement services to be funded. The NSW Settlement Plan, 2000-2002 outlines this balance (NICOMS 2000) by dividing clients into three target client groups: firstly, humanitarian entrant people who have complex needs that cannot be met by mainstream services; secondly, recent arrival immigrant people with limited English language skills and groups with special needs who experience difficulty in accessing mainstream services independently; and thirdly, people from culturally and linguistically diverse backgrounds. DIMA (2001, p. 9) outlines three client groups of IHE people who would use settlement services. Firstly, skilled immigrant people are expected to use mainstream services with no specific settlement services from the government. Secondly, family immigrant people are expected to receive help from family and sponsors and, to some extent, government. Thirdly, humanitarian entrant people can expect to access government assistance and government funded services.

Mostly, availability of settlement services, ethno-specific, migrant-specific, or mainstream do not have an impact on where people choose to live. Darcy (1991, p. 8) agrees:

Except for the direct provision of on-arrival accommodation, previous studies have indicated that the location of formal settlement services does not attract people to an area above other important issues such as housing, family and work. It appears to act as a reinforcing factor rather than a determiner of locational choices.

Another factor to consider is that new arrivals may not use settlement services because of 'fear and not knowing about the services' (Schram, and Reid Mandell 2000, p. 287; also Jupp 2002, p. 97) or because of the plethora of changing services and entitlements and how to access them (Doyle 2001, p. 61). The settlement services in regional centres are fewer, and there are

particular problems with service delivery. Drew (1990), in her study of settlement services (both mainstream and migrant-specific) in Gympie and Mt Isa, finds some interesting problems with settlement services. The migrant-specific organisations may not meet IHE people's needs for the following reasons: lack of professional staff, lack of resources, and grants given without consulting ethnic communities and resulting in the creation of agencies designed to meet non-existent needs, and workers working in isolation (p. 57). For mainstream services, Drew (1990, p. 60) finds two reasons for the low-level or non-existent provision of services to IHE people.

In places where the number of migrants is large, denying their existence becomes impossible. To justify their non use, two arguments are often used. In relation to ethnic groups who have lived in places for a long time, the argument that they are established, adjusted and that they don't have any problems is put forward. In relation to new groups, particularly Asian, there is the opinion that they have extended families and internal networks, are self sufficient and don't need organisational help.

Sjostedt (1993) writes about matching services to the social needs in rural centres. While her study does not deal specifically with settlement services, it is relevant to this research. She argues (p. 60) 'Apart from the lack of funding allocations to rural areas, the biggest single problem lies in the attempt to fit urban policies and service delivery models to rural areas'. To resolve this, she suggests good practice is consulting and involving the people for whom the service is provided, and this is as applicable to IHE people as it is to the services for the general populace. IHE people can have specific difficulties relating to culture and language, and in regional centres there are problems that arise from isolation. For example, there is a lack of public transport facilities in regional centres.

Bell and Cooper (1995, pp. 1, 3-4) make two points about services. The first point is that by monitoring settlement patterns of internal migration, the delivery of settlement services and programs for the overseas born can be effectively targeted. The second point is that the composition of the Australian population in any area, centre, or region changes even if the total population numbers remain close to the same. The two important implications for the provisions of services are that people living in regional centres (particularly AIHE people) should be consulted and involved and that metropolitan based services should be modified to fit the target group in regional centres.

Apart from the government controlling and determining how the funding is spent for settlement services, and not consulting and involving IHE people, there is another barrier to providing more responsive settlement services. Jamrozik, Boland, and Urquhart (1995. p. 205) say that non-government services helping professionals are educated in the dominant group's values and norms, and that the service provided to IHE clients is monoculturally biased.

Thus, settlement services fit metropolitan centres more than they do regional centres because they have been designed to suit metropolitan centres. In addition, settlement services do not seem to have a role in attracting IHE people to regional centres but may play a role in helping IHE people to settle and maintain their presence in regional centres if the settlement services are designed to meet their needs. This has not happened to a large extent in Coffs Harbour, as two examples demonstrate: Firstly, the limited government funded English classes to increase AIHE people's level of English significantly beyond functional English; Secondly, the

CSS worker is only half-time and can only work with newly arrived IHE people from targeted countries.

Multiculturalism

The evolution of settlement history in Australia has involved a movement from assimilation policy to integration to multiculturalism. These three policies are about the interrelations and interactions among the new arrival IHE people and the people already resident in Australia, how the Australians treated new arrivals, and how the new arrivals were expected to behave.

The first phase was settlement history in Australia was assimilation. 'The policy of assimilation spans the period up to the mid 1960s and was based on the belief in the benefits of homogeneity and a vision of Australia as a racially pure Caucasian nation' (National Multicultural Advisory Council [NMAC] 1999, p. 20). Assimilation impelled new arrivals to speak English and to be no different from the host or receiving society (Jupp 2002, p. 22). The new arrivals were expected to give up their culture, customs, language, and traditions (Jureidini 2000, p. 200). However, 'English language opportunities were largely insufficient, and the settlement of most migrants depended on the assistance of family and other community resources....' (Hollinsworth 1998, p. 243). Assimilation existed to make sure that immigration did not significantly change the receiving society (Castles and Davidson 2000, p. 61).

The next period was integration, a transitional phase from assimilation to multiculturalism (NMAC 1999, p. 22).

Integration, in the broad sense, does not imply minority cultures giving way totally to a dominant culture. Instead, they influence the dominant culture which is modified to some extent by the newer cultures. Integration, however, does not encourage ongoing cultural diversity - everyone is expected to adopt the integrated culture.

Integration could be characterised as tolerating people's customs and differences to an extent and even borrowing some aspects of their culture such as dance, food, and song (Jureidini 2000, p. 201). Integration was gentler than assimilation, but 'the result was still assumed to be an homogenous society with shared core values' (Hollinsworth 1998, p. 244).

Multiculturalism was the most recent phase and came about during the 1970s at the end of the WAP. Multiculturalism became official government policy in 1989. Multiculturalism 'was viewed both as a description and also as a prescription in the form of a policy for managing the consequences of cultural diversity in the interests of the individual and society as a whole' (Cope, Castles, and Kalantzis 1995, p. 3). Multiculturalism is still with us. It underwent a review in 1998-1999 by NMAC, and was reaffirmed (NMAC 1999). NMAC (1999, p. 25) (also Jupp 2002, p. 101) talks about multiculturalism as follows:

In other words, the inclusion and participation of migrants and their descendants in Australian life occurs naturally and, within the bounds of our democratic and legal framework, the individual whether migrant or Australian-born must be free to choose which customs to retain and which to adopt (NMAC 1999, p. 25).

The eventual abolition of the WAP came about because changes on the world scene influenced changes to Australian immigration policy. The USA was going through a period of broadening its immigration policies and dealing with issues of race relations. The major colonial countries of Europe were divesting themselves of colonies in Africa, Asia, and South America. There was change on a

world scale towards more liberalisation and inclusion. Undoubtedly, the policies of the immigration program have influenced settlement attitudes and policies. Multiculturalism and settlement are both viewed differently from how they have been previously viewed, with a shift in emphasis from assimilation to multiculturalism and from class to homogenisation, as the following quotation demonstrates.

The shift in language for reading cultural difference and formulating settlement and welfare policy was from a unified 'family of nation' to multiculturalism; from disadvantage to difference; from concern with general socio-economic issues in which migrants were implicated (a Laborist view of reform) to the paradigm of cultural difference in which cultural dissonance is the main problem; from a social theory of class as the primary social division to a social theory of multiple social divisions, none of which have priority. Ethnic groups in the new multiculturalism were implicitly viewed, not as class-divided, but as homogeneous. (Cope et al 1995, p. 34).

Multiculturalism came about as a necessity to incorporate non-British IHE people into Australian society (Jupp 2002, pp. 84, 101) as more IHE people arrived and settled in Australia. Multiculturalism can be seen as the inclusion of people from overseas or cultural pluralism or the 'United Colours of Benneton' (Hage 1999, p. 69). Lopez (2000, p. 3) describes this type of multiculturalism as poly-ethnic, 'that Australia is an ethnically and culturally diverse, multilingual society'. The public also sees multiculturalism as divisive, with special treatment for IHE people, and taking away from Australian culture and identity, and ghettoisation (Jupp 2002, pp. 112, 113).

Multiculturalism (the official government policy) is about '...everyone would work together towards common purposes in exchange for common treatment' (Jupp 2002, p. 85), but without an emphasis on cultural relativism as in the USA or cultural maintenance as in Canada (pp. 84-85). Multiculturalism is more than just large numbers of overseas born people from other cultures living in Australia. Multiculturalism is also about English as

the national language and Australia's system of government and legal justice remaining intact. van Krieken, Smith, Habibis, McDonald, Haralambos, and Holborn (2000, p. 517) outline the federal government's 1989 multiculturalism policy as the right to maintain and express cultural identity, social justice, and the need to maintain and develop skills of all Australians. Thus, multiculturalism in Australia is cultural diversity within one country, but not sameness.

There is inherent racism in the policy and practice of multiculturalism because it is still about tolerance and inclusion, which can be withdrawn or redefined anytime, and the dominant group is maintaining control on its terms. Lopez (2000, p. 3) describes one of these views towards to multiculturalism, 'an ideological/normative concept about the way Australian society is or should be organised'. Multiculturalism is about the dominant group's control of the agenda, cultural landscape, and power of which the overseas born, especially the people from NESCs, are on the receiving end. Multiculturalism still perpetuates social inequality and exclusion through 'new' racism (Hollinsworth 1998, p. 273) because IHE people are not on the same footing.

Multiculturalism has not been universally applauded. Multiculturalism is a way of obscuring social inequality by flying the flag of inclusion and plurality. Quinn (2000 p. 109) says that multiculturalism has not examined the special position of Indigenous people, and multiculturalism does not have sufficient direction to bring about justice within cultural diversity. 'Multiculturalism means giving away power, resources, and dominance, and emphasises difference at the expense of what we have in common' (p. 109). Other authors (Perera 1999, p. 187; Castles and Davidson 2000, p. 149; and Quinn 2000, p. 14, 109)

argue that multiculturalism is cosmetic and has not changed the ethnic/racial inequities of Australia and of its key institutions, and it should not place its focus so much on individual and overt racism (Hollinsworth 1998, p. 250). An example is the monocultural nature of community welfare, professions, and public administration and as is demonstrated by the admission policies maintained as the requirement of 'certain' professional standards and the cultural make up of members, most of whom are Caucasian (Jamrozik et al 1995, p. 204).

Multiculturalism with its focus on expression and sharing of acceptance, culture, and diversity passes over economic and social inequalities, and this leads to discrimination against IHE people in the workplace (Hollinsworth 1998, p. 250). Social inequality is not so much because of cultural or linguistic disadvantage (Jayasuriya 1991, p. 89 cited in Hollinsworth 1998, p. 251), but because of the dominant group's agenda or controlling power, and social disadvantage is a common feature among immigrant groups (Quinn 2000, p. 14).

A very relevant piece of research about racism in NSW was published by Dunn and McDonald (2001). Dunn and McDonald (2001, pp. 30, 35) conducted three opinion polls in 1994 and 1996 and asked respondents about their agreement or disagreement with 10 statements about migrants, migrants from Asia, Aborigines, and multiculturalism. Respondents were from 16 regions of NSW, of which nine regions were metropolitan, and there were more urban people surveyed than rural people. One poll took place after Pauline Hanson's September 1996 inaugural speech in federal parliament. (Pauline Hanson was initially preselected as a candidate for the Liberal Party to run in the March 1996 federal election, but her preselection was disendorsed because of controversy surrounding

her views about IHE and Aboriginal people.) Three statements from the survey related to multiculturalism. 'The policy of multiculturalism should be abolished' and 22 per cent agreed. 'Migrants should learn to live and behave like the majority of Australians do' and 61 per cent agreed. 'Migrants should not be encouraged to preserve their own culture' and 42 per cent agreed. The second highest agreement for this last statement came from the region of the Mid North Coast (MNC).

This study could be an indication of the view of a significant percentage of the population that the overseas born should fit into the mainstream Australian way of life and the Australian identity. Multiracial and multi-ethnic cosmopolitanism, inclusiveness, and plurality are tolerated, but not immigrant people's own culture and migrant separateness resulting in enclaves.

Again, it is seen that customs and practices that are not acceptable (as defined by the dominant group) are disapproved of because they might prove challenging to the dominant group's agenda and control. The dominant group could even label some practices and customs as menacing or dangerous, but some differences are tolerated and even encouraged. In any case, the strategy is to partition the 'others' from the dominant group, to create an 'us and them' to which the 'them' has to aspire to varying and elusive criteria for entry, controlled by the 'us'.

Rothwell (11 May 02, p. 26) presents how the Australian public has perceived multiculturalism.

Throughout the past decade, three distinct strands have been clearly evident in Australian public opinion on multiculturalism. They are still plain today. There is the leftish, 'enlightened' view that multiculturalism has proved the saving grace of a monocultural, white, Anglo-Celtic Australia, a passport to a new and complex national identity. There is the much more widespread view that multiculturalism has brought with it tangible benefits - it had made big city Australia a brighter, richer place - while also placing strains on the fabric of communal life, introducing into our midst groups with different, even hostile beliefs and values. Lastly there remains a more sceptical, mildly rejectionist current: Australians uncomfortable with change for change's sake, those who live in 'front-line' suburbs and feel swamped by incomers, or those people in regional communities quite estranged from the social engineering adventures of the fast-shifting capitals.

Multiculturalism, as portrayed by the federal government's policy on multiculturalism, is the dominant group's tolerance of IHE people's expression of cultural identity and celebrating diversity within the dominant group's agenda (Jureidini 2000, p. 202). This is couched in terms of inclusion. Castles and Davidson (2000, p. 160) argue that the purpose of multiculturalism through inclusion is to bring about 'integration and cohesion through social policy measures'. Multiculturalism has not addressed institutional and structural racism or economic and social inequalities, just superficial inclusion. Kalantzis (1988, p. 93 cited in Hollinsworth 1998, p. 251) effectively encapsulates the argument: 'Singing and dancing on the dole queue in your community language, happy to be ethnic, does not dismantle racism'. Multiculturalism remains a plank in racist Australian society. Social inequality and exclusion continue.

Discrimination and Racism

Racism is a social construct (Hage 1999, p. 66; Quinn 2000, p. 103; Thomas 1998, p. 41; and van Krieken et al 2000, pp. 511-512). The meaning of racism is contested because racism, as Quinn (2000, p. 103) writes, relates to 'significant power structures and social and economic relations within society' (also Cope et al 1995,

p. 59; Hollinsworth 1998, p. 34) and 'how it is interpreted by humans and the consequences of those interpretations' (Jureidini 2000, p. 193). There is the 'old' racism or racial superiority based on biological differences (Cope et al 1995, p. 58; Jayasuriya 1998, p. 4; Jupp 2002, p. 2; and Jureidini, 2000, p. 193) and lineage and kin solidarity (Popeau 1998, p. 170). Morality can be decided because of physical differences, and the dominant group that is at the top of the hierarchy constructs the hierarchy uncritically and unobjectively (Weeranmanthri 2000, p. 2). While racism based on biology is 'old' racism, this is still how the public largely sees racism (Schram and Reid Mandell 2000, p. 262).

'New' racism is about behaviour, culture and nation, norms, and values that differ from and do not fit in with those from the dominant culture and nation (Jayasuriya 1998, p. 4), and superiority and inferiority among and between groups (Popeau 1998, p. 170). These cultural differences are negatively stereotyped, excluded, and essentialised or labelled 'cultural incompatibility' (Hollinsworth 1998, p. 238). New arrivals are tolerated if they are or become like the dominant group (Perera 1999, pp. 188-189). The result of racism is social exclusion (Hollinsworth 1998, p. 68). The debate about racism, including 'new' racism, like 'old' racism, is controlled by the intolerant, the dominant group, by whiteness, and they determine who comes to Australia and how new arrival IHE people live because the dominant's group capacity to exercise this power has remained the same (Hage 1999, pp. 85-87).

Racism is not only stereotyping or abusing people or refusing employment. There is also institutional and organisational racism (Castles and Davidson 2000, p. 83; Cope et al 1995, pp. 59-60; Doyle 2001, p. 61; Hage 1999, p. 66; Hollinsworth 1998, pp. 55-

58, 201-205; Jureidini 2000, p. 194; Pettigrew 1998, p. 84; Quinn 2000, p. 104; and Schram, and Reid Mandell 2000, pp. 275-276) hidden in bureaucratic and organisational policies and procedures to advantage and disadvantage people. However, Anthias (1992, p. 430) makes an important distinction that 'institutional racism' may be more related to class, gender, etc. and that the outcomes of policies can be racist without the institution necessarily being racist.

The relationship among historical, national, and structural factors has given rise to discrimination and racism towards IHE people at the local level, mainly through economic and social interests and status but labelled and masked along cultural and ethnic lines (de Lepervanche 1984; also Jupp 2002, p. 132). The less powerful are allowed to climb the economic and social ladder and to achieve status bestowed by the more powerful if they conform to the demands of the more powerful. Nevertheless, the system self-perpetuates with new groups of IHE people who will continue to constitute labour. 'The status placement Australians give to foreign settlers varies depending on the social and economic circumstances of both' (de Lepervanche 1984, p. 33).

There are other comments that the literature adds about the contested concept of racism. Place is missing in the construction of racism (Dunn and McDonald 2001, p. 33). Gender is largely missing from Australian studies of ethnic groups, as is race from Australian feminism (Hollinsworth 1998, p. 62). Anthias (1992, p. 432) adds that racism can be homogenised, limiting and only depicting oppressors and the oppressed. The neo-Marxist view of racism, while structural, is more oriented to employment and class, 'manifestations of inter-working-class competition encouraged by the elite (Dunn and McDonald 2001, p. 32).

Racism has different experiences according to ethnicities, gender, and social classes. There are racisms rather than racism. In summary, 'expressions of racism serve to assign power and privilege in society' (Quinn 2000, p. 104).

Racism commonly involves the use of economic, social, and political power by one group over another to discriminate against other groups in the society and to maintain the position (of power) of the dominant group. The dominant group uses ideological and practical processes to emphasise what they perceive as the inherent differences and inferiority of the groups which are dominated (Cope et al 1995, p. 59)

Multiculturalism is a tactic in this 'new' racism. Multiculturalism is about promoting cultural diversity and tolerance, which means to essentialise and to hierarchicalise IHE people's cultural traits, a tool of the New Right to use 'new' racism (Popeau 1998, p. 175). Hansonism is an example of the New Right using 'new' racism.

Pauline Hanson and the One Nation Party (also referred to as Hansonism) have gained notoriety for being racist or at least for expressing racist views and having racist based policies. Hansonism might be one gauge of racism in Australia. Hansonism is pertinent to this research for several reasons: it reached its peak in 1998 especially at the Queensland state election in June 1998, seven to nine months before the interviews for this research were held with respondents and key informants; Pauline Hanson expressed her views about AIHE people in federal parliament; and Hansonism's greater electoral support in regional Australia.

Hanson's position was basically that, as all Australians were equal, there should be no special services for Aborigines or immigrants; that multiculturalism was encouraging minority cultures to stay out of the mainstream; that preference for Asians was changing the traditional character of the Australian population; and that governments did not listen to such complaints and, indeed, tried to repress them. (Jupp 2002, p. 129)

In the March 1996 federal election, she ran as an independent in the lower house electorate of Oxley, south west of Brisbane, Queensland and won. Not much was heard from her until her inaugural speech in federal parliament in September 1996, which gained her national and international media attention: both condemnation and support from the voting public because of certain views she presented in this speech. She formed the One Nation Party (ONP) in April 1997, which fielded candidates in the June 1998 Queensland state election, and the party won some seats and again in the Queensland 2001 state election. Pauline Hanson ran as a ONP candidate in the same electorate of Oxley in the October 1998 federal election but lost. She ran as a ONP candidate for the Senate in the October 2001 federal election but was not successful. The ONP was successful in having a candidate elected as a senator from Queensland in the 1998 federal election and another candidate elected as member of the NSW upper house of parliament in the 1999 and 2003 state elections. Additionally, the support for the ONP (primary votes) declined in NSW and nationally from the 1998 federal election to the 2001 federal election. Table 3.2 in Chapter Three presents the figures.

Certainly, people who support and vote for Pauline Hanson and her party, and facsimiles, are always present in society. The numbers of these voters are difficult to estimate, but having a party and a media presence through Pauline Hanson and the ONP for a few years has focussed attention on this segment of the population and society (Jupp 2002, p. 135). Goot (1998, pp. 71-73) has analysed the Pauline Hanson and the ONP occurrence: Electoral support for Pauline Hanson and the ONP comes from older, less educated, men who are usually blue collar workers (also Jupp 2002, p. 135; McManus and Pritchard 2000, p. 390; and van Krieken et al 2000, p. 528). Some of the party's voters live regionally and rurally, but

sometimes in regions adjacent to metropolitan centres. Reynolds (1998, p. 141) says the ONP's support came as much from people who voted for it as from those people who protest voted against the major parties. While a lot of ONP's support comes from Queensland because Pauline Hanson hails from South East Queensland, ONP support also comes from other areas of the country. Support for the party, but not specifically because of Hansonism, also has to do with the reactions of anger and fear of social change and economic restructuring in society and those who have been disadvantaged as a result (also Castles and Davidson 2000, p. 145; Jupp 2002, p. 123).

While there is support for the ONP from people living in regional and rural centres, there is also support from disaffected people living in decaying industrial centres. AIHE and Aboriginal people are held to blame for the rural crisis and poor economic times because supporters and voters of the ONP perceive that the government has undeservedly given AIHE and Aboriginal people jobs or financial assistance. Politicians are also held to blame for unacceptable economic restructuring and social change, so support for the ONP as a protest vote has hurt the Liberal and National parties for whom ONP voters would traditionally vote. Pauline Hanson and the ONP have focussed on and galvanised these factors and turned them into some electoral success. McManus and Pritchard (2000, p. 389) say that Pauline Hanson, the ONP, and supporters have focussed the attention of the media, the politicians, and the public on regional and rural Australia, (also Lockie 2000, p. 15; McManus and Pritchard 2000b, p. 4; and Reynolds 1998, p. 142) because of the major political parties' desertion of rural socialism (Reynolds 1998, p. 144).

Hansonism, of course, is against multiculturalism and does not see multiculturalism as essentialising or hierarchicalising, but white multiculturalists and Hansonites use 'new' racism to maintain a dominant culture. They see IHE people as threatening Australia's lifestyle, standard of living, and public institutions, and conflict will result (Cope et al 1995, pp. 63, 92). Hage's (1999, p. 187) premise takes it a step further. His argument is that Hansonism is more about 'loss of government power with the nation' than race (also Trang 1998, p. 40). Regarding immigration, the problem Hansonism has is the loss of control over who and how many people enter Australia (Hage 1999, p. 188). Therefore, the tolerant (the white multiculturalists) are complicit with the white exclusionists (the Hansonites) who both want to achieve a Caucasian country by different means, of which each group wants to be in control (Hage 1999, pp. 246-247; Perera 1999, p. 189). The privilege of and being Caucasian has not been the subject of much debate and research (Fine et al 1997 cited in Quinn 2000, p. 117).

From a different angle, van Krieken et al (2000, p. 529) approach the issue of the dominant group wanting to maintain control. They do not disagree with Goot's (1998) argument of economic disaffection, but their opinion focuses more on Hansonism aligning itself with the dominant group's agenda (not alongside the white multiculturalists but to achieve the same end) of wanting to keep Australia's traditional (Caucasian) identity and values. This cuts across class boundaries, and Hansonism uses 'new' racism to achieve this. Lockie (2000, pp. 28-29) exemplifies this in the current discourses (Hansonism included) about the 'bush and the rural crisis', which has left out Landcare, Native Title, and women in agriculture (non-farmers, non-Caucasians, and non-males), and

these movements have contributed more to regional and rural Australia in the long-term than has Hansonism.

People use discrimination and prejudice to manipulate other people, but Swim, Cohen, and Hyers (1998, p. 38) conducted research to discover how the targets of discrimination and prejudice manage these. A few strategies are anticipating encounters to help avoid these situations, and as a result recipients of discrimination and prejudice could be more able to assess a set of circumstances as discriminatory and prejudicial or potentially so (p. 44). There is the danger, though, of stereotyping situations as discriminatory and prejudicial when they are not. Recipients respond to anticipated discriminatory and prejudicial situations through assertiveness and non-assertiveness (p. 50), but these responses are mediated by individual differences and situational factors (pp. 52-53). Branscombe and Ellemers (1998, pp. 256-258) outline the coping strategies of behavioural, cognitive, and emotional responses. There is a cost to responding or not responding such as group change or conflict, being labelled, letting behaviour be perpetuated, or rejection. One important point of the study of Swim et al (1998, p. 54) is the varying circumstances that affect how recipients of discrimination and prejudice view these circumstances.

Differences between and within target groups will likely emerge as a result of differences in the quality and quantity of interpersonal relationships with those who are prejudiced against their group, the visibility of one's stigmatising condition, and the extent to which the target of prejudice identifies with her or his social group or agrees with others' prejudice against her or his group. Differences between and within groups could also affect one's emotional reactions and coping responses.

While discrimination and racism are socially constructed by the dominant group in terms of control and power along the lines of class, culture, gender, and privilege, the recipients, also called the oppressed, also construct discrimination and racism. Doing

something about racism is similar to doing something about discrimination and prejudice, in that there is a cost. Small and emerging communities of IHE people resident in Australian metropolitan centres, with accents and visibly identifiable as IHE people, found difficulty in combating racism (Race Discrimination Commissioner [RDC] - Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commissioner - [HREOC] 1999, pp. 33-34). Official methods of complaining, such as to the police or other organisations were not seen as helpful because these bodies would do nothing or were racist themselves, maybe not overtly but covertly and perhaps structurally. Another reason given was the lack of knowledge of the avenues open to the aggrieved. IHE people from small and emerging communities reported covert and subtle forms of racism such as discrimination in public places or the workplace and even structural abuse found within institutions (RDC 1999, pp. 8, 31-32).

Research by Dunn and McDonald (2001) examining racism in NSW has already been referred to regarding what the research discovered about NSW respondents' views on multiculturalism. The same piece of research asked about racism. Nearly 60 per cent of respondents felt there were too many immigrant people from certain regions of the world (pp. 34, 35). Nearly 90 per cent of respondents 'felt there were too many migrants from Asia' (pp. 34, 35), almost evenly divided along urban/rural lines. Although on the other hand, only a fifth of respondents thought immigration selection policy of IHE people should be on the basis of colour, country of origin, or religion (pp. 34, 35).

It is not clear if Australia is a racist society or if Australians are racist. Research by the RDC (2001) and Dunn and McDonald (2001) have documented acts, attitudes, and behaviours of racism. Hansonism is possibly an indicator of racist attitudes. Hollinsworth

(1998, pp. 4-5) asks the question 'Are Australians racist?'. He says that it is a hard question to answer because while there are many incidents of racism there are many incidents of the opposite. Surveys trying to measure racism are of limited use because there is little connection between respondents' answers and behaviour (p. 5). He rejects the individually oriented pathology model of racism and asks what were people's actions rather than intentions (pp. 5-6). He then leads to structural discrimination.

What about situations in which particular racial groups are routinely and repeatedly disadvantaged by requirements or expectations which may appear reasonable but have unequal or unjust outcomes? Can ordinary people 'just doing their jobs' be racist? (P. 6)

Hollinsworth (1998, p. 6) points out that the focus should not be on individuals and acts of racism, but on the broader aspects of racism such as inequality, political argument, and representations of national identity underpinned by the political and social structures of society. There are racist people in Australia. There are racism and racisms in Australia. These are hard to measure because racism, racisms, and racists are contested concepts and terms. At what point is someone racist or at what point is something racist, and at what point do enough occurrences and such people make a racist society? However, in viewing a racist society in another way, the more important statement is Australian society (structurally rather than individually) is racist in that the dominant culture controls and defines the power and the landscape in which racism and racisms occur. The other (the essentialised and hierarchicalised people) is constructed as biologically different and culturally different from the dominant group. The result is social inequality and exclusion.

Finally, Hage's (1999, p. 247) ending of his book closes this section with a powerful statement:

In the face of this destructive White tendency, some questions need to be asked: Are Whites still good for Australia? Have they been living in ghettos for too long? Are they dividing Australia? Do we need to have an assimilation program to help ease them into the multicultural mainstream? Clearly, it's time for Third World-looking Australians to do the 'worrying about the nation' number. And let's face it, there's plenty to worry about.

Employment

Employment is an important factor in settlement. Some of the reasons that Australia accepts immigrant people include filling jobs and taking people with certain skills that are in demand and for whom the taxpayers of Australia do not have to pay for their education or training. There are also other unskilled and semi-skilled jobs that cannot or will not be filled by Australians that IHE people fill. In tougher economic times, the public debate moves to how many immigrant people should be accepted because they are seen to be taking jobs from Australian residents. 'The needs of the labour market and the effect on the economy' are one of the contentious issues of the immigration program (Jamrozik et al 1995, p. 204). The other general argument put forward is that the immigration program costs more money than it earns. However, Jonas (March 2001, p. 4) says the opposite:

Immigration stimulates the economy, including through increased tax revenue, the contribution of funds from overseas, participation by migrants in employment, increased consumption of food and household goods and services and spending on housing.

The federal government since 1996 has allowed more immigrant people to enter Australia under the Skilled component than the Family component of the immigration program because of more emphasis put on age, English language, and skills as criteria for entry to Australia (DIMIA 2002, p. 61; Hollinsworth 1998, p. 241; and Jureidini 2000, pp. 204-205). New arrivals have higher

employment rates than some of their predecessors. 'Of the 92,272 settlers arriving in Australia in 1999-2000, 54.3 per cent were in the workforce prior to migration' (DIMIA 2002, p. 61). This figure includes New Zealanders who are settlers but not immigrant people.

In August 2001, the Australian labour force totalled 9,768,200 people: 7,400,900 Australian-born and 2,367,300 overseas born. Of the overseas born, 1,383,600 people were from non-English speaking countries (NESC) and 983,700 were from the main English speaking countries (MESC). (DIMIA 2002, p. 63).

Of the migrants in the workforce, 94.2 per cent of MESC migrants and 92.3 per cent of NESC migrants were employed. This compares with 93.5 per cent in employment for the Australian-born. The Australian-born are more strongly represented in the workforce than migrants. The participation rates of Australian-born men and women are 74.7 and 59.3 per cent respectively. The participation rates of NESC men and women are 63.4 and 43.9 per cent respectively and for MESC men and women 72.7 and 55.2 per cent respectively. (DIMIA 2002, p. 63).

In August 2001, the unemployment rate for all people born overseas was 7.0 per cent, compared with 6.5 per cent for those born in Australia. However, people from English speaking countries had a lower rate (5.8 per cent) than the Australian-born and people from non-English speaking countries had a higher rate (7.7 per cent). (DIMIA 2002, p. 64).

Obtaining and keeping a job is a key component of settlement. Fluency in English is important to that end (Burnley et al 1997, p. 127; Jupp 2002, p. 153), but there are other factors as well: age, contacts, employment history, familiarity with the Australian labour market, recognition of overseas qualifications, and length of residency in Australia. External factors such as the labour market and other economic conditions would affect the rate of employment of IHE people. Wearing (2001, p. 152) says that the control of the labour market is now less in the hands of the government in terms of redistribution or lessening inequalities. IHE people will be more affected than others in the present rugged labour market with the focus on the individual.

Labour market experiences of both the Australian-born and the overseas born are strongly shaped by factors at the local level interacting with national and global economic change, changes in the political and social regulation of labour markets, and significant shifts in government policy aimed at reducing budget deficits (Burnley et al 1997, p. 128). Factors, such as the extent of Hansonism in Australia, or in particular regions of Australia, could contribute to discrimination or racism and could have a bearing on the employment rate.

The above discussion fits the contextual view of social work that employment is a part of settlement, an interchange between the IHE person and the context. By analysing multiculturalism using a structural view, the dominant group controls the terms of tolerance that is extended and decides who comes to Australia, who obtains jobs, and what kind of jobs. This may be considered discrimination, some of it legal and legitimate such as discrimination on the grounds of abilities such as employment history, fluency in English, and qualifications and skills. However, legal discrimination on these grounds can be manipulated. For example, very little of the employment history has taken place in Australia, English is spoken differently and is hard to understand, qualifications and skills are not quite the same as Australian ones. There is illegal discrimination based on personal qualities such as accent, appearance, country of origin, gender, religion, etc. Jamrozik et al (1995, p. 91) argue that the dominant group has an influence on the employment rate of IHE people:

It is clear that these arguments have not been concerned solely with the issue of 'what kinds of skills were needed in the labour market?', but very much with the issue of 'whose interests will be affected if certain skills were imported?'

McAllister, Hwang, Saenz, Aguirre, White, Moreno, Guo, Waters, Espenshade, Patsiorkovsky, Fugita, and O'Brien (1995) take a different angle. The employment rate of IHE people in Australia does not depend as much on the competitive labour markets or employer discrimination as often thought, but rather on the migration itself. Firstly, family, occupational, and social contacts are lost when migrating. Secondly, establishing a new home in a new country takes time away from finding work, moving up the occupational ladder, or studying. This second factor is exacerbated where there are another culture, dependent family, and a new language.

A third point of view finds that the employment rate is affected by the attributes of the new arrivals. Richardson, Robertson, and Illsley (2001, p. 16) studied employment (earnings, employment, non-employment, and unemployment) (p. 17) as part of the settlement experience of 'two different cohorts of migrants, followed over a period of up to three years' (p. 17). The two cohorts arrived six years apart. A total 43 per cent of both cohorts had Asia as their birthplace (p. 20). This is similar to the percentage of AIHE people who have arrived in the last few years, under Australia's immigration program. Half the principal applicants for migration under the Skilled category of both cohorts were male and the other half was female. Under the Family category, there were more than twice as many female spouses than male spouses. The data do not separate arrivals according to whether they settled in regional or metropolitan centres. Thus, this study has some relevance to this research.

The latter cohort did better on all measures of employment and earnings, but it was unclear whether this was because of a better labour market or because of the more skills focus of the

immigration program and removal of social welfare benefits (p. 18). During the time that the two cohorts arrived, unemployment fell from 9 per cent to 6.5 per cent and employment rose by 16 per cent (p. 16). This led to a higher rate of employment for cohort two (p. 46).

The unemployment rate for cohort one (except for the humanitarian entrant people) fell noticeably over the three and a half year period after arrival, almost to that of the unemployment rate for the general Australian workforce (p. 49). There was also little difference by gender (p. 49).

Over the three waves of interviews for cohort one, fluency in English remained the single largest stated difficulty in finding work, but cohort two had 'better English language skills and more education' (p. 22). The second largest stated difficulty in finding work was the lack of jobs (p. 56). Both the fluency in English and lack of jobs rated lower for cohort two (p. 57). Discrimination did not rate highly for either cohort (p. 57).

Cohort one did draw benefits when becoming eligible after the first six months but quickly moved to employment (p. 33). Cohort two was not eligible for social welfare benefits during the first two years after arrival, and it did not seem that they took on jobs that fell below their skill level (p. 44). The authors offer three explanations: Firstly, that applicants were more self-selective about who migrated in cohort two because of the increased waiting time to be eligible to claim for social welfare benefits; Secondly, the immigration program was more targeted in the areas of employment skills and English language; and, Thirdly, the total immigration program intake fell over the total arrival period of the two cohorts (p. 82).

Regarding gender, 'men are much more likely to be employed than women in all visa groups' (p. 94).

The advantages of being fluent in English, of being male and the primary applicant, of having visited Australia and of being employed prior to migration and of being younger are all similar for the two cohorts. The effects of all of these variables are significant for both cohorts and have similar magnitudes. (p. 96).

It would seem that the changed attributes of the new arrival IHE people made the difference in the employment rate rather than the changes in the labour market. Different IHE people were attracted to Australia because of changes made to the selection criteria of the immigration program.

Birrell and Jupp (2000, pp. 11-13) studied the records of benefit and pension recipients against 1996 ABS census data for overseas born people. Thus, the authors were able to make calculations for welfare-recipient rates by time of arrival in Australia, birthplace, and gender. Excluded from the data was the visa category of arrival. These data also pre-date the government's two-year minimum waiting period to be eligible to collect social welfare benefits and pensions for new arrival immigrant people, except humanitarian entrant people.

Overall, 'the overseas born have slightly lower welfare-recipient rates than do the Australian-born for each age group' (Birrell and Jupp 2000, p. 18). In more detail, rates were higher for new arrival IHE people despite skill levels in spoken English (p. 18). The rates were lower for those IHE people who spoke English well and had resided in Australia for a long time (pp. 19-20). The rates were higher for older men and women who did not speak English well, when compared to the Australian-born (pp. 24-25). Finally, rates

were higher for women than for men in the same age groups (pp. 22, 25).

While the overall unemployment rate for the Asia-born labour force participants was higher than the Australian-born, there was great diversity within the group, with several Asian birthplace groups experiencing unemployment rates only slightly above those of the Australian-born. Considering the relatively short period of residence of these communities in Australia, they are clearly doing well to have such low rates of unemployment. People with poor English language skills experience greater problems finding work than those who speak English well. People entering Australia as humanitarian entrant people or through the family reunion scheme are more likely than other new arrivals to have poor English language skills, so it is not surprising that the rate of unemployment is relatively high among these groups. (McNamara and Coughlan 1997, p. 313).

Discrimination is clearly the basis here, some of it legal and legitimate such as employment history, fluency in English, and qualifications, yet there is illegal discrimination on the grounds of accent, appearance, country of origin, gender, religion, etc. Jamrozik et al (1995, p. 91) argue that the dominant group has an influence on the employment rate of IHE people.

Clearly, the increased employability attributes of the IHE people helped them find work. The changes to the entry criteria and heavier focus on English language proficiency and qualifications/skills have made it easier for new arrivals to find work. However, the dominant group has also set the tone and terms for which Australia accepts or rewards with entry and jobs.

BELONGINGNESS

Belongingness, in the main, is the sense of home and place. It would be assumed that IHE people who have settled in Australia would feel they belonged to Australia or to the place where they were living in Australia, but this is not necessarily the case. Belongingness is not only attributed to a place. Belongingness ensues because of settlement having occurred: an outcome of settlement. Belongingness was an unclear concept in the literature, but the literature did emphasise the overall importance of belongingness (Branscombe and Ellemers 1998, p. 251; Siegrist 2000, p. 1288).

The literature, except for Barnes (1999, p. 137), did not account for or predict belongingness as an important aspect of settlement. Belongingness, as used in this research, means a feeling of attachment to a country, culture, family, locality, oneself, place or several places, religion, or town. After the respondents were asked about their settlement experience, they were asked where they thought they belonged. The consideration and understanding of belongingness, then, are necessary to understand settlement more fully.

The section looks at the construction of the belongingness literature: what is belongingness, belongingness among the overseas born, and then belongingness in a classic piece of research literature concerning an Australian rural centre: Smalltown (Dempsey 1990).

In the literature, there little no agreement on what belongingness is, but neither is there strong contradiction. Rather, the literature reflects aspects of belongingness that together constitute an

incomplete picture. Pettigrew (1998, p. 78) offers a narrow definition of belongingness as people sharing a national culture, language, and religion.

If belongingness is part of the individual, then (Bollen and Hoyle 1990, p. 482) separate it out as the part of cohesion that 'emphasizes cognition' (p. 497). However, there is no consensus on what constitutes cohesion (Bollen and Hoyle 1990, pp. 480, 482; Cope et 1995, pp. 44, 86). While belongingness might be the cognitive component of cohesion, morale is the affective component of cohesion (Bollen and Hoyle 1990 p. 497). Belongingness and morale are correlated but might not occur at the same level at the same time.

Belongingness is also thought not to depend only on whether people belong interpersonally or collectively, but belongingness is also constituted by the need of people to belong (Gardner, Pickett, and Brewer 2000, p. 491). Additionally, people belong to groups (Giorgas 2000, p. 2) and other things for varying and shifting degrees for belongingness. These levels of belongingness have a bearing on how people see their social world (Gardner et al 2000, p. 492). Thus, people make their belongingness, and they have a need to belong.

Siegrist (2000, p. 1288) identifies three components of a 'favorably responsive social environment: self-efficacy, self-esteem, and self-integration or belonging'. If one or more of these components is not sustained then strain and stress could lead to damaging health behaviour (p. 1291). Similarly, Ornstein and Sobel (1987, pp. 4, 5) speculate that there is a relationship between stress on people's immune system and health and their connection with their larger social environment. They do not explain the nature of

belongingness but acknowledge it and argue its importance to health. The emphasis is on people to construct their own belongingness. Branscombe and Ellemers (1998) provide a very poignant quotation that illustrates belongingness and its importance: 'In other words, feeling accepted by a social group--either the minority or dominant group--appears to be critically important for well-being' (p. 251).

There is also belongingness literature concerning people who migrate. Home is a part of belongingness, a place or space, be this a building such as a house or a place such as country where a person feels secure and has control over who enters, stays, and the rules of the place (Castles and Davidson 2000, p. 130). IHE people have to go through this again. They need to construct a new home among new people, the host society. An extension of home building is the concept of place making. Place making goes further, making the wider environment more familiar with customs and habits. This could be landmarks, different uses for public spaces, and signs (Castles and Davidson 2000, p. 131).

Most of the literature indicates that belongingness is something individuals can and must feel; otherwise, there are consequences for health. This ignores the role of the external aspects. Individuals might not want to construct their belongingness or might not be able to as easily as the literature signifies. There is some literature that shows belongingness as contingent upon the context, the host society or country.

There is also belongingness to civic society and the elements that make up civil society, rather than belongingness to a place or being defined by birthplace or other such affiliations. Citizenship is a formal process, swearing allegiance to a country. Citizenship is also

the civil, political, and social rights including health care and education, which are available to residents of a country (Anderson 2000, p. 387). This view of belongingness means actively participating in what civic society is offering, 'civic engagement' in 'sociopolitical terms' (Pakulski and Tranter 2000, p. 3). Dudley, Robison, and Taylor (1999, p. 432) echo this as 'one comes to belong through participation in the procedures of democratic practice, ie through the practice of citizenship'.

The literature overall defines belongingness and the achievement of belongingness as the need for the individual to interact with his/her social environment (Cox 1989, p. 41), which is important psychologically and health-wise. The literature then acknowledges the environment has to be conducive for belongingness to happen, ie sociopolitical rights, but that this is not enough. The individual with the ability and need for belongingness must actively engage in what civic society has to offer, for the person to feel belongingness.

Allon (2000, pp. 277, 286) takes belongingness a step further. She acknowledges that deterritorialisation, history, and place are important to understand where belongingness occurs, the traditional view of belongingness. The important question she poses is how is belongingness constructed especially given the many and rapid changes in the world because it has become so contested, dislodged, and transient. Allon (2000) is talking about the individual's construction of belongingness within an increasingly hard to define world. The traditional notion of belongingness (home or place) is now not enough to be able to construct belongingness adequately. This fits with the imperfect concept of belongingness that the literature portrays.

Belongingness does not discount feelings, but the constructive view of belongingness would accommodate feelings. Read (1996) provides a discussion about feelings attached to belongingness. A freeway was planned to go through the suburb of Beecroft in north west Sydney in the mid 1990s. 'No resident was consulted about their feelings about the loss of a building....' (p. 185) out of 100 residences inspected by the commissioner conducting hearings about people who would lose their homes. Their belongingness was not just about home ownership and forced relocation. People would be compensated to buy or build houses and for the inconvenience of shifting. These people's belongingness was also about their feelings of attachment, where they belonged, what was home, and their loss.

Let us turn to some constructs of belongingness in the literature regarding immigrant people. Belongingness of immigrant people could be measured by their identity. Waitt, Galea, and Rawstorne (2001) researched the lived and symbolic identity of Maltese immigrants (a not so recent wave of immigrant people to Australia and the peak was reached in 1981 (Jupp 2002, p. 24) and second generation Maltese born in Australia. Waitt et al (2001) find that the symbolic identity remained constant regardless of whether the immigrant people lived in concentrated areas, but the lived identity waned for those Maltese living in an area with less concentration of Maltese, especially for the second generation (p. 89). Belongingness seemed to be the identity of their cultural background in Australia rather than culture, life in Malta, people, or places.

Baldassar (1997) studied Italian immigrant people (a not so recent wave of immigrant people to Australia) who lived in Perth but were from San Fior, Italy. Perth became home, but San Fior became their

'shrine to be visited for cultural and spiritual renewal' (p. 89), a shifting centre. Their belongingness was to neither place and to both places.

Peisker (1999) found that Croatians who came to Australia in the 1960s drew their belongingness from the people they knew, from their village, and from their upbringing. This common place of origin gave them a common ethnicity (p. 355). The issues of the newer arrivals from Croatia in the 1980s and 1990s were quite different, probably less about belongingness in the sense of place or home. Their issues were 'integration, professional affirmation, challenge and intercultural awareness and learning....' (p. 357) rather than country of origin or ethnicity. The older wave Croatian migrants were also more working class than the newer arrivals who were more middle class or professional, because of changes in economies in the last 20 years and Australia's immigration program that is more expensive to access and more skills based and focussed.

Giorgas (2000) studied six groups of European post-war immigrant people. What she is describing is belongingness, something that gives them a baseline, an anchor, or something against which to define themselves.

An ethnic community provides immigrants with a sense of familiarity and protects them from discrimination; and secondly, it provides the second generation with alternative economic and social resources....they also provide the second generation with the appropriate economic and moral support necessary for social mobility. (p. 9)

The above research is European and from metropolitan centres and mostly early wave IHE people. Some of their belongingness is defined in terms of 'cultural fossilisation – the preservation of

nostalgia for the homeland at a particular and increasingly distant time' (Jupp 2002, p. 24).

Humanitarian entrant people generally define belongingness differently because they have fled their country of origin and often cannot return. One view of some Vietnamese in their early years in Australia was 'we have our freedom, but no happiness' (Read 1996, p. 33). Read (1996, p. 33) also finds that there were two turning points in the sense of belonging of 'exiles': the death of parents in the country of origin and the birth of children in the receiving country.

Belongingness among the IHE people is constructed by a number of things. Barnes (1999, p. 137) says:

The experience of inclusion within their own ethnic community engenders in people the psychological security of 'belonging', and for most people identification with their ethnic roots remains strong till the end of their life.

Other factors are circumstances, socio-economic class, and upbringing in the country of origin; when they arrived in Australia; how long they have been in Australia; and their sharing of symbolic identity. As well, as literature has shown, belongingness can be to Australia, to the country of origin or a place within it, not quite either, and belongingness is fluid.

A significant piece of literature about belongingness with a specific regional focus is Smalltown (Dempsey 1990). Smalltown, population of 1500, is in Victoria 250 km from Melbourne. Dempsey and researchers spent some time there interviewing and observing the township's inhabitants. What has been written is a very detailed and readable analysis of life and relationships in the township. Belongingness in Smalltown is the sense of attachment to the

township, and is constructed on structural characteristics of the township. Dempsey (1990) portrays the township's residents' sense of belonging.

The primacy of the need to count for something, to feel part of things and to have a sense of emotional security produced by these experiences crosses class boundaries (p. 315).

Their attachment is a measure of the profound importance to human beings of having a sense of place, a feeling, of being part of things, and a sense of community (p. 94).

Firstly, Dempsey (1990, p. 313) found in the Smalltown survey that 'more than four fifths of men and women of all classes report a sense of belonging to this community' and this did not vary according to age (p. 90). The people who did not report a sense of belonging were usually new arrivals, within two years, from metropolitan centres and who did not have the intention of staying or who lived outside the township, in the surrounds, and who socialised with people from another locality or maintained social contact with people where they used to live (p. 92). Even those people who have been marginalised by Smalltown society still reported a sense of belonging to the township (pp. 87, 93-94). This was especially true if they were long-term residents of the township.

There are reasons, drawn from speculation, for a sense of belonging in a township where there are expected ways of doing things - 'the done thing'. Townships and small towns are conservative and sometimes punishing to people who do not conform, but everybody has a role (deserved or not and true or not) and many things (true or not) are known about everyone. Townships and small towns, unlike cities, provide a smaller stage for everyone to be a noticed actor, but there can also be rejection.

Dempsey (1990, pp. 87, 91, 95, 98, 105, 301, 309, 310, 313) argues why belongingness happens. Smalltown has a stable population base, so there are people who can trace their heritage to several generations. The townspeople have a known and shared history. The small population in a confined geographical area obliges people to interact with each other, for example, across age, gender, and social classes. People have to interact with each other in business, public institutions, professionally, socially, recreationally, and in voluntary organisations. They know each other and about each other. There is a strong cross network of friendships, kin, marriages, and neighbours. Strong emotional bonds and cohesion have to be formed because of the demographic and structural factors that create proximity.

The locality being tight-knit also wards off threats (real or not), and threats are sometimes perceived or constructed according to the culture of the township and people's positions of power. Marginalisation and ostracism are powerful tools that are used to deal with threats to conformity and power. Belongingness is something that is prized, and people will go to lengths to acquire and keep it.

Those who are being denied access to economic opportunities or prestigious positions or in some way excluded often lack sufficient economic, social and political power to mount a counter-attack and so find themselves in a marginal position or even forced to withdraw from the community (Dempsey 1990, p. 42).

Additionally, the structural nature of the township provides everyone with a sense of belongingness even when townspeople will not confer belongingness to someone for some reason. These people still count for something in Smalltown. The sense of home or place or attachment to somewhere or someone is belongingness, constructed by the individual. While belongingness is contested, as the literature has shown, the construction of belongingness is based

on the interplay of the individual and structural factors (as is social work) of settlement.

Conclusion

Australia has always had firm control over its immigration program, to the point that Australia engineered the program (Jupp 2002, p. 17) with entrenched social inequality. Until 1972, this was through the racist WAP. The current immigration program is officially non-discriminatory on certain grounds. However, there are embedded ways of favouring IHE people from certain countries. The main reason (although less racist) underpinning the immigration program is economic, to suit Australia's purposes. Additionally, there are the reasons of family reunion and humanitarian migration. IHE people arrive and live in Australia on Australia's terms, for Australia's benefit, and thus their settlement, especially regional settlement, is from a position of social inequality because their migration and settlement is controlled by Australia. The analysis of the immigration program and its history, the demographics of the overseas born in Australia, and migration and settlement are necessary to analyse the settlement experience of AIHE people in a regional centre to give voice to their position of social inequality to collectivise and to make structural change.

Over six million people have migrated to Australia (DIMIA 2003, p. 13) since the end of WW II. Until the government abandoned the WAP in 1972, most IHE people came from the UK and Europe. Since then, more and more AIHE people have come to Australia, and in 1999-2000, 44.0 per cent of visaed arrivals came from Asia (DIMA 2000, p. 28). New arrivals mainly go to and stay in metropolitan centres. The location of IHE people in Australia has been influenced by geography, history, and politics.

About 80 per cent of IHE people and about 60 per cent of the Australian resident population live in the five main metropolitan centres. There are several reasons for this over-representation: employment, family, multicultural communities, and place of arrival.

Migration is a more complex occurrence than the simple push/draw model. What need to be considered are individual characteristics and resources of the individual; the past; the circumstances in the country of origin; and the economic, legal, and social conditions in the receiving country. Thus, micro and macro factors contribute to the action of migration.

Settlement follows migration, and settlement is somewhat built on what happened in migration and how it took place. Like migration, settlement is an interplay of micro and macro factors.

In Australia's regional centres, there are fewer services and greater isolation for people, especially AIHE people because of their much smaller numbers. The obstacles to living in regional centres are the same for IHE people as for the general population, but these obstacles can be magnified because of culture, discrimination, language, and unrecognised qualifications and skills. IHE people can also be more disadvantaged because of fewer migrant-specific settlement services and where mainstream settlement services do not respond appropriately to their cultural and language needs and thus impede access to amenities and services.

Jupp (2002, p. 37) sums up the settlement situation of AIHE people living in Australia:

It is generally not realised that Asian immigrants, other than refugees, tend to be better educated, to secure better jobs, and to live in more expensive suburbs than the Australian average. This is very different from the experience of the Indochinese refugees in the present and of the Chinese in the past.

This has not been the settlement experience of the AIHE people in an Australian regional centre, whose education and employment levels are more likely to be lower than the average because of the demographics and economic indicators of the regional centre, and Coffs Harbour is no exception. Jupp (2002, p. 38) says that most disadvantaged social groups such as single parents are not drawn from IHE people and most disadvantaged areas are rural and regional areas. As will be seen, this is true in the case of Coffs Harbour and true in the case of the AIHE people of Coffs Harbour.

Thus, this section has provided a general picture of settlement and migration of IHE people in Australia. The next chapter is about Regionality and Coffs Harbour. Regionality is what makes this research of settlement different. Regionality adds to the position of social inequality of AIHE people, and Coffs Harbour, as a case study will showcase this social inequality and minimal social inclusion.

CHAPTER THREE – REGIONALITY AND COFFS HARBOUR

INTERNAL MIGRATION OF THE AUSTRALIAN RESIDENT POPULATION

The Australian population is one of the most mobile in the world (Castles et al 1998, p. 45). This is because of the migratory traditions of migrant forbears, flexible labour, and flexible housing markets (Bell 1996, p. 4 cited in Castles et al 1998, p. 45). The net internal migration in Australia between 1986 and 1991 based on ABS census data was a movement of population away from the south-east of Australia towards the north and west, especially to Queensland and Western Australia for the Australian-born and the overseas born (Bell 1995, pp. 45, 46). The interior of the continent has suffered population losses, which were gains for the metropolitan centres. However, there was movement away from major cities to adjacent rural areas and to the coast, and there was the continuing suburbanisation of the population away from inner urban areas to metropolitan fringe areas (Bell 1995, p. xix). Salt (2001, p. 139) says such places are attractive because they have a warmer climate and have an economy based on commuting, lifestyle, service industries, and tourism.

There are geographical and historical reasons for this high concentration of Australian residents in metropolitan cities. A dry and infertile interior, a dependence on seagoing transport, and a secure water supply from major coastal rivers were geographical reasons. Political history also plays a role in where people live in Australia, especially as the capital centres, as Beer et al (1994, p. 27) explain.

Each colony developed with a strong capital that acted as port, decision-making centre, retailing centre and service provider. The pastoral economy did not encourage growth. The development of a complex urban system and high rates of immigration from the 1850s further reinforced the primacy of the capitals. Non-capital cities, in consequence, were poorly developed in Australia and where they did arise were associated with resource-based industries.

IHE people disproportionately live in Brisbane, Melbourne, and Sydney (for some of the same reasons) when compared to the Australian resident population. However, other reasons for this occurrence are because international ships and aeroplanes carrying new IHE people dock at ports and land at airports located in these metropolitan centres. Migrant hostels are located there, and there is access to housing and employment. The creation of migrant communities attracts and retains newer arrivals from the same cultural background. In such centres, there is the growth of businesses, religious facilities, and services available in the common language. AIHE people are no exception to this well-known pattern.

REGIONALITY

Little is known about the settlement experiences of the AIHE people who do move to and remain in Australia's regional centres. The regional situation, of which Coffs Harbour is a part, is disadvantaged economically and socially as Lynn (1999, p. 15) summarises what is happening in the rural sector.

Rural Australia is experiencing change at an unprecedented rate, and the political and economic infrastructure that supports it is arguably out of date and out of touch with the new realities, while the social infrastructure has become an ideological casualty of change.

This was also true for the settlement of AIHE people in Coffs Harbour. The regionality literature was generally focussed on uncoordinated economic development, with an emphasis on

agriculture and farming to the detriment of non-agricultural and non-farming activities and business. There was regionality literature about mainstreamed social services as part of social infrastructure, but no literature concerning settlement services. Discrimination/racism, IHE people, migration, and multiculturalism were not found in the regionality literature. However, there has been and is settlement of IHE and AIHE people in regional centres. Therefore, an overview of the current literature about Australian regional policy, practice, services, and social infrastructure will be presented to provide background to settlement in regional centres, and in particular to set the scene and contextualise Coffs Harbour.

Parliament's House of Representatives' Standing Committee on Primary Industries and Regional Services (2000, pp. 24, 26) investigated issues about the infrastructure and the development of Australia's regional services and reported in February 2000. The committee found that government's approach to regional development was duplicative, piecemeal, and uncoordinated (also Alston 2000, p. 32; Beer 2000, p. 179; and The Senate Employment, Workplace Relations, Small Business and Education References Committee 1999, pp. 25, 33).

Sher and Rowe Sher (1994, p. 18) (also the Senate Committee 1999, p. 20) argue that governments try to support primary industries in an uncoordinated and uncritical way, and then uncoordinated and uncritical social policy does not take care of the problems and gaps that result. Additionally, ad hoc rural policy has been concentrated on farmers and agriculture because of the lobbying power of this group (Sher and Rowe Sher 1994, pp. 15-16; also Briskman 1999, p. 11; Lynn 1999, p. 19). Rural is associated with agricultural (Alston 2000, p. 33; Briskman 1999, p. 5; and Sher and Rowe Sher 1994, p. 13), but only a minority of

rural residents are farmers or directly associated with agriculture (also Castles 1995, p. 473; Keogh 2000, p. 3). Rural includes coastal, lifestyle, peri-urban regions as well as agriculture (McManus and Pritchard 2000, p. 383).

The Standing Committee (Primary Industries and Regional Services) examined education in regional Australia and found that 'access to lifelong education and training opportunities is second only to access to information and communication technologies in shaping the future for regional Australians' (p. 255). The Regional Australia Summit (2000), which took place in Old Parliament House in October 1999, agreed with the Standing Committee. Unskilled jobs are disappearing in regional centres, but skilled personnel are not there to take up skilled and professional jobs that are starting to appear. Thus, regional development was being hampered.

The Senate Committee (Workplace Relations, Small Business and Education References) (1999) also examined health, as one measure of 'social infrastructure and investment in human capital' (p. 319). Health was affected in regional centres because of the stress caused by declining development, fewer jobs, a shortage of medical practitioners and other health professionals, and withdrawal of services (also Keogh 2000, pp. 4). There were higher mortality and morbidity rates and higher rates of other social and health matters (Alston 2000, p. 31, 32; Keogh 2000, pp. 4, 5; Lloyd, Harding, and Hellwig 2002, pp. 17, 20; McManus and Pritchard 2000b, p. 2).

The Summit (2000) mentioned family services, such as childcare, family support services, and the need to support and develop the social and human capital of people in regional centres. Alston (2000) says any rural policy and rural development must consider

gender issues because women are more disadvantaged in rural centres as they have childcare and domestic duties. Increasingly, women take up paid employment to make up for the decline in the rural sector and community and volunteer work to make up for the reduction of services by the government (p. 33).

McManus and Pritchard (2000, p. 387) argue that the lower socio-economic indicators are occurring more in agriculturally based small inland towns (also Lloyd et al 2002, p. 30), but some of Australia's rural towns are expanding (McManus and Pritchard 2000, p. 387; Tonts 2000, p. 55). Lloyd et al (2002, pp. 24, 28, 30) add to the picture by pointing out that there is growing income inequality within regions, more low income and high income households in 1996 than 1991, thus a 'hollowing out of middle Australia' and regional Australia is not uniformly disadvantaged or declining (p. 30) (also Keogh 2000, p. 4; Tonts 2000, p. 52).

Regional development policy was uncoordinated economic development policy that focussed on agriculture and farming and ignored social policy. The Senate Committee (1999), again, like previous reports (Regional Australia Summit 2000) (also Cheers and Taylor 2001, pp. 209-210; Sher and Rowe Sher 1994, p. 10; and Wearing 2001, pp. 145, 147) calls for better consultation, involvement, and empowerment of local people and communities to design capacity building, policies, and programs in the areas of improved infrastructure and equity of services in the four areas of communication, education and training, family services, and health.

Many submissions to the Senate Committee (Workplace Relations, Small Business and Education References) (1999) supported the view of physical and social infrastructure in regional centres as an investment rather than as an expenditure. Such investment in

infrastructure would attract other investment to reinvigorate regional centres (pp. 45-46). Therefore, social infrastructure is important in at least two ways: Firstly, to help the people who have been affected by the withdrawal of services and loss of jobs and business in regional centres; and Secondly, to support and maintain people who come to regional centres to invest and create business and jobs and those people who come to take up jobs. The Senate Committee (1999), backed up by Alston (2000, p. 29) who puts it more strongly and also Tonts (2000, p. 69), summarises its argument:

Economic and social planning should not be seen as incompatible with either deregulation or micro-economic reform. There is neither national economic benefit nor social benefit in having depressed regions remain in existence in the midst of overall prosperity. Some attempt at planning should be made to ensure that the redistribution of wealth and resources gives a better than even chance that prosperity will be extended beyond the fortunate few regions that currently experience growth. (The Senate Committee 1999, p. 25).

Writers, some of whom are social workers but all of whom have a social justice point of view, describe what has happened to the social situation in regional Australia. Alston (2000, p. 30) (also Wearing 2001, p. 146) blames regional poverty on globalisation, international market forces, lack of intervention by governments (also Cheers and Taylor 2001, p. 209), more unemployment, lack of coordination of government policy and services, decline in small towns, lower income levels, and ageing populations (McManus and Pritchard 2000b, p. 2; Tonts 2000, p. 52) for having created a sense of despair and vulnerability (Briskman 1999, p. 10). The devolution, privatisation, rationalisation, and withdrawal of services have not helped the confidence of regional and rural centres (Tonts 2000, pp. 62-66) and have not attracted new investment nor created new business opportunities. Rural centres do not often have the economies of scale to sustain themselves economically and viably. The atrophy of infrastructure and social services then leads

to more flow-on effects such as the loss of business confidence, more despair, more unemployment, and cost cutting. The effects of economic and monetary cost cutting are expensive and show up in social and in other economic areas. The cycle then starts over again.

The regionality literature shows that economic policy is the focus of regional development, but it is uncoordinated and uncritical and thus the delivery of services is the same. What is advocated is economic development through coordination of policy and service delivery, consulting and working with local government and communities, and economic stimulation. Both the planning of social infrastructure and the delivery of social services (including social work) need to be a mandatory component of economic planning, policy, and development.

It would come as no surprise that IHE people living in regional centres would be disadvantaged in their settlement because as the literature has shown non-IHE people are disadvantaged living in regional centres. The constructed settlement experience of AIHE people in regional centres is framed within the disadvantaged arena of regionality where the focus is not on social work or settlement of IHE or AIHE people. Their voice, from the case study of Coffs Harbour, will help to put the issue on the agenda and to make change.

COFFS HARBOUR

Coffs Harbour is typical of other coastal, regional centres. It is also disadvantaged socially and economically, as indicators will show. This section will show what it is like to live in Coffs Harbour, to give

a flavour of the regional centre. Coffs Harbour is a pleasant and attractive centre in which to live in terms of climate and geography, but it is conservative, hard to find work, hard to reach an occupational level of English, and has few compatriots for AIHE people (except Punjabi Sikhs) and settlement services.

Part of the purpose of this chapter is to paint a picture of Coffs Harbour, quantitatively and qualitatively, about what it is like to live in Coffs Harbour and who lives in the regional centre. This section of the chapter covers Coffs Harbour's geography; Indigenous inhabitants; history; population growth; employment, economic status, and other statistical indicators; overseas born population; Punjabi Sikhs; conservatism; another side of Coffs Harbour (environmental and social activism); and conclusion

Geography

Coffs Harbour is a lush part of NSW on the Mid North Coast. Coffs Harbour is known for its lifestyle: beauty, pleasant climate, lower cost of living, less crime, less hustle and bustle, less pollution, and smaller size than Sydney. However, Brisbane and Sydney are still close enough for a weekend visit. The metropolitan centres might hold attractions such as communities, family, friends, and 'high brow' culture. However, Coffs Harbour is large enough to have amenities that regional centres smaller than Coffs Harbour cannot sustain such as education, entertainment, and health and professional services.

On an anecdotal level, Coffs Harbour is seen as a typical, coastal, regional centre. In some ways, it is, but a closer look reveals complex characteristics. Firstly, the economic picture is far from prosperous on several counts. Secondly, there is a strong

undercurrent of conservatism, but there are also radical elements, for example, the protracted struggle over the proposed ocean outfall at the Look-at-Me-Now (LAMN) Headland, at the northern end of the Local Government Area (LGA). Finally, the profile of the overseas born in Coffs Harbour is typical of regional centres as there are fewer IHE people especially from NESCs. However, Coffs Harbour has a significant presence of Punjabi Sikhs, mainly in Woolgoolga - a small township in the north of the LGA. The Punjabi Sikhs make up half of Coffs Harbour's AIHE population.

Coffs Harbour is located at the northern end of the MNC (from Corindi in the North to Gloucester in the South). The MNC occupies the southern half of the North Coast. Coffs Harbour is 427 km south of Brisbane and 554 km north of Sydney. The population was 58,337 people at the time of the 1996 ABS Census (Coffs Harbour City Council [CHCC] 1999, p. 6). Average rainfall is 1,625 mm per year with most rain falling between December and April. The average maximum temperature is 27°C in January and February, with high humidity in the summer months. The triangle shaped LGA covers 95,000 hectares (ERM Mitchell McCotter 1998, p. 1.1), with a picturesque rural hinterland. Topographically, Coffs Harbour is just on the Pacific Ocean with the Great Dividing Range not far behind the city, on which bananas are grown.

Indigenous Inhabitants

Historically, the Indigenous people of Coffs Harbour knew the region was fertile and flourishing, but European settlement changed their lifestyle. The local Indigenous people were from the Kumbaingeri (also Gumbaingarr, Gumbaingirra, Gumbayngirr) clan, which numbered about 1,500 people. Their boundaries extended from the Clarence River in the north, south to the Nambucca River,

and west to the Great Dividing Range (Yeates 1990 cited in CHCC 1999, p. 45; and Cooke, Fulton, Rayner, & Wallace 2000, p. 13). Four different dialect groups have been identified (Hoddinott 1978:52 cited in Collins 1996, p. 8).

Each of the Gumbaynggir dialect or 'clan' groups (cf Calley 1959; Gardner 1854) occupied a defined territory and movement beyond its boundaries was only undertaken by pre-arrangement with adjoining groups (e.g. Chevally 1946) for the purposes of meeting specific ceremonial and social obligations (Belshaw 1966). During the course of everyday life most resource exploitation appears to have been undertaken by family groups (cf. Henderson 1851) and often several such groups would co-operate to form highly flexible 'bands' which would gather and then disperse as conditions demanded (Godwin 1990:97 cited in Collins 1996, p. 9).

History

European settlement cleared the land for the timber and introduced new crop and livestock farming practices, and this has led to the loss of the traditional way of life for local Aboriginal people and their sacred sites associated with their culture, history, and spirituality (Cooke et al 2000, p. 13). It appears there may not have been as much violence towards the Aboriginal people living in the northern half of the MNC and the southern half of the Far North Coast (also known as the Northern Rivers) as in some other districts. The local Aboriginal people may have lived closer to the European descended settlers and could have formed a casual labour force (EJE Town Planning 1997 cited in CHCC 1999, p. 45). However, there was a massacre of local Aboriginal people at Red Rock in the late 1800s (Kijas and Kijas 2001, p. 30). A cairn was built to commemorate this massacre (*Coffs Harbour Advocate* [CHA] 30 September 2000). Forced migration onto reserves (except Coffs Harbour) of North Coast Aborigines occurred until the 1940s. Other Aboriginal people from surrounding areas came to live with the local Gumbayngirr people by WW II. Aboriginal people then moved off the reserves and found work because of labour shortages

and the buoyant post WW II economy (Kijas and Kijas 2001, pp. 20-30).

The European history of the discovery and settlement of Coffs Harbour by Captain Korff is told succinctly by Neil Yeates (1990), local historian.

On 15 May 1771 Captain James Cook sailed past the site of the future Coffs Harbour, referring in his log to "the small rocky islands between us and the land" which he named the Solitary Isles. Then on 10 July 1779 Captain Matthew Flinders, sailing "six leagues from shore owing to a foul wind," added five more isles to the number seen before.

It was 1847 when Captain Korff found shelter in the bay which came to be known as Korff's Harbour. In 1861 surveyors altered the name to Coffs. The Bellinger Valley was opened up for settlement in 1863. Bullock teams were used to transport the 'red gold' (cedar) to the port of Coffs Harbour for shipping.

As the land was cleared, dairy farming became viable and many farmers were attracted from the NSW south coast to settle in the district.

Coffs Harbour's rivers and creeks provided access to timber. Mills were built, as was a jetty at Coffs Harbour and Woolgoolga for transporting timber. As the timber industry expanded so did urban Coffs Harbour, and particularly inland townships such as Coramba, Nana Glen, and Orara. The trade in timber boomed from the 1880s until the late 1920s or early 1930s (Kadwell 1998, p. 207). As the inland was cleared, small communities developed with the discovery of gold. Tourism became a commercial activity for Coffs Harbour from the 1950s (Beasley 1998, p. 179; CHCC 1999, pp. 46-47; and Kadwell 1998, p. 204, 207) especially along the coast.

Punjabi Sikhs from India came to Coffs Harbour after WW II, and many worked and still work in the banana plantations (Peterson 2000, p. 16; Kijas and Kijas 2001, p. 14). Banana farming was also an important source of employment for Aboriginal people and for

the new arrivals of Dutch (Yeates 1993, pp. 10-12), Greeks (Peterson 2000, p. 16), Germans, and Italians (Kijas and Kijas 2001, p. 14). Early immigrant settlement to the Coffs Harbour region was not large. In the post WW II period, immigrant people went to other places of labour shortages, such as the cane fields of north Queensland, Port Kembla, or the Snowy Mountain Scheme.

There were three patterns of settlement (migration within Australia of the Australian resident population) in Coffs Harbour (Kijas and Kijas 2001, pp. 2-3, 39-40). The first pattern was port activities and farming (especially bananas) in Coffs Harbour, which increased with the return of WW I (World War One) services personnel and the arrival of Italian farmers. Until WW II, there was the movement of rural people from Coffs Harbour to Sydney. The second pattern was from post WW II to the late 1960s. Returned services personnel from WW II and Punjabi Sikhs took up banana farming in the Woolgoolga area. There were two other occurrences: hobby farmers and retirees moved into the Coffs Harbour hinterland and tourism started. The third pattern came with the boom times of the 1970s and 1980s. This saw a mixture of 'retirees, young couples, hobby farmers, rural retreaters and alternative life stylers, predominantly white Anglo-Australians from Sydney, Melbourne, and rural Western NSW' (p. 3), settling for lifestyle reasons. By the 1990s, new arrivals were largely retirees and unemployed people, coming to escape the high costs of living in the city (p. 82). Presently, 90 per cent of the population lives on the coastal strip (Drew 1994, p. iv); which may reflect the increased lifestyle motivation for moving to Coffs Harbour. A defining moment in Coffs Harbour's history that marked the shift from rural production to new services and tourism was in 1984 with the dismantling of the cranes at the end of the jetty. The cranes had been used for several decades to lift timber onto ships (Kijas and Kijas 2001, p. 59).

Population and Growth

Coffs Harbour is a fast growing regional centre. Its growth was almost 150 per cent from 1976 to 2000 (Salt 2001, p. 136), 11th out of Australia's 70 largest towns based on population change. Coffs Harbour was the 27th largest centre in Australia in 1999, up from the 38th in 1976, but still projected to be the 27th in 2006 (Salt 2000, p. 40, 41). Coffs Harbour's population was projected to increase to 63,899 in 2001; 69,399 people in 2006; and 80,014 in 2016 (CHCC 1999, p. 3).

Coffs Harbour is still growing, but the growth has slowed when compared to the 1980s and early 1990s, 1.8 per cent between 1996 and 1997 (CHCC 1999, p. 2) and 1.4 per cent between June 1999 and June 2000 (Salt 2001, p. 141). However, not all the people who have migrated to the North Coast have much money or income.

There were fewer couples with children and more one-parent families in Coffs Harbour in 1996 than in NSW as a whole. There was also a greater proportion of couples without children, reflecting the higher incidence of retirees in Coffs Harbour than for the State (CHCC 1999, p. 15).

There has been a large increase in the over 65 years of age population from 1986 to 1996, as compared to the state increase - 65 per cent compared to 28.2 per cent (CHCC 1999, p. 8; also The Local Environmental Study CHCC 1999, p. 81; DHS&S 1995, p. 20, The Senate Employment, Workplace Relation, Small Business and Education References Committee 1999, pp. 16, 17; and Walmsley et al 1995, p. 90).

Coffs Harbour is a growing regional centre, but it is still regional and does not have some of the amenities of metropolitan centres.

The concept of regional is not only characterised by the size of population, but also by accessibility to goods, opportunities, and services. The University of Adelaide and the Department of Health and Aged Care (August 1999) have developed a measure of remoteness from 0 to 5. Coffs Harbour's measure of remoteness was 2.4426 (p. 35), which meant accessible. There were some restrictions to the accessibility of some goods, services, and opportunities for social interaction (p. 19).

Development and growth will bring a critical mass and money to Coffs Harbour to attract business and infrastructure. However, economic and population growth need to be balanced with the regional centre's climate, environmental limitations, lifestyle, and natural amenities.

Employment, Economic Picture, and Other Statistical Indicators

The employment scene on the North Coast has shifted from primary production, still present and important, to more retail, service, and tourism because of the change of demographics and increase in population.

The structure of the local economy is typical of coastal centres with a relatively high proportion of the population associated with service industries and wholesale and retail trade. Primary industries (agriculture, forestry, fishing and mining) are relatively important. (CHCC 1999, p. 111). The most significant employment industry is wholesale and retail trade which employs 23.3 % of the workforce in the study area. The value of retail trade in the study area is estimated to be \$344 million (ABS Survey of Retailing in NSW 1991 cited in CHCC 1999, p. 117).

The service industry has increased, with tourism as a major component. A regional tourism study (CHA, 19 April 1995) recommends spending money on service infrastructure rather than tourist infrastructure. This will help attract tourists and benefit the

residents of the regional centre. There have been infrastructure changes to meet tourism needs, and Coffs Harbour is vying for the specific tourism market of sporting events.

There have been some recent major infrastructure projects that were completed in the mid to late 1990s or scheduled for completion early this decade. Southern Cross University (Lismore) contributed funds to establish a multi-institutional education campus in Coffs Harbour in 1995, in conjunction with the Department of Education and Training and the North Coast Institute of TAFE. The campus is the largest employer in Coffs Harbour (CHCC 1999, p. 119). A new base hospital, at a projected cost of \$53 million (CHCC 1999, p. 119), was completed and opened in late 2001. The local airport terminal has been extended, and the runway has been lengthened and widened to accommodate larger aircraft and an expected increase in passenger movements by 2006 (CHCC 1999, p. 119). Coffs Harbour has also attracted some sporting events: the 2000 NSW Masters Games, the 2001 University Games, the Pacific Qualifying Round for the 2002 Soccer World Cup, and Coffs Harbour is the home base for Australia's national rugby union team - the Wallabies

Two other tourism features of Coffs Harbour are the 'Big Banana' and the jetty. As Coffs Harbour is particularly well-known for its banana growing, it has the honour of having Australia's first 'big thing', 'the Big Banana': a bright yellow 12 metre landmark constructed in 1964 (Beasley 1998, p. 183), now part of a tourists' activities complex. Another landmark that vies for tourism and is well connected with Coffs Harbour's history (dating back to the 1800s) is the 400 metre long jetty, which was restored and reopened in 1996 solely for recreational use.

Tourism is not the only provider of employment. There is still a significant primary production industry in Coffs Harbour. The three main agricultural industries are bananas, beef production, and dairy (Burrows 2000, p. 20). However, banana growing in Coffs Harbour only makes up 10 per cent of the total Australian banana crop (CHCC 1999, p. 112) and the banana industry accounts for 2 per cent of the local economy, or \$20-\$30 million (Peterson 2000, p. 24). The dominance of Coffs Harbour in the banana industry has fallen since the 1960s, both in terms of the amount of land area under production and grower numbers (p. 15).

Given the movement to retail, services, and tourism, the unemployment rate in Coffs Harbour was close to double the NSW rate of unemployment (CHCC 1999, p. 11) or double the national rate (Department of Employment, Workplace Relations and Small Business cited in the *CHA* Sat 13 December 1999). In June 1999 (close to the time of the interviews of this research), the national unemployment rate was approximately 7.0 per cent (ACOSS 1999a cited in Wearing 2001, p. 152; Salt 2000, p. 1), but at the same time the Coffs Harbour unemployment rate was 12.8 per cent (Salt 2000, p. 89). Comparatively, the Coffs Harbour unemployment rate was the ninth highest in a ranking of the 70 largest towns in Australia (Salt 2001, p. 101), along with several other MNC and North Coast regional centres.

Interestingly, there is a gender differential in the unemployment statistics: 'the unemployment rate is higher for men than for women, reflecting the decline in full-time jobs and the greater take-up of part-time positions for women' (CHCC 1999, p. 11). 'Over half of working women in Coffs Harbour in 1996 held part-time jobs, compared to only a quarter of men' (CHCC 1999, p. 10).

Some other statistics demonstrate the bleak economic picture of Coffs Harbour despite its appeal as a desirable place to live. 'The gross median personal weekly income for people aged 15 years and over in Coffs Harbour was \$228 per week in 1996, \$70 per week below that for the State overall' (CHCC 1999, p. 5). In 1996, Coffs Harbour's average annual per capita income was 20 per cent (Salt 2001, p. 70) below the national average of \$16,677 (Salt 2001, p. 69). There were several MNC regional centres that had a lower average annual per capita income, but Coffs Harbour has a higher percentage of people on a lower average annual per capita income when compared to the rest of the state, ranking 139 out of 188 NSW LGAs (CHCC 1999, p. 5). In 1996, Coffs Harbour only had 12.9 per cent of its population earning \$1,000 or more per week and the state percentage was 26.5 per cent (CHCC 1999, p. 12). 'The proportion of those in the highest income brackets is significantly lower for Coffs Harbour' (CHCC 1999, p. 12). Regarding most demographic and economic indicators, Coffs Harbour usually places in the lower half or third.

Higher education levels are low. The percentage of people with a bachelor's degree or higher was 15.5 per cent in Coffs Harbour in 1996 and 31.8 per cent for the state (CHCC 1999, p. 17). The housing market in Coffs Harbour proved to be buoyant in the second half of 2000, because of a shortage of homes for sale (*CHA* 2 September 2000), and the 12 months to September 2000 were solid in real estate sales (*CHA* 31 August 2000). On a scale of property rates charged against other NSW LGAs, Coffs Harbour was in the middle for 1998 -1999. However, it was in the very low end of expenditure per capita (*CHA* 2 December 2000). 'Crime levels were now lower than 1996 levels in most major categories' and the area 'had one of the highest clear-up rates for major crime in NSW' (*CHA* 30 August 2000). 'Crime here was at a lower level than in a

number of major regional and metropolitan centres in NSW, reflected in this region's 29 ranking on the crime index out of 80 commands' (*CHA* 30 August 2000).

Coffs Harbour has a higher unemployment rate and lower average earnings than the state average. Speculatively, this is because of the demographics of who make up the population: the number of people not in the labour force. The nature of the economy, more towards retail and services, contributes to a poorer regional centre. Clearly, people would not ordinarily move to and stay in Coffs Harbour only for employment and money earning reasons.

The Overseas Born

Given the economic, geographical, historical, and population picture, people are moving and staying in Coffs Harbour for aesthetic and lifestyle reasons. The overseas born are not proportionally represented in this move. A total of 23.6 per cent of Australia's population was born overseas at 30 June 2000 (DIMIA 2002, p. 4). There is a small presence of IHE people from NESCs on the North Coast, 3.1 per cent of the region's total population compared to 16.4 per cent for NSW as a whole (ABS 1998 STE NSW - X04 Birthplace (Countries) By Sex). The overseas born total in Coffs Harbour came to 6,595 or 11.8 per cent of the population. Of the number of overseas born people resident in Coffs Harbour, 825 people (1.47 per cent of the Coffs Harbour's population) were born in Asia.

Table 3.1

Population in Coffs Harbour by Geographic Area by Birthplace - 1996 ABS Statistics

| | Coffs Harbour |
|--------------------------------------|----------------------|
| Australian-born | 49,573 (88.2%) |
| Overseas Born | 6,608 (11.8%) |
| Total | 56,168 (100.0%) |
| MESCs Born | 4,047 (7.2%) |
| NESCs Born | 2,561 (4.6%) |
| Total Overseas Born | 6,608 (11.8%) |
| Asian Countries Born of NESCs | 825 (1.47%) |
| Non-Asian Born of NESCs | 1,736 (3.1%) |

Source: ABS (1998): Coffs - X04 Birthplace (Countries) by Sex.

However, Coffs Harbour is similar to outside-Sydney NSW in the five categories Australian-born, Overseas Born, MESCs Born, NESCs Born, and Asian Countries Born. Coffs Harbour is also similar to Australia and NSW in its percentage of people born in MESCs. The striking difference is between Coffs Harbour and Sydney, with Sydney having a much higher percentage of the overseas born except in the MESCs category. Refer to Table 2.6.

Breaking down the numbers for the AIHE people in Coffs Harbour, after the Punjabi Sikhs (446 people), the next largest group came from the Philippines. They numbered 105 (91 women and 14 men)

according to the 1996 ABS (ABS 1998) census, a gender imbalance of 86.7 per cent. A significant percentage of these women would be married to non-Filipino men. This occurrence has been discussed in the settlement section of the Chapter Two. There is no reason to expect that the situation is any different for Coffs Harbour. Nationally, the next two largest groups for gender imbalance (more females than males) according to country of birth were Thailand and Japan. The gender imbalances for Coffs Harbour were located among the Thais 73 per cent (14:5 women to men ratio), Singaporeans 59.1 per cent (13:9), Indonesians 58.6 per cent (17:12), and Malaysians 57.8 per cent (26:19).

Another group of AIHE people in Coffs Harbour are from Hong Kong who numbered 42 according to the 1996 ABS census (ABS 1998). They present a somewhat different motivation for immigrating to Australia. Hong Kong reverted to PRC rule as of 1 July 1997. Some Hong Kong citizens migrated to Australia and then became Australian citizens before this date. Hong Kong immigrant people often speak good to excellent English and can be familiar with Western culture because of the UK presence in Hong Kong since the 1800s.

Another group of AIHE people in Coffs Harbour is the Vietnamese who numbered 32, according to the ABS (1998) 1996 census. Australia has accepted many Vietnamese humanitarian entrant people since the mid 1970s after the Viet Nam war ended and since the WAP ended in 1972.

Walmsley et al (1995, p. 18) call for more research into the reasons why the overseas born are less likely to live on the North Coast (p. 89). The reasons for this are unexplored.

Punjabi Sikhs

A feature of Coffs Harbour relevant to this research is the presence of a sizeable number of Punjabi Sikhs born in India, residing in the township of Woolgoolga. The Punjabi Sikhs make up about 50 per cent of the Coffs Harbour AIHE population. 'By 1960, Woolgoolga had become home to the single largest Sikh community in Australia' (Akaal and More 1995, p. 17). Punjabi Sikhs are people from the Punjab (a province in India) and they follow the Sikh faith. Not all Punjabi people follow Sikhism, and not all Sikhism followers are Punjabi.

The number of India-born IHE people in Australia as of 1996 was 77,551. This was the fourth largest Asian birthplace, based on numbers, after PRC, Philippines, and Viet Nam. The gender ratio for India-born people was almost even. However, it cannot be assumed that most or all of the India-born people in Australia are Punjabis because the ABS census only recorded the country of birth and not ethnicity or the province of birth within the country. The question about religion in the ABS census was optional, so an accurate number of Sikhism's followers is unknown.

Woolgoolga's population in 1996 was 4,493 people (CHCC 1999, p. 18). The 1996 census (ABS 1998) recorded 446 people born in India residing in the Coffs Harbour LGA. Most of the India-born people in Coffs Harbour are from the Punjab, follow the Sikh faith, and live in Woolgoolga, from anecdotal evidence, but there are a handful of India-born people following the Islam and Hindu faiths. Therefore, it is hard to gauge how many of the India-born immigrant people are Punjabi Sikhs.

de Lepervanche (1984) has written a fascinating and readable account about India-born immigrant people resident in the township of Woolgoolga. She conducted her research in Woolgoolga between August 1968 and August 1973. There are four limitations to her study when applying her research to this research: Firstly, her definition of Indians refers to people born in Australia and in India; Secondly, her definition of Indians refers to Hindus, Muslims, and Punjabi Sikhs. However, the majority are Punjabi Sikhs; Thirdly, her research only refers to Woolgoolga; Fourthly, her research was undertaken a long time ago and mostly before the WAP was abandoned in 1972. Nevertheless, de Lepervanche's work is still very powerful because there is no other piece of research of this calibre and depth about a Coffs Harbour group of overseas born people, and the researcher observed and interviewed the townspeople and the Punjabi Sikhs on several occasions over extended periods.

Historically, 'The Australian experience of the Indian immigrant, until very recently, has been mainly of the labourer and cane-cutter, the 'Afghan' camel-driver, pedlar or hawker' (de Lepervanche 1984, p. 25). There were four stages of the settlement of Punjabi Sikhs on the North Coast that built on each other.

The first stage was settlers descended from the free Punjabis, during the 1880s and 1890s (p. 51; also Singh 1999, p. 189). They worked on cane farms and later on banana plantations.

The second stage was Punjabi Sikhs coming from India in the first seventy years of the 20th century, but mainly men as sojourners. The men brought their male children to Australia to work with them on their farms while the wives and female children lived in India (p. 60). There was work to be found because of the labour shortages

during the 1940s (especially the war years), 1950s, and 1960s. They saved money and bought small farms on the North Coast. The men stopped returning to India for sojourns in 1960s and early 1970s, and they brought over their wives and children (p. 26, 74). This made a significant impact on attitudes of the townspeople (non-Punjabi Sikhs) from seeing male Punjabi Sikhs as invisible farm labourers to farm owners now with families (p. 101). This was also the time when Australians were leaving banana farming and the Punjabi Sikhs started doing well at banana farming (p. 102).

The third stage started during the second stage. This was large-scale emigration from the Punjab in the 1950s as a result of political turmoil (p. 94) caused by the partition of the Punjab, and Pakistan was formed as a separate country from India in 1947 (Singh 1999, p. 189). Agricultural Punjabi Sikhs were moved off the land and migrated to Australia in search of land and farming, and there was plenty of land in Australia. They already had advantages in their favour: the Punjabi Sikhs' lack of education and literacy was not a barrier to farming (p. 141); most Punjabi Sikhs were from the same region in the Punjab, and village ties and kinship were retained (p. 143); and the Punjabi Sikhs were already used to pooling resources, working in cane to supplement their farm income from bananas, and hard agricultural work in India and in Australia (p. 94; also More and Singh 1995, p. 34). There was already a solid presence of Punjabi Sikhs in Woolgoolga, working as labourers in cane farming. They bought and went into banana plantations with the money they made from cane farming (de Lepervanche 1984, p. 89). Affordable banana plantations only needed to be small to be profitable, as opposed to sugar cane (p. 89).

Then the fourth stage came. The type of immigrant people coming from India changed because of the changes in immigration laws.

More qualified immigrant people were coming as husbands and wives, sponsored by Australian Punjabi Sikhs living in Woolgoolga, and as a result, strata started becoming apparent among the Punjabi Sikhs in Woolgoolga.

One of the distinguishing features of the Punjabi Sikhs is their religion – Sikhism. 'The Sikh religion was founded by Guru Nanak Dev, who was born in 1469 AD in India. The word Sikh means disciple or learner' (Singh 1995, p. 23; also Arora 1986, p. 7; Singh 1999, pp. 17, 25). The essence of the Sikh religion is that the divine being, only one God (de Lepervanche 1984, p. 160), saw all people as equal (Arora 1986, pp. 5, 20, 22; also de Lepervanche 1984, p. 162; Singh 1999, pp. 27-28, 30) because of their worth to oppose the caste system (Singh 1999, p. 256). There is no caste system in Sikhism, but in reality, there is some practice of it (Singh 1999, pp. 256-259), but not much in Northern NSW because the majority of the Punjabi Sikhs are from the same caste (de Lepervanche pp. 143-144, 156). de Lepervanche (1984 pp. 160-161) describes Sikhism as an austere religion of ritual purity such as cleanliness, not drinking and smoking, and being a dutiful citizen and partner. Idols or emblems are not worshipped. Sikhism has ten Gurus in total (Singh 1999, p. 25; also Arora 1986, pp. 7-9), and the word guru means teacher. Guidance is sought from the Gurus' writings, but the Gurus are not worshipped or cast as incarnations of God.

As with any religion, there are places of worship. The first Sikh temple 'Gurdwara' in Australia was built in Woolgoolga in 1968 (Akaal and More 1995, p. 17). In January 1970, the Guru Nanak Temple (the second one) was officially opened in Woolgoolga (de Lepervanche 1984 pp. 13, 172). It sits atop a hill on the Pacific Highway at the southern end of the township. The planning and

building of the first temple caused divisions among the Punjabi Sikhs, for example who and how the membership of the temple committee was constituted. Dissidents then proceeded with plans for the second temple (pp. 170-171).

Factionalism between the two temples does not parallel any one simple distinction such as kinship, affinity, or Punjabi village affiliation. Close relatives usually belong together in one or the other group but not always. (p. 173).

The two temples, in effect, are not associated with sectarian differences but rather with the shifting balance of influence between a few potential leaders who are divided on the basis of personal rivalry in their attempts to procure prestige. (p. 173).

de Lepervanche (1984, pp. 169, 174) argues that factionalism divides along the lines of the two temples, but not Sikhism itself. There are two camps within the Woolgoolga Punjabi Sikhs, and they will use religious issues and temple committees to hold family together, to maintain their group, and to gain prestige over the other group. de Lepervanche (1984, p. 184) goes on to say:

However faction-ridden, the Indian community of Woolgoolga with its temples has undoubtedly provided the immigrants with some cultural continuity and solid anchorage in tradition which help them to adjust to change.

With the Punjabi Sikhs (born in India and in Australia) making up such a large minority of Woolgoolga's small population, there was bound to be differences in how the Punjabi Sikhs and the other townspeople saw and treated each other. The treatment from townspeople did not seem to be based on class, but rather based on not being terribly interested – avoiding them (p. 21). de Lepervanche (1984, p. 16) says that the North Coast settled as small farms and 'no one made a fortune big enough to live much better than their neighbours'. The division became 'Australians on the one hand and the Indians on the other and their two different lifestyles' (p. 16). The author summarises, based on her interviews

and time spent in Woolgoolga, the townspeople's view of the Punjabi Sikhs:

with notable exceptions....that Australians in the village, on the whole, accorded relatively low prestige to the Indians there....yet what communicated itself strongly to me over the years was ambivalence rather than naked hostility in the Australians' attitudes' (p. 20, also pp. 107, 108).

Additionally, the author summarises the Punjabi Sikhs' view of the townspeople:

Many Indians are well aware that a number of Australians impute bad motives and conduct on them. Some attribute this to simple unfairness. Others say the Australians are jealous of their success as farmers. Yet others quote ignorance. In conversation none sounded vengeful. (p. 121).

In short, Indians do not necessarily respect Australians, nor accord them excessive amounts of prestige. (p. 122).

The Punjabi Sikhs will not give up their food, language, ways of marriage, or religion even if they cut their hair and shed their turbans. They consider that they are doing well financially and have risen up the social ladder (p. 123). There was still social discrimination against the Punjabi Sikhs because of the lingering notion of the cheap labour they provided earlier in the 20th century (p. 35). However, de Lepervanche (1984, pp. 101-103) argues that discrimination has declined for two reasons: Firstly, the money made from bananas; and Secondly, the contribution to tourism from the Punjabi Sikhs and their temple. The Punjabi Sikhs have achieved 'middle class respectability' (p. 104 also p. 126), but the Australian-Indian boundary remains (p. 104).

de Lepervanche (1984, p. 33) argues what she thinks happens in Woolgoolga: The Punjabi Sikhs are distinguished along cultural and racial lines ('aren't trying to be Australians' p. 33), but this has its origins in the 'specific historical context of class formation and

conflict' (p. 33) of cheap labour. The Punjabi Sikhs have somewhat climbed the economic and social ladder by becoming landowners from waged farm labourers. However, that is as far as they will climb or will be allowed to climb, as long as their attitudes and values are different from those of the Australians. Additionally, the Punjabi Sikhs and their internal fighting and other preoccupations preclude them from having power distributed to them.

As long as village relations in the Punjab remain the immigrants' primary focus for marriage arrangements and other important social interactions, their pursuit of prestige is likely to take a traditional form, through temple organisation and management and by faction formation. Consequently, while the Punjab remains the site of honour for the immigrants, they render themselves vulnerable because the site of power is very definitely in the host society. (p. 185).

The Punjabi Sikhs have been accorded some increased status and therefore acceptance, but they have not been included. They are still in a position of social inequality.

Conservatism

Regional centres are purported to be conservative (Briskman 1999, pp. 5-6). Briskman (1999, p. 9) also says that 'much of the anti-Asian migration thrust in recent years has emerged from country areas'. Coffs Harbour would seem to be no exception. One indicator is that Coffs Harbour is politically conservative. On a federal level, the electorate of Cowper (lower house) has remained National Party for the fourth consecutive term - 1993, 1996, 1998, and 2001. On a state level, the electorate of Coffs Harbour (lower house) has remained National Party for the fourth consecutive term - 1991, 1995, 1999, and 2003.

The primary vote for the ONP could be argued as a measure of conservatism. The electorate of Cowper voted strongly for the ONP

in the 1998 federal election (three to six months preceding the interviews for this research), but this strong vote decreased by approximately 50 per cent in the 2001 federal election, as the table below indicates:

Table 3.2

Primary Vote (Federal) for the One Nation Party in 1998 and 2001 Elections

| | ONP 1998 | ONP 2001 | Swing |
|-------------------|----------|----------|-------|
| Cowper Electorate | 15.32% | 7.06% | 7.18% |
| NSW State Average | 8.96% | 4.77% | 4.19% |
| Federal Average | 8.43% | 4.34% | 4.09% |

Source: Australian Electoral Commission (AEC) 1999 and 2001.

In the March 1999 NSW state election (when the interviews for this research were taking place), the electorate of Coffs Harbour voted 11.26 per cent for the One Nation Party (on primary votes). Statewide, the One Nation Party primary vote was 7.53 per cent (State Electoral Office [SEO] 1999). The electorate can be considered more conservative than the national or state average.

A local event in Coffs Harbour in 1999 further illustrates the conservatism of the regional centre. Coffs Harbour was mentioned in the Sydney news and then the national news in July 1999 when an article in the *Sydney Morning Herald (SMH)* 21 July 1999 reported alleged comments made by the then mayor and a councillor of Coffs Harbour City Council. The alleged comments were about the mayor and a councillor having links with a local chapter of a group called Christian Identity. Christian Identity

allegedly shares some views with anti-Semitic and white supremacist organisations. Other reported alleged opinions of the mayor and councillor were about race and the verity of the holocaust. The mayor and councillor denied making some of the statements attributed to them (*CHA* 22 July 1999), but they did not deny speaking to the reporter from the *SMH*, and they have not clarified what they did say to the reporter if indeed they spoke to the reporter. What could be understood is that the mayor and the councillor have not refuted what they allegedly said to the reporter and what was then reported.

There was talk in Coffs Harbour of political intrigue, that this was a campaign to besmirch the mayor before the NSW local government elections of 11 September 1999. There was also talk of the local media sensationalising the events to attract readers and viewers. The mayor and councillor temporarily stepped down from their positions on city council for several weeks before the election and then resumed their duties (*CHA* 27 July 1999). In the end, the mayor decided not to run again for mayor or council (*CHA* 12 August 1999).

In articles and letters to the editor printed in the *CHA* during July and August 1999, there were two groups of points of view. One group of points of view was that the mayor was in public office and should not declare personal views nor let these views interfere with or impinge on the duties of mayor and council; the mayor and councillor have discredited the council and the City of Coffs Harbour regardless if there was substance to the views and opinions reported in the *SMH*; the mayor and councillor should totally refute and repudiate the views attributed to them; and the mayor and councillor were racist and should resign.

The second group of points of view was that the mayor and councillor were honourable individuals; they were entitled to their personal views; they had the right to free speech; this was trial by media; there was no evidence to support the claims made against them; guilt before innocence; and that this was a campaign by their political opponents to discredit the two individuals.

None of the letters to the editor printed in the *CHA* was in favour of what the mayor and councillor were purported to have said, nor was any of the letters saying that the mayor and councillor's alleged personal views were racist. The letters to the editor were evenly balanced in number between 'this situation is intolerable' and 'this situation is a political and media beat up with no evidence'. This could be the result of the *CHA*'s having chosen which letters to the editor would be published, to strike a balance and to be seen to be even handed.

Well before this incident, the mayor was photographed with Pauline Hanson who was drumming up political support for herself and the ONP in Coffs Harbour, and this photo appeared in the *CHA*. The mayor also opened the Coffs Harbour campaign office for the local ONP candidate for the upcoming NSW state election, which was held in March 1999. These events may be an indicator of the mayor's political leanings, especially in relation to the reported alleged comments made to the *SMH*.

It could be argued that this media exposure came out simply because of the character and temperament of the mayor and the councillor. It could also be argued that the mayor, the councillor, and the events that ensued just incited what was already present: people's inherent views about discrimination and race, which could have been heightened because of the ONP's high public profile since

1997. Regardless, the events have brought unwelcome attention to Coffs Harbour and its reputation and have raised public questions of the regional centre's attitudes and views towards immigrant and humanitarian entrant people.

There was another rash of letters to the editor of the *CHA* in October and November 2000 in response to an article in the *CHA* (18 October 2000). These letters were less controversial and took less profile than the previous occurrence. The *SMH* published an article entitled 'Racists at home in the city' (16 October 2000). This article reported some research by Dr Kevin Dunn and Dr Amy McDonald from the University of NSW - The Geography of Racism in NSW: a theoretical exploration and some preliminary findings from the mid 1990s (discussed in Chapter Two). Dunn and McDonald (2001) surveyed NSW people's attitudes towards Aborigines, Asian immigration, and multiculturalism in 1994 and 1996. They found 'racism' not just in the rural and regional centres of NSW but also in some Sydney suburbs. There was a statement in the article that drew the attention of the *CHA*: 'The mid-north coast retirement belt emerged as the most intolerant of all' (*SMH* 16 October 2000). The front-page headline 'Racist region' appeared in the *CHA* (18 October 2000). The first line of the article 'The Mid North Coast is more racist and less tolerant of other cultures than anywhere else in the State, according to a new report' (*CHA* 18 October 2000). The rest of the article in the *CHA* was about other findings of the report in relation to the rest of the state, the methodology of the research, and some questions posed to Dunn and McDonald.

The editor of the *CHA* in his opinion column of 18 October 2000 does not dismiss the results of the survey but says that racism is wrong and that Coffs Harbour has to make more effort to overcome racism. Another prominent person in Coffs Harbour, Ms Susan

Perry, the director of the English Language Centre at the Coffs Harbour Education Campus, wrote that she has not found racism in her four years of placing international students from Asia, Europe, and South America with families and households in Coffs Harbour (*CHA* 7 November 2000). On the one hand, some letters to the editor of the *CHA* have stated there is racism in Coffs Harbour. On the other hand, some letters have queried the questions asked and the methodology used in Dunn and McDonald's research, that the results occurred because of the supposedly skewed questions and methodology.

These events, letters, newspaper articles, and voting patterns are indicators of conservatism. It is difficult to draw the conclusion that racism abounds in Coffs Harbour. However, at least, these are the opinions of some sectors of Coffs Harbour.

Another Side to Coffs Harbour

The battle over the LAMN Headland proved to be a very interesting event in Coffs Harbour's recent history that shows another side to the people of the Coffs Harbour, and to distinguish Coffs Harbour from other places along the coast. The difference that will be highlighted is not between conservation (protest against the ocean outfall) and conservatism but rather the processes of activism and public protest. The event was about arrests, blockades, court, environment, media, and protests.

In the late 1980s, Coffs Harbour City Council wanted to establish an ocean outfall for sewage from the northern beaches. The first location chosen was Green Bluff at Moonee (between urban Coffs Harbour and Woolgoolga), then Woolgoolga Headland, and finally the LAMN Headland at Emerald Beach (several kilometres south of

Woolgoolga). The issue involved the Coalition Against Ocean Outfalls Inc, the Coffs Harbour Environmental Coalition, a commission of inquiry, marches of 4000 people in 1988 and a rally of 6000 - 7000 people in 1989, petitions, protest committees, and a reuse task force set up by the state government. The issue went to court and appeal several times, and injunctions were granted. However, in late 1991, there were blockades of machinery, dawn raids and arrests, police surrounding bulldozers, and other forms of protest at the headland. The issue gained national media attention for some time. Some high profile entertainers, media personnel, and politicians gave the situation wide exposure (Cooke et al 2000, pp. 27-34). In 1995, the newly elected NSW government put an end to the controversy by abandoning the proposal.

The Coffs Harbour City Council lost one court case because it had breached its own zoning bylaws, but then Council rezoned the headland to allow the outfall. The then mayor of Coffs Harbour leading the pro-outfall movement in Council was the same person as mayor in the events taking place in July and August 1999 when the *SMH* reported alleged contentious comments made to a reporter by the mayor.

This imbroglio of the LAMN Headland cost a lot of money and created a lot of aggravation for many people on both sides of the issue. There was the environmental issue, the often forgotten issue of Aboriginal heritage at the LAMN Headland, and there was the issue of 'the apparent right of Ministers of the Crown to overrule the protections supposedly enshrined in legislation for dictated land and land zoned for environmental protection....' (Cooke et al 2000, p.34). In the end, the outfall was not built, but the lingering emotional result of the struggle of trying to build an ocean outfall at

LAMN Headland wounded the people in both camps. Cooke et al (2000, p. 32) say it well:

... it also caused emotional stress and financial hardship to many ordinary, caring people, and provoked a schism in the wider Coffs Harbour community that persists even today. It was a battle that definitively changed local political and social attitudes....

Conclusion

The population of Australia has been shifting away from metropolitan centres, for various reasons, but the IHE population remains overrepresented in metropolitan centres especially Brisbane, Melbourne, and Sydney. There are IHE and AIHE people who have moved to and live in regional centres, particularly Coffs Harbour. The situation of regional centres in Australia, according to the literature, was that coordinated policies were needed to build infrastructure, make investments, and reform practice and service delivery. These issues, as important as they are, are primarily economic.

Social infrastructure, social justice, social policies, and social services are only mentioned as insignificant and unfortunate negative consequences of economic policy. Social work issues are not mentioned in terms of planning for these consequences or what to do to help alleviate these consequences. However, the assumption is that quality of life and social issues would be improved or solved if regional economic development moved ahead: only economic reform.

Coffs Harbour is a regional centre that has had large growth in the last 20 years, when compared to the rest of the state and Australia. The climate, environment, and size of Coffs Harbour have attracted people. What has been happening in Australia's regional centres

has been happening to Coffs Harbour. The regional centre's hidden economic picture is unpromising because of high unemployment and because of the lower earnings (because of the retail, service, and tourism jobs available but also because of the mix of people, some of whom are not in the labour force, moving to and staying in Coffs Harbour). The movement of people to Coffs Harbour has not proportionally included IHE people when compared to the state and national averages, and thus IHE people have few compatriots. One exception to this trend is the significant number of Punjabi Sikhs born in India, living in the township of Woolgoolga, which is part of Coffs Harbour. Coffs Harbour is also a place where it is harder to reach an occupational level of English and has proportionally few settlement services for IHE people.

Coffs Harbour is indeed a place of several faces. On the one hand, Coffs Harbour is traditional and conservative: given the support for the ONP and the incident of the alleged comments reported in the media attributed to the mayor and a councillor. On the other hand, Coffs Harbour is opposite: witness the activism and public protests against the LAMN Headland issue and the backlash from some of the public to the alleged comments attributed to the mayor and a councillor.

Coffs Harbour has been the regional centre chosen to highlight the economic and social plight of regionality. Coffs Harbour has also been contextualised to show quantitatively and qualitatively what it would be like to live in the regional centre. Finally, Coffs Harbour has been chosen as a case study to showcase the settlement of AIHE people living in Australian regional centres. Their settlement is in a position of social inequality as shown by the regionality literature and economic indicators.

The next chapter outlines the research methodology, how the data were collected and analysed. The research methodology starts with the epistemology, which is constructionism. The epistemology then informs the theoretical perspective which is critical social science. The theoretical perspective informs the methodology, which is a case study. The methodology was exploratory, interpretative, non-probability, and qualitative all carried out using the methods of in-depth, semi-structured, face-to-face interviews.

CHAPTER FOUR - RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Introduction

This chapter outlines the epistemology and theoretical perspective for this research, in a framework designed by Crotty (1998), which underpin the methodology and methods, which are the more practical aspects of data and information gathering and analysis. The epistemology is constructionism, which in turn informs the theoretical perspective, which is critical social science. Constructionism denotes that the meaning of something is constructed by the interaction people have with it. Background, contextual, and historical factors contribute to this meaning and interaction. Thus, constructionism is an interplay of micro and macro factors. Settlement, as reported by the respondents interviewed for this research, is constructed on the basis of micro and macro factors. Then, this particular example of settlement is framed within the context of Australia's immigration program, migration, settlement, multiculturalism, discrimination and racism, and regionality and Coffs Harbour for the purpose of unpacking the position of social inequality in which the AIHE people are found.

Constructionism was chosen over other epistemologies because constructionism bridges objectivism and subjectivism. In constructionism, the reality (the meaning) of a social phenomenon is constructed by and derived from the interaction of the object and the context. In other words, an object is not devoid of its surroundings. This is the view of social work, that a social phenomenon is constructed, such as settlement. In Chapter One, it was extensively argued and documented that social work recognises context and environment as integral and reciprocal to the issue or problem as is the individual.

Critical social science was chosen as the theoretical perspective because it follows on from constructionism, but, as importantly, critical social science critiques, challenges, and analyses social phenomena. Critical social science also requires structural change that empowers people and ends oppression. This is the view of social work, that a social change has to come about by giving voice to individuals, collectivising this voice, and using the voice to make structural change. In Chapter One, it was extensively argued and documented that social work seeks to make structural change, such as in settlement.

This chapter also explains the criteria for establishing the population to be researched, case studies, the use of semi-structured in-depth interviews to gather qualitative data and information from which to complete the analysis, selection of key informants, generalisability, and other interviewing matters.

BACKGROUND TO METHODOLOGY

The research methodology has been based on the researcher's worldview. It is necessary to present briefly the epistemology and theoretical perspective behind the methodology and methods. Crotty (1998 pp. 2-9) describes how each of four elements of research (epistemology, theoretical perspective, methodology, and methods) flows into the other and informs the other. Epistemology is 'a certain way of understanding, what it means to know' (p. 10). Epistemology is not the same as ontology, which '...is the study of being. It [ontology] is concerned with what is, with the nature of existence, with the structure of reality as such' (p. 10).

The epistemology for this research is constructionism. Constructionism is the bringing together of objectivism and

subjectivism, which could be located at the opposite ends of the continuum. Objectivism maintains that a reality is out there waiting to be discovered. Subjectivism maintains that reality is solely the perspective of the subject. Constructionism bridges these two ends of the continuum. Crotty (1998, p. 42) describes constructionism:

It is the view that all knowledge, and therefore all meaningful reality as such, is contingent upon human practices, being constructed in and out of interaction between human beings and their world, and developed and transmitted within an essentially social context.

This fits well with the researcher's social work perspective that an event, object, or occurrence may exist, but it does not have any meaning until there has been an interaction with the subject. The meaning of something is then constructed. For example, what we construct as settlement is the interaction between the individual IHE person and the receiving country (host society, the country's institutions and political structures, and multicultural communities in Australia) and the meaning ascribed to it.

This epistemology informs the theoretical perspective which is 'the philosophical stance informing the methodology and thus providing a context for the process and grounding its logic and criteria' (Crotty 1998, p. 3). Critical social science is the theoretical perspective that has informed the research. There are other theoretical perspectives that can follow from the epistemology of constructionism such as interpretivism, but interpretivism only looks at what people do and how they behave and interact, through their own perspective only.

The interpretive approach is based on social interactions and socially constructed meaning systems. People possess an internally experienced sense of reality. The subjective sense of reality is crucial to grasp human social life. (Neuman 1997, p. 69)

In the interpretive theoretical perspective, people assign reality to something through their experience and understanding of it. Their interpretation is an important part of critical social science. The researcher must engage with people to see how they interpret their experiences and the meanings and values behind them (Comstock 1982, pp. 379, 380), and these interpreted experiences from the IHE people might end up as 'the presentation of multiple, holistic, competing, and often conflictual realities ...' (Lincoln 1990, p. 73). This is the same as giving voice to people, which occurs in social work, especially with disadvantaged and marginalised people. However, Neuman (1997, p. 79) says that interpretivism is relativism, in that nothing is absolute. 'There is little, if any, basis for judging between alternative realities' (p.79).

For the researcher, the interpretive approach is only part of the picture. For example, the constructed meaning of settlement is broader than IHE people's interpretation of it in two ways. Firstly, their experiences are valid and have been influenced by contextual factors. IHE people's interactions with power, settings, and structures also determine how settlement is constructed. Secondly, IHE people's experiences need to be viewed within context, the societal arena. Therefore, critical social science gives context to the interpretive approach (Bredo and Feinberg 1982, p. 425) and adds a structural perspective (Ife 1997, p. 132). Critical social science is a theoretical perspective that incorporates background, common assumptions, context, history, illusions, oppression, power, settings, structures, and values into the construction of reality and critically analyses them (Neuman 1997, p. 74, Comstock 1982, pp. 378-379). Critical social science goes even further than exposing and critiquing. It requires that structures be changed to empower people and to halt oppression (Ife 1997, pp. 132, 133).

Critical social science defines social science as a critical process of inquiry that goes beyond the surface illusions to uncover the real structures in the material world in order to help people change conditions and build a better world for themselves (Neuman 1997, p. 74).

The aim of critical research, however, is not simply to enlighten but also to inform and initiate political action (Comstock 1982, p. 386).

Critical analysis, empowerment (on a micro level), and transformation (on a macro level) are key words in this theoretical perspective. How empowerment and transformation take place is that the researcher becomes involved with those he or she is researching. There is interpretation of the subjective accounts of the respondents (the persons who have had the experience) with the underlying and overarching structures (context) that play a part in the respondents' experiences. Then transformative change is planned and implemented. Ife (1997, pp. 132-134) agrees with the view of critical social science that the above literature has portrayed. Consistent with social work, critical social science needs to link the societal with the individualised and the individualised with the societal (p. 134), a dialectic and a multi-perspective view.

Critical theory is not overly prescriptive about the methodology used (Neuman 1997, p. 80). The methodology(ies) can be flexible. What is more important is the focus of the research, the values underpinning the research, the way the data are interpreted and understood, and what results from the research. The methodology for this research has not been a methodology specific to critical social science but is used by critical social science.

METHODOLOGY

Methodology is the means by which the research is conducted, how the data and information are collected and subsequently analysed, that is, the plan and process. The qualitative research methodology of this research had four qualities:

Firstly, it was exploratory. This meant the study researched a subject about which little is known: the settlement of AIHE people in Coffs Harbour.

Secondly, it was qualitative and interpretative. The aim was to provide reasons for why and how actions were taken and why and how the actions happened, in a non-statistical manner. The research did not involve participation or observation.

Thirdly, it had the feature of non-probability. People selected for the sample were not necessarily representative of the characteristics of the population: age, country of birth, gender, length of time resident in Australia, or location of residence within the Coffs Harbour LGA.

Fourthly, the research was carried out and data were collected using the methodology of a case study and using the methods of in-depth, semi-structured, face-to-face interviews.

The methodology is the '... strategy or plan of action. This is the research design that shapes our choice of and use of particular methods and links them to the desired outcomes' (Crotty 1998, p. 7). The researcher, while knowledgeable about the target population, as will be discussed later, was neither an observer nor a participant observer. The research methodology was thus not

totally naturalistic inquiry but shared common elements with it, especially since these elements were also interpretivist (Neuman 1997, p. 73):

The interpretive approach is the foundation of social research techniques that are sensitive to context, that use various methods to get inside the ways others see the world, and that are more concerned with achieving an empathic understanding of feelings and world views than testing laws of human behaviour.

This research was exploratory. It was about searching for data and information about the settlement of a population about which not much was known. Exploratory research answers the 'what' question (Neuman 1997, p. 19). The research was also descriptive, that is presenting the picture of how things are. Descriptive research answers the 'how' and 'who' questions (Neuman 1997, p. 20). This research and methodology have been more than interpretivism because they have gone beyond the 'what' question. In interpretivism, people only canvass the 'what' and 'how' of their behaviour and interaction from their own viewpoint. The research explored migration and settlement according to key informants, content analysis of some literature of Coffs Harbour, and critical analysis of the literature about migration and settlement and the macro level historical context. The micro picture of settlement is embedded in the macro picture. The research then went to answer the 'how' the 'why' questions, why this occurrence has taken place the way it has and what can be done to change this picture.

Case studies are a research methodology that can be effectively used when the occurrence to be researched is exploratory and shows significant variation. Robson (1993, p. 146) describes a case study as 'a strategy for doing research which involves an empirical investigation of a particular contemporary occurrence with its real life context using multiple sources of evidence'.

Yin (1994, pp. 6-9, 20-21) considers that 'what' questions are exploratory and that 'how' and 'why' questions are explanatory and that case studies are particularly suited to 'how' and 'why' questions about contemporary events in which the researcher has no control over the events or 'when the relevant behaviours cannot be manipulated' (p. 8). Yin (1994, p. 13) also believes that case studies are particularly useful when 'you deliberately wanted to cover contextual conditions - believing that they might be highly pertinent to your occurrence of study'. This is the case with this research and essential to this research. The voices and storying of AIHE people's experiences are located and interpreted in the macro level socio/historical/political context.

The methodology aimed to bring out the in-depth details of a situation. The results provided details about the influences, reasons, and thoughts behind actions. For example, if people said they did not use settlement services that much as part of their settlement in Coffs Harbour, this would lead to further discussion about what services did they use, what were the services like, why did they not use services, what or who helped meet the need for information and resources, or what should be in place. This might lead to a discussion of the respondents' compatriots living in Coffs Harbour and the townspeople.

The case study of the settlement of AIHE people in Coffs Harbour is between exploratory and confirmatory. The case study is also both intrinsic and instrumental. Its purpose is to know more about this case in detail, be the basis for more research about the settlement of AIHE people in a regional centre, and for the development of a perspective to explain the occurrence (Stake 1998, p. 88). The case study is also descriptive and interpretive (Merriam 1998, p. 38), interpretive being similar to Stake's (1998, p. 88) definition of

intrinsic case studies. How and why this settlement has occurred is not widely understood and a theoretical perspective has not been developed.

Elements that make up this case study are the sample of 31 AIHE respondents (see Table 4.1), the key informants, the AIHE population, the townspeople, and Coffs Harbour – climate, culture, economy, geography, physical and social infrastructure and resources, its place as a regional centre, and settlement services.

This case study is an embedded single-case design, which contains multiple units of analysis (Yin 1994, pp. 39-42): the respondents and Coffs Harbour. Case studies are a suitable research methodology for the research into AIHE people's settlement in Coffs Harbour because this settlement is dependent on context. A case study can better portray an occurrence in its context than more broad scale methods.

Qualitative research and case studies are not exempt from ensuring validity. Gay (1996, p. 217) describes validity in qualitative research and the importance of the role the researcher plays to achieve validity.

In qualitative 'measurement', validity is the degree to which observations accurately reflect what was observed (and interviews accurately reflect the feelings, opinions, and so forth, of those interviewed) and, consequently, permit appropriate interpretation of narrative data.... In a qualitative study the "goodness" of the data depends on the "goodness" of the researcher.... It is obvious then that to a much greater degree than in a quantitative study, the validity and reliability of measurement in a qualitative study are highly correlated with the competence, experience, and dedication of the person conducting the study.

Robson (1993, p. 160) echoes this:

A case study is not a survey, where reliability relies crucially on the characteristics of the data collection instruments. The case study relies on the trustworthiness of the human instrument (the researcher). Hence the characteristics and skills of the investigatory are of crucial importance.

The researcher knew and had worked with all the key informants through the CRC, DIMIA, or MARS. This is explained in more detail in a later section.

Stake (1998, p. 103) presents conceptual responsibilities of the qualitative case researcher to ensure that the quality of case study research is captured: bounding the case, research questions, patterns to develop issues, alternative interpretations, and developing generalisations. This research case study is bounded by the Coffs Harbour LGA, and the population must have been resident in Australia for at least six months and have been born in and lived in Asia until at least the age of 18 years. The other major boundary of the case study is that the research issues of this population are settlement and migration.

Triangulation very importantly enhances the rigour of qualitative research (Padgett 1998, p. 98). A triangulation measure was used in this research to ensure validity. This was the use of external references, the interviewing of 16 key informants. Their perspective, although a similar subjective perspective, helps confirm and contextualise what the respondents have reported. There was a consistency between the reports of the two groups.

Case studies have limitations as do any other method. The most common one is that researchers intend and use case studies for something other than the purpose for which they are designed,

such as inappropriately generalising from them. The purpose of this case study is to research the settlement of a particular population in a particular bounded geographic location. Another limitation is that case studies might be seen as a short cut type of research (which they are not) because case studies are flexible and have a broad application, but this does not mean they do not have rigour. This case study research is rigorous, for example from defining the objectives of the research to the selection of sample respondents to interviewing and analysis of data and information.

Generalisability was not the focus of the research, nor necessarily a goal of case studies, but usually a limitation. Generalisability is extending the findings from what was found in a piece of research to the broader situation. This is more difficult in case studies because they are less standardised. Gay (1996, p. 229) presents an additional point of view about generalisability beyond the sample.

.... no attempt is made to generalize findings to a larger population. The issue of generalizability is left up to consumers of the research and to other researchers. In other words, persons reading the report may believe that findings have a degree of applicability for their environment, and other researchers may conduct studies which support the credibility of the reported possibilities.

Other regional centres on the East Coast of Australia are of a similar population size to Coffs Harbour, have a similar percentage of overseas born people, and have similar socio-economic indicators. Therefore, the findings of this research might be broadly applicable to other coastal, regional Australian centres, especially if other research supported the findings.

METHODS

Methods are 'concrete techniques or procedures we plan to use....activities we engage in so as to gather and analyse our data' (Crotty 1998, p. 6). Methods are the last in the four elements of research, where each informs the previous one: epistemology, theoretical perspective, methodology, and methods. There were two methods used in this research. The first one was an analysis of a small number of documents about Coffs Harbour. The main method used in the research was in-depth, semi-structured interviews, which were audiotaped, transcribed, and analysed using QSR NUDIST 4. In-depth, semi-structured interviews were chosen as the appropriate method for this research with 31 respondents and 16 key informants (used for triangulation) because in-depth interviews allow time to explore answers further and to resolve ambiguities. The purpose of in-depth interviewing according to Minichiello, Aroni, Timewell, and Alexander (1995, p. 69): '.... what we are actually interested in is people's experience of social reality through their routinely constructed interpretations of it'.

The researcher gave the respondents a list of trigger/discussion points (Appendix Two) and statistical and demographic questions (Appendix Three) written in plain English two or three days beforehand. This allowed respondents time to think over the trigger/discussion points. It also gave the respondents the opportunity to think about the logistics of an interview such as childcare, date, place, and time; consider the issues of confidentiality; and take the opportunity to discover more about the interviewer. Minichiello et al (1995, p. 78) describe this step as a productive interpersonal climate.

The same researcher used the same trigger/discussion points and statistical and demographic questions with every respondent. Interviews were conducted in English, using, if necessary, TIS interpreters. Four interviews required interpreters. Two of these interviews were done with anonymous telephone interpreters and the two other interviews with face-to-face interpreters. The level of English of the rest of the respondents was sufficient for the interviews. The interviewer asked if the respondents had questions or wished to stop. Interviews lasted from 60 to 80 minutes, not including time for socialising before and afterwards. Some interviews lasted longer if respondents wished to continue discussion.

The researcher met several of the Partners' husbands (who were not part of the sample and thus not interviewed) because a few of them (four) stayed for the interviews. The husbands occasionally explained things in more detail, for example, where they had previously lived in Australia how and when they and their wives-to-be met, but posed no problem or interference to the process of the interview. Some of the husbands were quite pleased that someone was interested in their wives' story and that it was an opportunity for their wives to practise their English with someone who spoke English as a first language. Most husbands left when the interview started.

The trigger/discussion points were organised into the chronological order of the migration experience, from pre-arrival through to arrival to the present and their belongingness. The points covered the decision to migrate, the planning to migrate, the migration and arrival, impressions and expectations, and positive and negative aspects of settling in Australia. The interview process was set up in such a way as to accommodate other cultures and languages and to

capture people's experiences and impressions. The trigger/discussion points were semi-structured to allow flexibility and to ensure all relevant topics were covered. The main trigger/discussion points came from the literature. The settlement literature presented how settlement was based on migration and circumstances in country of origin. The literature also discussed compatriots, discrimination, learning English, finding work, the host society, and settlement services. The trigger/discussion points that did not originate from the literature were making the decision, planning how the migration would happen once the decision was made, leaving, arrival impressions, and belongingness.

While these interviews were more structured than unstructured, there needed to be the opportunity for what Whip (1992 p. 52) calls 'unanticipated information' to be disclosed and discussed. Whip (1992) found that unanticipated information was generally valuable because information that was not conceptualised in the design of the study, literature review, or trial interviews could emerge as new perspectives.

The interviews had optional trigger points to introduce, if needed, certain areas if they were not covered as part of the chronological order. The interviews were structured enough to help the respondents tell their story, but not enough to confine them to the trigger/discussion points. The depth, order, and speed of the interview depended on the age, command of English, gender, and personality of the respondent. Statistical and demographic questions came at the end of the interview.

Target Population Sample Criteria

The respondents' country of birth, where they lived in Asia, or under what immigration program category they entered Australia was not consequential to this research. They also must have migrated to Australia since the federal government dismantled the WAP in 1972.

The target population was further narrowed down to lawful, permanent residents or citizens of Australia who had lived in Australia for at least six months and lived in Coffs Harbour at the time of the research being conducted. One exception was partners on a two-year temporary visa before being eligible to apply for permanent residence. This applied to a small number of women respondents interviewed. DIMIA introduced this measure several years ago to discourage paid marriages of convenience to gain residency. The above criteria were applied to define the population of AIHE people in Coffs Harbour. Therefore, people who were excluded from the research were very recent arrivals, fiancé(e)s to be married to Australian residents, international students, non-lawful residents, temporary retirees, people on temporary business or work visas, visitors and tourists, and working holiday-makers.

The sample consisted of 31 male and female respondents who met the above criteria. The exact number of the target population is not known. The 1996 ABS (ABS 1998) census counted 825 people born in Asia who lived in Coffs Harbour at the time. However, not all of these 825 people would meet the target population criteria, for example a person born in Asia and who migrated to Australia at age five with his/her parents. Some of the Asian born people would also be present in the categories of Not Stated (1844 people) and Born Elsewhere Overseas (399 people).

The researcher selected people who strictly met the sample criteria. However, the sample only broadly reflected the target population's characteristics of age, country of origin, gender, and immigration category of arrival. The sample was reflective, though not statistically representative. For example, Chinese people make up 6.6 per cent of the AIHE people in Coffs Harbour (ABS 1998), but they did not make up 6.6 per cent of the sample. Additionally for example, there were only five people (16 per cent) born in India who were interviewed from the sample, but people born in India made up more than half of the target population because the research was about AIHE people as a group living in Coffs Harbour, not about countries of birth or residents in Asia.

This sample was purposive as defined by Monette, Sullivan, and DeJong (1990, p. 496): 'Purposive sampling is a non-probability sampling technique where investigators use their judgment' or 'selecting respondents based on their ability to provide information' (Padgett, 1998, p. 51). The sample was also convenience, 'selecting respondents based on their availability' (Padgett, 1998, p. 51). Therefore, women made up at least 50% of the sample (20 women and 11 men) because the literature (Hollinsworth 1998; Maeda Furuto and Murase 1992; Matthews Brown 1993; Meemeduma and Moraes-Gorecki 1990; Pittaway 1991; and Ross-Sheriff 1992) reveals differences in the experience of the settlement of men and women. There was a ratio of a two to one female to male respondents. This was because female respondents are more likely to associate with MARS and the female MARS CSS worker and because MARS and the English language classes operate during weekday office hours. Female respondents are less likely to be in daytime employment because of more discrimination against women in finding work and because women are the predominant carers of children. However, several respondents were interviewed

outside of business hours. The under representation of male respondents in the sample was similar to the under representation of Punjabi Sikh respondents in the sample because while Punjabi Sikhs made up more than 50 per cent of the 1996 ABS census of AIHE people in Coffs Harbour, they made up only 16 per cent of the sample.

There were respondents from other countries of birth census such as Burma and Cambodia, but these countries did not appear in the ABS. The reason for this is that the ABS Expanded Community Profile (from which data were drawn) only listed countries of birth for which there were a minimum number of people, for example five. Privacy regulations forbid listing small numbers of people because of the increased likelihood of their identification. However, there were some countries listed in the Expanded Community Profile for Coffs Harbour that had no respondents such as Mongolia, Nepal, and Sri Lanka.

Other factors of significance were that the ABS census took place in August 1996, about 30 months before the interviews took place. Members of the target population in Coffs Harbour may have arrived, departed, or died since then. The ABS census only listed the country of birth, not when people arrived in Australia, nor where they lived in Asia or from which country, they migrated. Thus, the total number of 825 AIHE people identified by the ABS 1996 census may not fit the target population criteria. This real figure is impossible to determine.

Selection of Respondents for the Sample

In choosing respondents, the researcher considered people he met through MARS, the CSS worker, English language providers, and

other respondents. However, it is acknowledged that isolated AIHE people, especially those people who lived away from the built-up areas of the Coffs Harbour LGA and those who did not have contact with the above people and organisations, were unlikely to be selected as respondents. Initial choices had to meet the population criteria and then meet the purposive and quota sample criteria, to be roughly reflective of the target population. Finally, the interview went ahead if the respondent agreed.

The rest of the mix of characteristics of the respondents (Appendix Six) was balanced. Their countries of birth varied, in that there were at least some respondents from most countries of Asia except where there were no people from that country resident in Coffs Harbour. While age was not always related to the length of time resident in Australia (average of 11.6 years) or resident in Coffs Harbour (average of 7.8 years), there was a spread of ages of the respondents. The partner status of the respondent on arrival in Australia ranged from no spouse, partner from the same cultural background born in Australia, partner from the same cultural background not born in Australia, partner from another cultural background and not born in Australia, or an Australian husband who was near the same age or significantly older. A few of the respondents had already visited Australia. Finally, the immigration category under which the respondents entered Australia varied from business, to family to humanitarian entrant to skilled.

Table 4.1

Country of Birth

| | |
|-----------------|----------|
| Burma | 2 |
| Cambodia | 1 |
| Hong Kong | 2 |
| India | 5 |
| Indonesia | 2 |
| Japan | 2 |
| Korea (South) | 1 |
| Malaysia | 3 |
| Philippines | 4 |
| PRC | 3 |
| Singapore | 1 |
| Thailand | 2 |
| <u>Viet Nam</u> | <u>3</u> |
| Total | 31 |

Table 4.2

Years of Residence in Australia

| | |
|----------------------|----------|
| Half | 1 |
| One | 2 |
| One and a half | 1 |
| Two | 2 |
| Three | 5 |
| Four | 1 |
| Nine | 2 |
| Ten | 1 |
| Ten and a half | 1 |
| Twelve | 1 |
| Thirteen | 2 |
| Sixteen | 1 |
| Seventeen | 1 |
| Eighteen | 2 |
| Twenty | 2 |
| Twenty two | 1 |
| Twenty three | 1 |
| Twenty four | 1 |
| Twenty five | 1 |
| Twenty-five and half | 1 |
| <u>Twenty seven</u> | <u>1</u> |
| Average | 11.6 |

Table 4.3

Years in of Residence in Coffs Harbour

| | |
|---------------------|----------|
| Half | 2 |
| One | 4 |
| One and one half | 1 |
| Two | 5 |
| Three | 2 |
| Four | 1 |
| Five | 1 |
| Six | 1 |
| Nine | 2 |
| Ten | 2 |
| Ten and one half | 1 |
| Eleven | 1 |
| Twelve | 2 |
| Thirteen | 1 |
| Twenty | 3 |
| Twenty and one half | 1 |
| <u>Twenty seven</u> | <u>1</u> |
| Average | 7.8 |

Punjabi Sikhs

The sample of 31 respondents included five India-born people who were Punjabi Sikhs. They were either born in the Punjab or were of Punjabi background but were born elsewhere in India, and spoke the Punjabi language. All five were members of the Sikh religion. Four of these respondents lived in or near the township of Woolgoolga, the northern end of Coffs Harbour. These four respondents had married Australian-born Punjabi Sikhs, through arranged marriages. The research was not about Punjabi Sikhs or other specific communities or groups of AIHE people (for example the Filipinos), but about AIHE people as a whole in Coffs Harbour.

Limitations

The main limitation is that the qualitative data were collected in Coffs Harbour in 1999 with a sample that was only generally representative of the population of AIHE people. The generalisability to populations of AIHE people in other regional centres is restricted. The Coffs Harbour population of AIHE people is somewhat atypical because of the large percentage of Punjabi Sikhs. The ABS data were collected in August 1996, two and a half years before the interviews. Some of the AIHE people have moved from Coffs Harbour or died. Other people have moved in since August 1996.

Key Informants

The researcher also interviewed 16 key informants, after interviewing the 31 respondents. The purpose of interviewing key informants was to triangulate what the respondents had to say and to provide a broader contextual picture of the respondents' experiences. The key informants were not from the target population or sample, but still they were familiar with the target population. Mark (1996, p. 237) calls key informants 'kinds of individuals who are in the position of knowing a community's needs and service use patterns'. For example, the key informants could speak further about the treatment of AIHE people within the Coffs Harbour context.

The key informants were chosen because they were individuals who were knowledgeable and well experienced in settlement work with AIHE people living in Coffs Harbour. The researcher knew and had worked with all the key informants. Several of the key informants were employees and/or former employees, founding members,

management committee members, or volunteers of MARS. Other key informants were English language providers, employees and former employees of DIMIA, the CRC, and CSS grants. The key informants were Australian-born and overseas born. Several of the key informants did not live in Coffs Harbour, but had regular contact with the regional centre and its IHE people. None of the key informants was a member of the target population of AIHE people in Coffs Harbour.

The researcher interviewed the key informants using the same list of trigger/discussion points (Appendix Three). All the interviews were tape-recorded, transcribed, and then coded (Appendix Five), and analysed using QSR NUDIST 4.

The key informants understood and agreed that they were being interviewed about their experience with and impressions of AIHE people in Coffs Harbour. They also understood they were speaking on behalf of themselves and not on behalf of respondents or the target population. They knew that 31 respondents had been interviewed but not who had been interviewed. The key informants also did not know who the other key informants were or what they had said. They seldom contradicted what the respondents had to say, but instead broadened the picture provided by the respondents. The key informants' contribution contextualised the research and added to it.

The other part of this case study is a document analysis. Some of the documents are reports such as statistics from the ABS. Other documents are letters to the editor of the *CHA* and reporters' articles mostly about a local government event about IHE people and multiculturalism that took place in Coffs Harbour during July and August 1999. Articles cannot be taken as a truth, but rather as

an interpretation of what happened. However, these are a valid part of building a bigger picture.

Credibility of the Researcher

The methodology in a study such as this must cater for differences among cultures. The researcher who devises the methodology should at least have an elementary knowledge of the cultures of the participants. The interviewer needs to observe and adhere to customs such as family relations, interaction between the sexes, perception of time, privacy, processes of communication and its pace and direction, taboo subjects, etc. If the researcher has knowledge of people's cultures and has people's trust, this helps bridge any differences. Lincoln and Guba (1985) stress the need for information about the population and sample beforehand; although, they are not specifically talking about Asian cultures:

We shall presume that the inquirer has made every effort to become thoroughly acquainted with the field sites in which the study is to take place....Such prior ethnography not only helps to diminish the obtrusiveness of the investigator but also provides a baseline of cultural accommodation and informational orientation that will be invaluable in increasing both effectiveness and the efficiency of the formal work (p. 251).

Lincoln and Guba (1985, pp. 256-257) also stress the importance of building and maintaining trust with respondents to ensure integrity of data. Good social work practice requires treating the client with confidentiality and respect to build a professional relationship, and then their work together is more likely to succeed. This also applies to research in social work. This means respondents are more likely to agree to participate in the research because they have some knowledge of and familiarity with the researcher, and the researcher has some credibility. The fact the respondents knew, or knew of, the researcher helped him to establish a rapport more

quickly with the respondents when he requested to interview them about personal matters. Knowledge of the interviewer helped reassure those people who distrust interviewers and people who are nervous of people who ask questions and who are 'government looking'.

Since 1995, the researcher has been involved in social work with local IHE people. Thus, he is familiar with working cross-culturally and has credibility among the local IHE people. This is what Padgett (1998, p. 94) calls prolonged engagement in the field.

Additionally, as the researcher is not from any of the Asian countries of origin, he could not be seen by some AIHE people as coming from their or other Asian countries of origin or culture, which would make him appear more neutral. However, the downside is that since the researcher does not have comprehensive knowledge of the languages or the cultures, he may not be fully accepted. He may be locked out of the interpretations, nuances, richness, and subtleties of the respondents' stories.

The respondents knew the researcher, knew of him, or knew the individual referring the researcher. This referring person was sometimes the MARS CSS worker or members of the MARS management committee. The MARS CSS worker and the MARS organisation sanctioned the researcher as someone who was involved in the field and knew the area, as did the researcher's previous work experience with IHE people and the researcher's own migration and parents from a NESC. One interviewer/researcher also ensured more consistency and standardisation of confidentiality and interviewing, the fewer people the less chance of confidentiality being breached. The researcher contacted people in person or by telephone. The purpose of the research and process of

interviews were explained to them, and the prospective respondents then made a decision whether or not they agreed to participate. Respondents received the trigger/discussion points beforehand. This often involved a visit or a telephone conversation to explain the research. Several days later, the respondents asked any questions and then gave or refused their permission. Five people refused to be involved or participate. Reasons given were that they were too busy or not interested. The pre-interview contact also built rapport. Additionally, the researcher self-disclosed about his settlement, migration, and marriage to an Australian woman.

All of this contributed to a good interviewer and respondent relationship especially when the topic was about subjective experiences. This resulted in strong interviews for this research, approximated in the fifth type of interview out of the six that Massarik (1981, p. 201) discusses.

The interview is characterized by an intensive process on the part of the interviewer to explore thoroughly...the views and dynamics of the interview.... In turn, the interviewee sufficiently reciprocates this feeling, valuing the interviewer's motives and seeking to respond in appropriate depth (p. 203).'

Gender of Interviewer

Gender issues are sometimes ignored when conducting research. There are certain circumstances where it is preferable for a female interviewer to interview female respondents for cultural reasons such as some Muslim women are forbidden to talk to men. Another reason is if a female respondent states a preference for a female interviewer.

Whip (1992, pp. 61-63) describes three areas in which sexism may be present in research:

Firstly, in data collection - not surveying women, using quantitative methods, and asking women about the male public world rather than the female individual or personal world. This study has used qualitative methods and researched the informal and local world of the respondents.

Secondly, with the interpretation of results - selective use of data to reinforce the dominant position of men and subordinate position of women. This study has treated men and women equally. Results have not been selective but have equally captured male and female responses.

Thirdly, the reporting of research findings - generalising findings from both genders to only males and the use of non-inclusive language. This study has presented the experiences of both genders, using inclusive language.

Everitt, Hardiker, Littlewood, and Mullender (1992, p. 29) state that feminist social work and feminist research are about '.... seeing and understanding the world from the perspective of women'. Women's settlement experiences in the research have been given voice. This research has followed, in the vein of constructionism, that the individual concerned constructs meaning of an experience. In this research, female AIHE respondents have been as prominent as male AIHE respondents. Feminist social work is also about exposing and changing patriarchal structures that perpetuate the inequality between men and women (p. 29). This research reveals how the dominant group has dictated the inequitable requirements under which IHE people are permitted to migrate to and settle in

Australia. Examples are discrimination and racism. Feminist social work, regarding gender, falls under this ambit, to expose structural inequities as this research does.

Ethics

The research has abided by accepted research ethics. Such ethics are, for example, not denying service to respondents who need service; not using information for financial or material gain; accepting respondents' right to refuse to discuss some discussion points, or to refuse interviews. The objectives of the research, the methodology, the trigger/discussion points pro forma, and the consent form were approved by the James Cook University Ethics Committee in February 1997, with the proviso that counselling had to be provided should the research cause distress to the respondents. However, the need for counselling did not arise because no apparent distress to the respondents arose because of the interviews. The likelihood of distress occurring because of participating in the interviews was reduced because of two reasons: Firstly, the respondents read and understood the trigger/discussion points beforehand. Secondly, the research topic about settlement and migration was unlikely to cause distress because it was quite unlike researching experiences of assault, domestic violence, mental illness, sexual abuse, torture, etc.

The methodology's appropriateness and integrity were ensured by the researcher's employment experience; open communication with the respondents and key informants as to the objectives of the research and how the interview could proceed; settlement and migration background; social work education; and the use of audiotape recording and transcribing the tapes. The research was not funded or owned by any outside party. The researcher has paid

the costs of the research. No external party or organisation owns the information or its intellectual property, so no external party or organisation can determine or dictate its use.

Interview Procedure

Most interviews took place in the respondents' homes, and some took place in the researcher's university office. About half a dozen interviews took place at the MARS office. These were quiet locations of convenience to both parties for audiotaping purposes. The respondents' interviews lasted for 60 to 80 minutes. The researcher did not take notes except for the demographics at the end of the interview. Note taking during an interview does not give the impression of paying full attention. Note taking is also time consuming and distracting for both parties and might even be intimidating. Four respondents refused to be audiotaped. The researcher then took notes, about 1500 to 2500 words for each interview. These respondents received their written interviews back to check for accuracy. They made any preferred changes and returned the written interviews.

The researcher became more knowledgeable as more interviews were completed. This was because patterns and themes were emerging from previous interviews. Accordingly, the list of trigger/discussion points was revised as the interviews proceeded, especially after the first few interviews. Respondents were honest: they had critical things to say about compatriots, discrimination, or where they lived or used to live. The researcher did not think the respondents were trying to recount only pleasantries, and this was borne out by information from the key informants.

The researcher stopped interviewing at 31 respondents and 16 key informants because he believed saturation was reached. No new data and information were forthcoming, and the content from the last several interviews confirmed data from previous interviews.

Slightly more than half of the key informants were interviewed by speaker telephone. The tape recording proved to be of better quality than the face-to-face interviews. The reason for conducting some of these interviews by telephone was that a few of the key informants used to live in Coffs Harbour but now lived in Sydney. Other local key informants could not meet face-to-face because of a busy schedule, the demands of a newborn baby, or work. The key informants' interviews were of 15 to 25 minutes duration.

The researcher made diary entries about blockages and insights developed when interviewing, coding, analysing, and writing. These have been incorporated into the analysis chapter. The researcher made impressionistic notes of each interview, respondent, or key informant within four or five hours after the interview. This ensured that the impressions would be fresh and clear.

All but four of the respondents gave permission for their interviews to be audiotaped. Two of the respondents who refused to be audiotaped had fled from an oppressive regime, so their reasons for refusing were understandable. One respondent did not give a reason. The fourth respondent had to be interviewed while working, in circumstances that allowed note taking but not audiotaping.

Audiotape recording ensured that fewer details were missed. In two cases, a short part of the interview was missed or dialogue was unintelligible because of accents, background noise, distance from the tape recorder, or mumbling. Audiotape recording has

disadvantages: it can intimidate respondents depending on their circumstances. Some respondents were embarrassed by what they perceived as poor English language skills. Another disadvantage of audiotape recording according to Minichiello et al (1995, p. 99) is that it may lull the interviewer into a loss of concentration. The interviewer may think the audiotape captures everything and less effort is needed in the interaction. In this research, the opposite proved true. The effort the interviewer put into the interaction of the interview contributed to the richness of the interview. The tape recorder's presence proved to be unobtrusive, and respondents soon forgot about its presence. The researcher could concentrate on the content and process without having to worry about remembering the details or sequence of events.

Three transcribers were paid, all who spoke English as a First Language, to transcribe the taped interviews from 27 respondents and 16 key informants. The one researcher conducted all the interviews and read the transcriptions several times, one time while playing the tapes. This procedure ensured accuracy of the transcriptions.

For the four respondents who spoke little English, the researcher used telephone or face-to-face interpreters accredited by TIS. TIS operates 24 hours a day, 365 days a year and covers nearly 100 languages and dialects (DIMA 20 March 1996, Fact Sheet 8). TIS interpreters live anywhere in Australia and remain anonymous over the telephone. The researcher can also request a male or female telephone interpreter. Interpreters have been accredited by National Accrediting Authority of Translators and Interpreters (NAATI). Using TIS, the researcher does not have to worry about finding interpreters and then ensuring their competence. TIS interpreters abide by a code of ethics that may not apply to

unaccredited interpreters. This code of ethics ensures confidentiality. Names of the respondents were not given to the TIS interpreters when the interviews were conducted over the telephone. When a telephone interpreter was used, the respondent and interviewer were in the same room and used a speakerphone.

Frey, Roberts-Smith, and Bessell-Browne (1990, pp. 58-59) advise against using friends and relatives of the respondents as interpreters because of their untested skills and because they might not be able to pass on information because of their relationship or vested interests. The authors caution against using children. Researchers should also consider political or religious sensitivities.

Using interpreters was not unusual for the researcher because as a social work practitioner he has used interpreters with IHE clients. When interpreters were used for interviewing respondents, the interviews were more question and answer format rather than open discussion, even if tape recorded. There was not as much depth of content in these interviews. The rapport was not as established and things were not clarified as easily, simply because interviewing with interpreters took longer and was not as effective. The untaped interviews with written notes did not have as much depth either because note taking cannot capture as much as audiotaping.

The transcribers pledged to keep the identity of the respondents confidential, and the transcribers understood that the materials and intellectual property belonged to the researcher. They have returned all the tapes. The researcher has asked the transcribers to delete all the files pertaining to this research from their computer hard drives, compact disks, floppy disks, and any other storage and retrieval system.

Coding

The coding (the assigning of data to categories based on themes and patterns, followed the trigger/discussion points. Some new categories were entirely different from the trigger/discussion points. Others categories were just more specific and detailed categories. For example, belongingness, food, religion, and spouse were not on the original list of trigger/discussion points. The coding was revised several times after some interviews were completed and again after all the interviews were completed and read several times. For example, Marriage and Punjabi Sikhs became a category, and transcription was coded according to this category. A line of text or lines of text could be coded according to one or more categories.

Coding was done using QSR N4. QSR N4 is one of several computer software programs available for qualitative data organisation and management. Word processed interviews were prepared for importation into QSR N4 by the appropriate formatting of text. Once imported, coding categories (see Appendices Four and Five for coding categories) were developed and text was singly or multiply coded. Codes were changed or collapsed as needed and as patterns and themes emerged. In this program, retrieval and word and phrase searches are easy and rapid. QSR N4 also has several search operators to assist in exploring patterns and themes. QSR N4 does on the screen what used to be done on paper with cut and paste files, memos, and notes. The breadth, scope, and speed are much greater with the computer. However, the computer and QSR N4 did not do the analysis, but assisted the researcher. The researcher entered the 47 interview transcripts into QSR N4, about 275,000 words of text.

Conclusion

This research used the epistemology of constructionism and the theoretical perspective of critical social science. The researched social phenomenon of settlement was located in its macro socio/historical/political context using this epistemology and theoretical perspective. This epistemology and theoretical perspective also lend themselves well to social work, which has very similar aims. Any other type of epistemology or theoretical perspective would have been too objective or too subjective and would not have incorporated the context and background, which are so essential to any social issue, and settlement was no exception.

The methodology of case studies and methods of in-depth, semi-structured interviews allowed the researcher to discover respondents' perceived meaning from sharing their stories about their experiences of settlement and migration. The methodology and methods were gender friendly and followed the chronological sequence from premigration to migration to arrival to settlement. Case studies have a specific purpose and flexibility, but how they are used is not prescriptive, so there can be the tendency to use them inappropriately or as a multipurpose methodology and their validity can be affected. However, the use case studies in this research was appropriately used and validity was ensured. The triangulation used to ensure validity was the interviewing of 16 key informants, and their data were analysed.

Respondents were selected according to a purposive and quota sample. The sample reflected the AIHE population of Coffs Harbour, but, for example, while Punjabi Sikhs made up half the AIHE population in Coffs Harbour, they did not make up half the sample.

While gender and country of birth were represented in the sample, these two factors did not appear as separate in the analysed data. Analysed data were the settlement experiences of AIHE people, as a total group, who lived in Coffs Harbour.

Finally, generalisability from case studies is not strong, and this was the case with this research. However, the objective of this research was to discover and explore the settlement experiences of AIHE people residing in a regional centre, and to find out what their stories of settlement meant for them. The epistemology, theoretical perspective, methodology, and methods enabled this to happen.

The next chapter presents the findings and their analysis from interviews held with the 31 respondents. The respondents, the sample taken from the population of AIHE people in Coffs Harbour, were four groups that the literature did not predict: the Independents, the Partners, the Punjabi Sikhs, and the Humanitarian Entrants. In particular, the next chapter discusses the premigration, leaving the country of origin, arrival impressions, and government and settlement services. Findings and analysis from interviews held with the 16 key informants were used to contextualise and triangulate the findings from the respondents. The key informants spoke about the population of AIHE people in Coffs Harbour rather than from an individual point of view, which the respondents did. The findings and their analysis of issues such as compatriots, English, townspeople, discrimination and racism, employment, and belongingness, which were also common to the four groups of respondents, are presented in the two chapters following the next chapter about the four groups of respondents.

CHAPTER FIVE - THE FOUR GROUPS OF RESPONDENTS

The literature, while scant, about AIHE people living in regional centres did not predict the four groups of respondents found in the sample taken from the AIHE population living in Coffs Harbour, except the Punjabi Sikhs (de Lepervanche 1984). The Punjabi Sikhs were always going to be one obvious group because of their visible and sizeable presence in Woolgoolga. The Humanitarian Entrants were also another likely group because regional centres have CRSS committees who sponsor humanitarian entrants. In some cases, relations, who have been previously sponsored by the local CRSS committee, sponsored the Humanitarian Entrants. It is unlikely, otherwise, that humanitarian entrants would live in regional centres. The third likely group was the Partners because there were female weighted gender imbalances for the Filipinos, Thais, Singaporeans, Indonesians, and Malaysians living in Coffs Harbour. Some of these women would be married to Australian men. While the first three groups were foreseeable, the last group, the Independents, did not turn out to be a group that captured all the people who did not fit into the first three groups. Apart from the Punjabi Sikhs, the other three groups of respondents were not visible in Coffs Harbour because their numbers were small and they did not live in any particular area of Coffs Harbour.

The Independents were generally unsponsored and had already travelled or visited Australia. They were usually skilled or business immigrant people. They were not Asian immigrant women married to Australian men, and they were not Punjabi Sikhs or humanitarian entrant people.

The Partners, AIHE women (excluding Punjabi Sikhs) were married to Australian men.

Some of the Partners married Australian men who were living in the women's country of origin, or Australian men the women met in Australia as the women were travelling or studying. However, there were Asian immigrant women who married and migrated at the same time. The literature did not predict marriage as a settlement issue.

The literature, except de Lepervanche (1984) did not predict the Punjabi Sikhs as part of regional settlement. It was unusual to find a significant number of AIHE people from the same country or region of a country in an Australian regional centre. Punjabi Sikhs migrated from the Punjab India to Australia for arranged marriages to Australian Punjabi Sikh men and women. This group of respondents, unlike the three other groups, had compatriots, who proved to be helpful and controlling.

The final group was the Humanitarian Entrants who fled their country of origin because of persecution, trauma, and violation of their human rights. Marriage and skilled employment in Australia were not features of their migration. Their concerns were about leaving their country of origin rather than specifically coming to Australia or migrating. Their stories were disheartening. They were the most disadvantaged of the four groups because of not having compatriots, much English, or resources.

This chapter presents the findings and the analysis of the issues of premigration, leaving the country of origin, arrival impressions, and government and settlement services, from the four groups of respondents. Findings and analysis from the key informants were

used to contextualise and triangulate the findings from the respondents. The key informants spoke about the population of AIHE people in Coffs Harbour rather than from an individual point of view, which the respondents did.

THE INDEPENDENTS

The settlement literature, being very scant on AIHE people living in regional centres, did not predict the existence of four groups of respondents. The Independents were, in one sense, all the respondents who did not fit into one of the other groups. However, the Independents had commonalities as well, and they were the most advantaged of the four groups. The Independents were five men and two women (unrelated and unconnected to each other) from Japan, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore, and Thailand. Most of them had travelled to Australia before for business or pleasure. They liked Australia and made the decision to migrate because of a sense of adventure or because Australia could offer them better economic and social prospects than could their country of origin. Australia accepted them because of their age, education, level of English, and skills. Their settlement was not marked in any way out of the ordinary. Their use of settlement services was not high because they had been to Australia before, they spoke adequate English, and there were not sufficient settlement services in Coffs Harbour to assist them.

Premigration

The Independents were men and women who had reached a stage in their lives where they wanted or needed something different. They sought opportunity overseas. The Independents were

generally happy in their country of origin because they were working at satisfactory or good jobs. Many were middle class or professionals, and some had a tertiary education. The Independents also had family in Australia or family that had migrated to another country.

The Independents migrated to Australia for a number of reasons such as giving their children a Western and English language education, or that where they lived in Australia reminded them of where they grew up or lived in their country of origin. Some Independents came to Australia in their early 20s, either for work or as part of their travels, without the intention of staying. They did eventually stay and find partners, sometimes Australian. One man in such circumstances tells why he came to Australia and stayed. He did not marry an Australian though: he married a woman from his country of origin who came to Australia.

My father worked very hard in my country before I came to Australia. I used to have to carry all the fish to the market in the morning so he could sell them. The market was in the mountains on the border of my country. My family always talked about where will we go because from my income from what we got in my country there was no hope, so we looked at the outside world. We thought Australia, Canada, and America. Then one of my friends said this is very good. He had a son in Australia and he asked me if I would like to come to Australia. My family said why not just go? If you never try you never know. If anything is wrong just come back. No harm, just come back. Long-term male resident.

In general, the Independents, who are not all the AIHE people in Coffs Harbour, had some connection with Australia, such as a family member, or they had already travelled to Australia.

One half of the key informants believed that Asian immigrant people moved to Australia (not specifically Coffs Harbour) for reasons of business and economic opportunities or to find work. They came to improve their lives and to earn money. Other isolated less frequent answers why they migrated to Australia were to be

with family members already in Australia, to meet Australians (usually men) for marriage, or because Australia was closer to Asia than North America or Europe.

A quotation from one key informant provides a good summary of this section.

In terms of migrants as opposed to refugees, I think the situation is very different. There is an element of choice there. I think Australia is seen as a tolerant society, with a good lifestyle and good employment prospects. As well, those people might have a relative or contact already in Australia. Former senior DIMIA official.

Leaving Country of Origin

Leaving is a combination of logistics and emotions. It includes all the paperwork required by DIMIA, and sometimes the country of origin required an exit permit. Leaving was also booking flights, disposing of and taking some possessions, saying goodbye, and boarding the aeroplane or ship and leaving. The leaving process was also reflective, whether the decision was the right one. Leaving also encompassed the emotional side, feeling sad about leaving and looking forward to the new country and people.

The Independents did not mention much about the administrative and visa process of leaving. A few people mentioned that when they were notified of their acceptance to migrate that they had to leave within a short time or the acceptance would lapse. One family had three weeks in which to leave. Another family had 48 hours in which to leave. While waiting for the notification to come from the Australian overseas consular post, respondents did not use the phrase 'being in limbo', but that is what they were describing. They could not sell their house or furniture or quit their job. This woman knew that approval could come at any time, but not knowing when

left her with only being able to make plans and not being able to take any action.

Yes, when I first came I brought my children. We migrated, me and my two kids, but my visa it says I have to leave in three weeks. Because I have some property that I can't really sell in that very short time, so we left for Australia and then I brought my kids and after two months I left them with my family and I went back to my country for another six months. New arrival woman who came as an independent.

This man has been in Australia for quite a few years and spoke English almost as a first language. He migrated as a young single man but described how hard it was to leave.

It was very hard to leave. Not just because I still had some family there. One of the most difficult aspects was the friends that I grew up with and studied with in primary school and secondary school. That's what I found difficult, to leave and knowing that I've got to make new friends. Knowing the kind of person I am, it takes a long time to develop friendships. That was difficult. Also leaving a secure lifestyle, a secure job, knowing that you've got to adjust your lifestyle to cope with cultures and customs, new laws, develop new contacts in so many different areas. All these things you've got to leave behind and start over again. I thought it was difficult.

Another woman talked about the trepidation she has about migrating to Australia. She moved to Australia with her husband and children, over ten years ago. They had a family member in Coffs Harbour. What she said captured so poignantly the sentiment of many of the immigrant people who have been interviewed.

I cried a lot. I cried when I said goodbye to my family and friends. At the time, I thought that from this day is my life going to be very hard. How can I afford to buy a ticket to come back? Probably, I'll never see them again! It goes through your mind and you think, this is the last time to have dinner with them and to say goodbye, and it's more like you're going to die, or something like that! It was very sad, and I did cry a lot. So the last week when you know you're going to leave, you feel like your heart's beating really fast and you go 'Oh God!' You really want to go, but it's really hard to explain the feeling at the time. You really want to go, but another mind says, oh no, what am I going to do? I'll leave all these people behind, and I'll probably never come back and see them again. So, very emotional and you cry a lot, really cry and hope.

This quotation has encapsulated what the experience of departure from their country of origin was like for some of the immigrant respondents. They wanted to migrate but were sad about leaving behind their country, culture, family, and friends. Doubts were obviously crossing their minds, questioning if this was the right decision and did they still want to leave. They were torn. On departure, they reflected more about leaving their world and loved ones behind than about to where they were heading. The literature overall does not describe migration and settlement like this. This is giving voice to an experience as described by the participant and not described by a second party who has not experienced the event. This is how the experience was constructed by the individual (Ife and Morley 2002, p. 70).

This woman would be migrating to Australia in what Madden and Young (1991, pp. 151-152) describe as minimal push factors but motivated to be with a family member. Partes and Borocz (1989 cited in Adelman et al 1994, p. 45) call this type of migration the social network theoretical construct. It is about ties and friendship among relations and friends in different countries. Betts (1996, p. 22) probably best captures this type of migration in that IHE people will not necessarily move to a place where there is work.

While this woman's migration was individual on one level, her migration was structural in another that if Australia were a country that was not equal to or better than her country of origin, she probably would not have migrated.

Arrival Impressions

One of the trigger/discussion points from the interview schedule was about what they knew about Australia beforehand. The

answers were cattle, koalas, kangaroos, sheep, and wool. Also mentioned were big cities, multiculturalism, and that it was closer to Asia than it was to either Europe or North America. They knew little else about Australia, nor did they try to find out much about Australia. Reasons given for not finding out more were that they did not think it was necessary, they were too busy with leaving and saying goodbye, or they never thought of it.

The overwhelming impression the Independents had when they first arrived was how clean and green the country was, the spectacular beaches, the lack of houses and people, and the wide-open space. In contrast, the majority of the key informants mentioned English language, finding work, and access to and use of settlement services. These were things that the respondents barely mentioned, but this does not mean they would not be important factors to them. Overall, the Independents were positive about Australia such as the natural beauty and the relaxed pace of life, with a few critical comments about aspects they thought did not measure up to the equivalent in their country of origin such as workmanship, retail service, and the public service.

One reason why some people were not more expressive about their migration upon reflection may have been that they thought they were only staying temporarily when they arrived. When this changed to permanent, there was not such a sharp defining point. The once temporary stay in Australia blurred into permanent migration, as perhaps did the feelings and sentiments. For some of the Independents, perhaps returning to their country of origin was an option if things did not go to plan. Again, this was a factor in softening the permanency or poignancy of migration.

The next quotation was about the work ethic in Australia compared to the respondent's country of origin.

For example, if you go to shop in my country, the service is better than here in Australia. I order something, and it never comes on time. If someone makes a mistake, it's their mistake but still we should fix it up! In my country, it never happens like that! But here in Australia, people just work for money, for themselves. In Australia, if they're not happy, they move to another place. And also in my country each person has a strong discipline and loyalty to the company or whatever. If you make a mistake and someone above you, your boss or whoever, has power over you then you're in trouble, but here in Australia people are equal. Woman who arrived several years ago.

Another respondent captured the stereotypical Australian relaxed attitude of 'no worries' and taking things in their stride. He had been in Australia for about 10 years and spoke good English.

I became very familiar with Australian life, and I found out about it because English was easy for me. It wasn't really easy but it was easier than other languages and also the Australian lifestyle I found it was laid back, and it was no worries, that was the spirit of Australia, no worries. I thought it was quite easy. Okay in other countries if I make a mistake I have to take responsibility quite a big responsibility. In Australia if I make a mistake and if it's the first time, I can learn from the first mistake. I thought other countries don't allow you to make many mistakes. Australians they don't know this.

Most of the key informants were immigrant people from MESC and NESCs. They were answering in light of their line of work, or voluntary work, in their contact with AIHE people over the months and years. The key informants confirmed the things the respondents had to say and broadened the picture or added to it. For example, the key informants mentioned settlement services several times, and the Independents rarely, perhaps because these services were not important to Independents or not important when they arrived. The key informants talked about the impressions of arrival in Coffs Harbour of AIHE people in general, not necessarily the impressions of the Independents because this was where the key informants lived and worked.

The overwhelming theme from the key informants was the change, difference, and newness of Australia, for the new AIHE people. These were the things that people had to accept and possibly were not yet ready for these things. Some or many of their expectations would be different from the reality, and Australia would not meet all of their expectations.

The Independents' impressions about Australia on arrival were about the climate, geography, and size. They also only had stereotypical information about Australia before arriving, and did not have many critical things to say about Australia or Australians.

There was not literature to be found that described the arrival impressions of AIHE people. There was literature that described their settlement, but this was the description of settlement, of which arrival would played a small part, in retrospect.

Government and Settlement Services

This section discusses the Independents' comments about their use of settlement services. Those Independents, who used settlement services, were pleased with them with two exceptions that are discussed later in this section. The services used were Centrelink (Department of Social Security and Commonwealth Employment Service when the Independents spoke of their settlement before September 1997 and May 1998 respectively), MARS, and English classes.

The help MARS provides to immigrant people, more so than to humanitarian entrant people, is casework, information, helping correct gaps in policy and service delivery of local social welfare services, a place to volunteer with office work, a place to meet

other immigrant people, and the organisation of multicultural festivals and functions. MARS is the focal point of multiculturalism and help for IHE people in Coffs Harbour. It has the same function as an MRC in a metropolitan centre.

There was one complaint about public servants in NSW not knowing what they should have known and then incorrectly telling this man what he needed to do to be able to work in his profession in Australia. (Details are minimal to protect confidentiality). He was not complaining about the requirements. He was complaining about the poor service provided because he was initially not told about the sample test and then he was not told how long it would take to receive a copy.

Public servants are no good. They haven't helped me, like the Department of ----- . At first I tried to get job. I didn't know I couldn't work in this area until I passed the English test. They asked for my qualifications to assess them and it takes about six months, and then, finally, they say okay, everything's fine - but you should take the test. I didn't know it for six months. For six months I thought okay soon I'll be able to apply for a job. And then, okay, so I'll take the test. So when, when do you run the test? And they said, 'maybe in three months'. Okay, I'll take test and they say, 'it's too late' - you should apply four months before something like this - I don't know. Why they didn't tell me before? I would have had time to prepare for the test. Okay, it's fair enough. When's the next test then I asked? Next test is, like, six months after the test or something - that's just twice a year, once a year, or something like that. I thought, okay. I have enough time to prepare for test and could you give me the sample test. This couldn't be done either. Man who is a new arrival.

Another complaint was about the two-year waiting rule before new arrival immigrant people could collect Centrelink benefits. A newly arrived woman with good English wanted to collect benefits, but understood that she could not. She just wanted a caseworker to help her find work.

I went to CES [Commonwealth Employment Service, disbanded in 1998] and at that time I'd been out of a job for almost two years, so I went to see them because I went to this course at a training centre, typing and bookkeeping. I found out from the other women that they had case managers. These case managers look for jobs for them or almost everyday they had an interview. Now, the only thing that I want is an interview. So I went to CES and I said I would like to request a case manager. And they said I can't because I'm not on the dole and they said that you have to be on the dole for a year. I said the longer I'm out of the workforce, the more difficult it is to get back in. So I've been out of the workforce for two years and if I have to wait another year on the dole, then I'm three years out of the workforce and the more difficult it'll be for me to get a job. And I am getting older. I mean why wait for me to get on the dole? Why not help me now?

As with other sections, the key informants provided another point of view and a more expansive perspective on settlement services. They did not discuss or mention the Independents' views about the small role that settlement services played in settlement of AIHE people or how little the Independents reported they used the services. Rather, the key informants discussed two main points that were contradictory. Firstly, some key informants thought that the government did not fund enough services in regional and rural centres, and there is agreement in the literature as Shu et al (1996, p. 46) mention the lack of services in general in regional Australia, and Drew (1990, p. 60) mentions the lack of settlement services in regional Australia.

According to the key informants, immigrant people could be missing key services such as health. There could be consequences of people not receiving these services such as AIDS, ailments from handling banana pesticides, tuberculosis, underweight babies, etc. The other service that some key informants said that society was failing to provide was enough English language classes. Some key informants made the comparison; the settlement services in Sydney were more extensive and better funded. However, there were more people clamouring for settlement services in Sydney. However, one person put this in the context that other services for many regional

centres were being cut or not maintained. This was a former MARS worker, volunteer, and committee member.

I wanted to mention the state and federal government's attitude to rural funding. I think the problem is there that I think the saying is 'it's too little and spread too thinly'. I think there's a real lack of recognition of the rural situation for migrants' services such as how much they are needed. When it's all a question of money. How much do we spend to put them on their feet in comparison to how much do we spend by having them on welfare? I'm not an accountant. I can't tell you that, but I have a feeling that the welfare program takes much more money than the helping program would do. But I don't know if I'm right.

The second main finding from key informants was that the services were hard to access or were not adequately marketed, as Schram and Mandell (2000, p. 287) make the point. The Asian immigrant people did not know about the services, or if they did know about their existence, they were not clear about what the services did or how. Some key informants clearly said that Asian immigrant people were not always aware of their entitlements. The argument then is not the need to create more settlement services, but to make the services provide more outreach to their would be clients and to meet clients' needs more effectively. The literature said there were some other reasons why IHE people did not access services in regional centres. Drew (1990, p. 57) found aspects of service provision and delivery as reasons why IHE people did not access settlement services. Drew (1990, p. 57) and Sjostedt (1993, p. 60) speak about funding bodies not consulting the user groups in the design of settlement services in regional centres.

AIHE people did not speak English well enough to work in the area they wanted to or to interact satisfactorily with Australian society. Additionally, not enough English language tuition hours were available to bring respondents to the required level of ability in English. Work was tied to English language capacity in most cases (Burnley et al 1997, p. 127; Richardson et al 2001, p. 56). Other

reasons for which people discovered they could not find work were discrimination, lack or recognition of overseas qualifications, or there were simply not enough jobs in Coffs Harbour (Chapter Three and Chapter Seven). One other key informant said that she thought that Australia failed overseas arrivals because we were happy to accept them but not to provide them with what they needed, in terms of settlement services especially enough English language tuition hours. Responsibility went with acceptance she thought.

This following DIMIA-funded worker, like some other key informants, was concise and accurate about settlement services in regional centres, but the Independents did not necessarily see this as a significant issue:

Well, I think a significant issue is that things aren't available for them like they thought there might have been. Or things they thought they were entitled to they didn't seem to be able to get access to them because of the old question of the viability of running programs with a very small number of people. They're likely to feel quite frustrated over time. It's a general frustration that they haven't got a high value in Australian society, but generally speaking they're running into the great geographical paradigm that the country we occupy is very large.

One Independent made comments about settlement services, but from a different perspective. This man spoke about support from the government for some groups.

I personally feel that some migrant groups are probably being given too much support. And I think that you can reach the situation where you get used to that support. And if you get too used to that support you don't want to give it up. This idea of getting migrant groups together can sometimes, I feel, be detrimental to migrants because you get, again, that support group - too much of that support group and you can't operate outside the support group. Man, long-term resident with excellent English.

It was not clear if the Independents' limited use of the settlement services was because there were too few settlement services or because there were not enough migrant-specific settlement

services. They did not mention either possibility. The situation of their lack of use of settlement services most likely came about because of the lack of services (especially English language tuition), the sometimes problematic provision and delivery of services, and the Independents not knowing about the existence of services or their role.

Some of the Independents had been to Australia before or had a connection such as a family member resident in Australia. Half the Independents moved for business or economic reasons. Arrival impressions for the Independents were not that marked. The key informants thought that the arrival impressions of all the AIHE people were of wide-open spaces and the lack of people compared to their country of origin. They also said that the new arrivals were not aware of the change, difference, and newness that were ahead when compared to their country of origin, and these would prove challenging for them for example lack of compatriots, learning English, and obtaining work.

In a sense, the key informants were correct because the obstacles new arrivals faced did happen to the majority of the respondents. However, the Independents did not think about these bigger picture factors when they arrived, and in their interviews, they did not acknowledge these obstacles as barriers, but the Independents did acknowledge they experienced them. The obstacles the Independents (and the majority of the rest of the respondents) had to overcome were only seen as what happened to them, not necessarily obstacles. The Independents' view of settlement was individual and not structural.

Settlement services were not widely used by the Independents. Their comments about settlement services ranged from helpful to

some criticisms. The key informants said that there were not enough settlement services because of government cutbacks, and not enough settlement needs were being addressed. In addition, some services were not outreaching enough, and AIHE people would not know which services they were entitled to access. As with arrival impressions, the key informants had a more contextual view of the provision of settlement services. It must also be remembered that the availability, funding level, number, purpose, and type of settlement services and entitlements have changed substantially over the years, especially given the different times since the Independents arrived in Australia and Coffs Harbour.

THE PARTNERS

The second group of respondents was the Partners: Asian immigrant women (excluding Punjabi Sikhs) married to Australian men. The women numbered 13, from Hong Kong, Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, PRC, South Korea, and Thailand. Some of the women met the men whom they married in the women's country of origin because the men were living in that country. The other situation that occurred was the women were living in Australia for some period of time before they met and married their husbands to be. The third group of women met the men while they were holidaying in the women's country of origin, and then they married. What the Partners had in common was that they knew little of Australia, they married Australian men, and they were going to remain permanently in Australia.

The Partners emerged as an unexpected group for two reasons. Firstly, most of the literature did not directly predict marriage as a settlement issue. The settlement literature discusses discrimination,

employment, learning English, and housing as aspects of settlement. For example, Khoo, Pookong, Dang, and Shu (1993) consider a number of factors of AIHE people's settlement such as age and gender distribution, citizenship, demographic background, economic status and adjustment, English language proficiency, household structure, housing occupancy, income, industry structure, labour force participation, occupation, period of arrival, social adjustment, and unemployment. Marriage was not mentioned. The National Population Council (1988 cited in Cox 1992, p. 18) in its definition of settlement mentions economic viability and social networks but not marriage. An indirect exception to the settlement literature that did not include marriage was Cox (1987, p. 17; Cox 1989, pp. 18-24) who discusses the circumstances in the country of origin as having a bearing on settlement.

The literature that does raise marriage in settlement is Jackson and Flores (1989, p. 32) and Chuah, Chuah, Reid-Smith, Rice, and Rowley (1987, p. 580) who discuss the divorce rates of the marriages between Filipino women and Australian men, and Matthews Brown (1993, p. 19) who writes about the migrating female partners' satisfaction with their marriage. Marriage for the Partners proved to be part of their settlement; although, they did not report the significance of marriage in settlement.

Firstly, let us build a picture of the marriage status of the total sample. Of the 31 respondents, 25 entered Australia as married or shortly thereafter, they married. Of the 25 people, four were Punjabi Sikhs who married Australians of Punjabi Sikh background through arranged marriages. Their case will be examined in the next section of this chapter.

Of the remaining 21 people, six are or were married to people from their own cultural background. (Two women from this group divorced shortly after arrival, and their ex-husbands returned to the country of origin.) Of the 15 remaining people, two Asian immigrant men married Australian women (not from the men's cultural background) close to their own age, and the women were resident in the men's country of origin for some time before the couples migrated to Australia. One man describes why they migrated to Australia.

I think she said she can't live in my country forever. And I thought that was fair enough. And I should know what life is like in Australia, otherwise I couldn't say. I didn't want to live in Australia. I want to live in my country, but we decided to come to Australia to see what life was like in Australia, and if I hated Australia, we would go back. And she agreed to that. And I came here. Man who married an Australian woman living in his country. Resident in Australia for nearly 20 years.

This leaves 13 overseas born women who married Australian men. Four of the Australian men, who married Asian immigrant women, were living in the women's country of origin for up to 15 years before marrying. After marrying, the men returned to Australia and expected their wives to follow them, or the couples migrated together to Australia. One woman describes how this happened in her case:

That is how come I'm here. It was just a sequence of events, and I didn't even know that he was Australian. I thought he was English. And he decided to go back home to Australia to live. We both decided to retire although he was a lot older than I, and then we came back to Australia to live. That was the reason. Long-term resident who married an older Australian man.

Three of the remaining nine women had been in Australia for some months before they married. They were either studying English or working, as illustrated by comments from two women.

I was thinking of coming to Australia as a tourist, but my one of my friends asked me why don't you come to Australia because if you want to study English that would be good. So then I thought about it because the family of one of my friends was living in Sydney. He said if you want to go Australia, I'll introduce my family to you and you can stay there. So I thought that was pretty good, an opportunity to learn English. So I got my permit to come to Australia. I went to Sydney to study a language course for six months, and I went to like business college to study business management, and I met my husband. Young and new arrival woman married to an Australian man.

I came to Australia on a holiday. It crossed my mind to come here on a holiday and then go home and get married after some time here. The first part was boring. Then after I started to make friends and then get a job that was it. I started in a family business and then that was it. I said no, I'm not going home. I never went back to my country of origin until I got my permanent residence. I got married here, not there, to an Australian man. Long-term resident woman married to an Australian man.

Of the six remaining women, two women married men who were close to their age. Four women married men who were significantly older than they were. The following woman met a significantly older man holidaying in her country of origin. They married and migrated to Australia, but have since divorced. She spoke about how they met and married.

At the time when I met my husband I think tourism in my country of origin was quite at its peak. I think it wasn't so unusual for women from my country to be married to foreigners. It's nothing new in my country that we were being married. And, because my country is very diverse and has adopted the Western lifestyle pretty well.

Migrating is one of the things that I didn't plan. Mainly, I wanted to have two children and that was one of my motivations and the thought of Australia is closer than America is. It is customary in a family tradition in my country that you go where your husband lives, but with regular access and contact to family back home. I mean my expectation of moving to Australia was that I would be able to go home with my children once every six years as least.

Thus of the sample of 31 respondents, 13 Asian immigrant women were married to Australian men. There were only four women who married significantly older Australian men. Two original first

husbands (Australian) of the 13 have died, and their widows have remarried Australian men. There were two divorces of Asian immigrant women married to Australian men. The first couple divorced because one of their children developed a serious illness. The second couple divorced because of the strict control the husband kept over his wife.

It is not unexpected that Asian immigrant women would be partners of Australian men because of the spouse and fiancé(e) visas granted in 2000-2001 by country of birth, six Asian countries were in the top 10 source countries (DIMIA 2002, p. 23). Additionally, it is not unexpected that more women than men in this sample have migrated to Australia as partners or fiancé(e)s because women more than men migrated to Australia as partners and fiancé(e)s for 2000-2001 (DIMIA 2002, p. 22).

Australian husbands were more the focus of the interviews for the Partners who just migrated and married. A few Partners described their husbands as putting restrictions on them about seeing people from their country of origin, but this was not often mentioned. Husbands were certainly a source of learning and practising English if the Asian immigrant women could not speak it well. The Australian men also provided accommodation, income (though many women still wanted to find meaningful work), and information. Thus, the role of marriage as a part of settlement, as reported by most of the Partners, was not that significant because most Partners did not marry for the sole purpose of migrating to Australia. However, marriage was a significant part of their settlement.

For six Asian immigrant women (who were resident overseas and who married Australian men not living in their country of origin),

arrival and marriage were part of the settlement experience, which happened at the same time. This is a statement from a newly arrived woman with little English who waited two years to leave her country of origin and marry her fiancé.

The fact is that I moved to stay with my husband so that we could live together, and it doesn't matter where I go.

One half of the key informants explained the reasons other than marriage for migration to Australia for Asian immigrant women. Certainly, marriage they thought was a strong reason especially among the Filipinos and Punjabi Sikhs. One key informant also said that she had noticed some divorced women and women over 40 years of age from the PRC who could not marry in the PRC because of shame. They then married Australian men because the women wanted love and companionship and not in an air of shame.

For some of the mainland Chinese women, what I've noticed is that women over 40 and who have been divorced. It's really quite difficult especially because divorce is a big no no over there. What often happens is that men in Mainland China will go across and work in another country and then just disappear and get married to another woman in another country. It seems to me to happen quite regularly. And so for mainly Chinese I think it's a way for the older women to maintain a social value for themselves to go over to a new country and marry someone over there and they meet someone. They're not stigmatised in Australia. MARS worker.

Some key informants thought that marriage was an opportunity to leave the country of origin for a better life and a way to send money to relations in their country of origin.

I think it is almost invariably economic motivated, looking to move away from some pretty horrible situations back in Asia and to get away from whatever they perceive not to be desirable back in their own country. You see a lot of money does flow back to the home country from Australia so you might have someone coming out here either for a marriage or whatever other reasons and then money flows back to the home country. Former MARS worker.

The impact of marriage on settlement was not significantly reported except by the new arrivals who married at the same time as migrating. For this group, however, the marriage experience appears to have superseded that of settlement or became synonymous with settlement. Of the 13 women who migrated to Australia and married Australian men, only two couples divorced. In general, the Partners did not marry for the sole purpose of migrating to Australia. However, marriage was a significant part of their settlement.

Leaving country of origin

Predictably, the immigrant people who had been to Australia before, either through business or travel, knew more of what to expect. Most of the Partners knew little. However, this could be partly because the immigrant people who came to Australia for and through marriage and had not visited Australia before said that they never had any intention or any thought of migrating to Australia or anywhere else. The two exceptions (minimal details to protect confidentiality) were the man whose parents were murdered in country X and the woman whose mother was murdered in country Y. This in part led them to their decision to leave their country of origin, and they did this through marriage (not to each other and they do not know each other). Both have been married for at least ten years. Both had little knowledge of Australia.

A woman who had not been to Australia before and who married an Australian man told what she knew of Australia: marriage and her husband were foremost in her mind and not migration.

I'll be very honest, nothing really. At that time, it was just my husband. In school studying, I would be looking at the world map, and I'd be looking at my country because my relatives were in my country. I never took any interest in Australia. Amazing, I was going to that country and I never knew. I knew only there was desert, big desert. Lots of people teased me, telling me in a joking manner you better have an umbrella ready or a proper hat because it's all desert and nothing else. It was a beautiful country when I arrived.

The following quotation is from a woman marrying an Australian man. She was not sure if her visa was going to be approved to come to Australia. She described her doubts. She was a new arrival and spoke quite good English.

I certainly had lots of doubts. What do you do if they decide no, and if they decide no, what will my husband do? If he can't find a job in my country, he can't support himself in my country to stay, and if I can't live in Australia and if he can't stay in my country, we would have to separate. Well, then the marriage was going nowhere if we couldn't stay together.

Arrival Perceptions of Australia

The isolation would be more severe in Coffs Harbour, where the percentage of AIHE people and IHE people from NESCs was below the percentages for NSW and Australia. Apart from the Punjabi Sikhs, compatriots were not abundant for any group of AIHE people, as the literature predicted (ABS 1996; Bell and Cooper 1995; Beer et al 1994; Castles et al 1998; and The National Committee Secretariat and the Migration Planning Branch March 1994; and Shu et al 1996). The settlement literature did not comment much on isolation except Madden et al (1991, p. 147) and Meemeduma and Moraes-Gorecki (1990, p. 35) who emphasise the importance of social support to cope with the demands of settlement. It would be logical to assume that a situation with few compatriots, a new environment, and a new husband who did not speak the new arrival woman's language or share her culture would

be a daunting and isolating one; although, this was not much expressed, but this was the point of view of the key informants.

Not many women who married Australian men and then migrated with them to Australia had much information about Australia, but some women had a familiarity with Australians or Westerners because of contact with aid workers, Australian migrants, business people, military installations, staff on exchanges, or tourists in their country of origin. Not one of these women had blood family in Australia. They hardly knew anyone except their husbands. Not many women mentioned that the families of their husbands were helpful. However, there was one exception, a long-term resident woman, married to an Australian man, who talked about the reception she received from his family and the townspeople. She was seen as novel because she was one of the first people from her country of origin in Coffs Harbour.

I think it was good. I think I enjoyed the luxury of it all, having to travel and people were very kind to me, because I think I was the first person from my country in Coffs Harbour. People asked me a lot of questions. I was in a way, I think at the time, I was very naive. I didn't have the friendships that I have now, so I accepted things that they asked me as well. They were very interested to know about my culture, so I was always invited to morning teas! And I was always invited to my husband's family's friends.

The next quotation was from a woman who had married an Australian man, and she had not long been in Australia. She described how Australians treated her if she asked questions or asked for help during her first few months after arrival. She attributed some of the unpleasant behaviour she received to the significant media attention Pauline Hanson and the ONP were attracting at the time she arrived in Australia.

I met many good people with a good attitude towards Asian people. Some people though were very bad like if I asked a question. This is strange because in my country when you ask for something they give a very polite answer.

In the 1998 federal election, ONP support in Coffs Harbour was close to double the NSW state and Australia national average (AEC 1999 and 2001). In the March 1999 NSW state election, ONP support in Coffs Harbour was 1.5 times the NSW state average (SEO 1999).

There was isolation, but one young woman who had not been in Australia for too long described how she was isolated and how she was overcoming it.

I thought I would have no friends here because there is no one where I live. There is the bush and big trees and the like. I didn't think I would like the wildlife, but I really do, but it's very quiet. I keep to myself and if I couldn't find friends for myself from different countries I definitely would return to my country. But I made a few friends, and I feel I'm not isolated anymore.

Key informants thought that the size of Coffs Harbour would be isolating given the high population density of some countries of Asia, for example Hong Kong, Japan, PRC, Singapore, etc. Isolation could also come about because of being married to Australian men because the husbands only spoke English, were familiar with mainstream Australian culture, and already had an established existence in Coffs Harbour. The husbands probably had friends, relations, property, and work in Coffs Harbour. The husbands were not going through settlement, so they were less likely to be supportive and in tune with their wives' settlement needs, but not all of the husbands. The MARS CSS worker talked about her impressions of the husbands.

Because sometimes if he's an Australian husband or an English speaking background husband and marries an Asian woman, some of the husbands are not happy for their wives to mix with people who speak the same language. But on the other hand, I've also met lots of Australian husbands who are happy for their partners to socialise, mix, and have contact because they see it as important.

Three key informants said that the Asian immigrant women, who married Australian men and found themselves in a place like Coffs Harbour, quickly discovered that there were few people from their own background, and this was isolating.

Yes, at different levels, there are different degrees of isolation. I think that they don't have very many people who speak their own language. That's very isolating, and there's the physical isolation when they're boxed in the husbands' home and that could be twenty or thirty kilometres away from Coffs Harbour. The only time they go into Coffs is to do the shopping and then go home again. I know when we first started MARS there were a group of women including myself who spent our own money on petrol and went out to visit some women who were in that situation. It really opened my eyes as to the situations they were in, and I believed that some of them were really quite housebound and really had no idea what was going on and who even lived in Coffs Harbour. They were very, very appreciative when people came out to visit them. Former MARS worker and Founding member of MARS.

Sponsoring overseas family or helping friends to Australia would help with settlement, and this happened in a few cases because of a lack of compatriots. The women arranged introductions for relatives (usually sisters or female cousins) and friends (usually female) to Australians (usually male friends of their husbands) and brought people to Australia through marriage sponsorship. A former MARS worker and committee member made the following statement about family reunion and isolation in Coffs Harbour.

Initially it's certainly the economic reasons people link with Australians, usually in a marriage situation and then you find that because of isolation the new arrival in Coffs Harbour will want sister, brother, and mother to come out so you get family migration or the attempting to get family migration.

Certainly, if the Asian immigrant women were living with their husbands in a metropolitan centre such as Sydney, settlement

might be easier because there would be more people overall and more compatriots and hence less isolation. However, their husbands were unlikely to move.

I think the biggest thing that affects them is loneliness and home sickness but with their partners positioned in the Coffs Harbour area they won't move. They'll probably stay there. DIMIA-funded worker.

The Partners' views were mixed. While there was isolation because of language and few compatriots, there was also some acceptance and support from their husbands and Australians. The key informants thought the Partners were isolated living in Coffs Harbour, and this made settlement more difficult. As in other examples such as discrimination and employment (Chapter Seven), the respondents only spoke about themselves and not the impact of the bigger picture on them.

Government and Settlement Services

Most of the Partners did not use settlement services (and this was not a reflection on the services) because the Partners had their Australian husbands to resource them. The Australian men provided for other settlement needs such as accommodation. The Australian men needed to have a certain level of income to support arrival spouses; otherwise, DIMIA would not have approved the sponsorship. This presence of husbands reduced the need for the use of settlement services for this group of respondents.

These were the only two specific complaints from the Partners about settlement services. Two respondents said that more information needed to be sent to people in their own languages. The access to settlement services for this group of respondents was probably low because IHE people did not always know what

entitlements and services were available to them (Schram and Mandell 2000, p. 287).

Of the 13 marriages of Asian immigrant women married to Australian men, all but four of the couples were together when the interviews took place. Two marriages ended because of divorce. Two marriages ended because of the death of the Australian husbands.

Marriage did not seem to be just a vehicle for the Partners to leave their country of origin to migrate to Australia. Migration and settlement were part of marriage to Australian men. Marriage was on the Partners' minds (and a significant part of their settlement), more than leaving their country of origin, migrating, and settling in Australia. This was particularly true if they were migrating, getting married, and settling within a short space of time and especially if all three occurred within a few years of the time of the interviews.

Most of the women who married Australian men and then migrated to Australia had not been to Australia before and knew little about the country. Leaving, doubts, and missing family and friends were rarely mentioned. Arrival impressions of Australia were of a big, open country with not many people. Once the Partners moved to a regional centre, there were few compatriots around, and they had to become used to a new marriage. Marriage became their settlement experience. The Partners did not perceive much isolation, but the key informants did. Settlement services did not receive much mention, and some of the Partners' support came from husbands who spoke English as a first language and had accommodation and a means of support.

Overall, the Partners did not reflect on marriage as significant in their settlement, but marriage was a significant part of the Partners' settlement. Most of the marriages have held together, and marriages were not solely a means to migrate to Australia. The key informants reinforced this by saying that the Partners' settlement was isolating because of their marriage to Australian men and where these men lived, resulting in learning a new language, becoming familiar with a new culture, and coping with a lack of compatriots.

THE PUNJABI SIKHS

Punjabi Sikhs were the third group of respondents. The literature did not discuss Punjabi Sikhs as part of regional settlement. It was unusual to find a significant number of AIHE people from the same country or region of a country in an Australian regional centre. Punjabi Sikhs migrated from the Punjab India to Australia for arranged marriages to Australian Punjabi Sikh men and women. This group of respondents, unlike the three other groups, had compatriots, who proved to be helpful as well as controlling.

Premigration

There were three men and two women in the sample. They were all followers of Sikhism, and most were Punjabi though some of them were of Punjabi background having lived in other regions of India. All of them, except one, married Australian men or women of Punjabi Sikh background living in Woolgoolga in the north of the Coffs Harbour LGA. One exception in this sample was an unmarried young person.

Marriage to a Punjabi Sikh (Australian-born or India-born) was the key motivation for migration for this group. The key informants confirmed that the Punjabi Sikhs came to Coffs Harbour for marriage reasons. In the Punjabi Sikh culture and tradition, marriages are generally arranged (Arora 1986, p. 28; de Lepervanche 1984, pp. 154-155). However, the Partners differed from these respondents in that the Punjabi Sikhs' culture, language, and religion were comparable to those of the Australian Punjabi Sikhs they were going to marry.

The Punjabi Sikhs described life in their country of origin in satisfactory but not glowing terms. The earlier Punjabi Sikhs (well before the respondents of this research migrated to Australia) came to the North Coast as free settlers in the first half of the 20th century (de Lepervanche 1984, p. 51; also Singh 1999, p. 189) and worked as farm labourers. Emigration from the Punjab continued when the Punjab was partitioned in 1947 and Punjabi Sikhs migrated to the North Coast in search of land (Singh 1999, p. 189). More Punjabi Sikhs migrated to the North Coast because there was a sizeable number to attract them. There is not recent literature as to why recent Punjabi Sikhs have migrated to the North Coast from the Punjab except for marriage.

Some of the respondents mentioned that they were glad to be away from the crowdedness and poverty of India, although these did not affect them personally.

Indian life is better for the people who are rich in India. The poor fellows do it hard. Because here we can make in a week about \$600. In India, we can make only that per month. Life is very hard in India for those people who are living like in a shed. Some are very, very dirty. You can't go there. They can't wash, they can't do anything, they just live like that. But here, life can be advanced. I think to myself that the main difference is pollution. It is better to live life here, no pollution. Like fresh air, but in India, all of the smoke. Your eyes go burning, you can go blind. And, one thing in India, no rules in India, but here, they have rules. Here if you are driving in left lane you have to ride in the left lane, but in India it doesn't matter! A male Punjabi Sikh.

I like the beaches, the natural beauty because in Punjab you can never see the beaches. A female Punjabi Sikh.

They talked about their jobs and the circumstances of their parents.

My father was in the Indian Air Force and later on he became a engineer. It was a few years later I finished my Masters Degree and after that I got a job in my field for three months, and then got another job offer in my field. I shifted for six months, and after that I got married to an Australian citizen. After that I left the job. A Punjabi Sikh.

This Punjabi Sikh spoke about his/her father's work in India.

Yes, we was living in the Punjab and my father was in the transport business in another part of India. I was a student at college. My brother was helping Dad and they lived away. I was living at Punjab in our own village, so we got a fair bit of land on a lease, so that's why my father was earning money from the transport business and we got good living standard. We were doing well.

Others were glad to be in Australia because their children could be better educated and have more opportunities. The key informants believed that the Punjabi Sikhs came to Australia for a better life.

The Indians migrated for a better standard of living overall. Financially, materially, mentally, physically, and emotionally. The living is much superior in this country than it is in India. Male Punjabi Sikh.

The Punjabi Sikhs, like the Partners, did not know much about Australia before migration, because marriage was more significant. This woman said this about her migration to Australia.

I be very honest nothing really. At that time, it was just my husband.

Marriage

These respondents had more to say about marriage than did the other AIHE people, including the Partners, because marriage dominated their settlement. Parents of the marriageable adult children often arranged the marriage. Then the Australian-born men and women of Punjabi Sikh background from Coffs Harbour travelled to India to meet and then marry the person who had been selected for them (Arora 1986, p. 28; de Lepervanche 1984, pp. 154-155). Similar to some of the Partners, these respondents (the India-born Punjabi Sikhs) did not know their prospective partners for very long before marriage. The Australian Punjabi Sikhs soon returned to Australia because of commitments or because of not being able to stay legally in India. The overseas born spouses followed the Australian spouses several weeks or months later, delayed because of commitments and/or DIMIA regulations.

There are three apparent reasons for marriage between India-born Punjabi Sikhs and Australian Punjabi Sikhs living in Coffs Harbour. The first reason is the religious requirement to marry a Punjabi Sikh (de Lepervanche 1984, pp. 156, 157). The second is to maintain the culture of the group. If the Australian-born children married people from outside the culture, the culture would eventually be transformed, and they did not want this (de Lepervanche 1984, p. 123). However, class and social transformation was permissible and happened as the Punjabi Sikhs moved from being farm labourers to

land owners and professionals. The final reason is that the Punjabi Sikh population in Coffs Harbour is not large. Marriage from overseas avoids marrying too close to blood relations as there are rules for this same reason in the villages in the Punjab as to who can marry whom (de Lepervanche 1984, pp. 156, 157). As one Punjabi Sikh respondent has confirmed these reasons:

I do say that the main thing is that people from India are more cultured. They are more into tradition, so people from India marry Australian people like Indian Australians so the people coming from India teach more culture, and traditional culture is still saved then.

A lot of people here, they are that same way like in India. Within one village they never marry because they are all cousins and brothers and sisters so that's one of the reasons too.

Marriage made them nervous, excited, and worried.

I was happy that I got the visa. Then I was afraid of what was going to happen in Australia. The reason was I knew the people and the family I married not very much. Because it was not enough to know a person, like one month is not enough. Female Punjabi Sikh.

Marriage was the most significant part of their settlement experience, especially since they were moving into a network of people from their own cultural background, making Coffs Harbour, Australia, and Australians less significant to them.

Yes, married, yes, that what was the more important. Male Punjabi Sikh.

I was talking to my next door Australian neighbour. She got married just six months ago. She says it's amazing that we get married just after one day. You think about it. That time you forget your parents. You forget your brothers and sisters. I don't mean forget. The whole world becomes secondary and slow and the world becomes the person you marry in just one day. I think it's a big move. Female Punjabi Sikh.

The final issue about marriage that the Punjabi Sikh respondents raised was the process of arranged marriages. Usually parents

arranged the marriages, to prospective partners they thought would make the best union, but sometimes the reasons were the parents' reasons or cultural or religious reasons rather than reasons of compatibility between the men and women. Some respondents, while not speaking of themselves, and some key informants thought that the process of arranging marriages mismatched people, and thus marriage and settlement were harder for the partners than it should have been.

I think parents have to be a little wiser when going to India and selecting girls and boys for their kids because when they go they shouldn't select people who can't speak a word of English and might not have any understanding of life in Australia. It's very hard for a girl or a boy from here because they see the both worlds. It's very hard for them to go to a different person who is so traditional and so much Indian typical Indian. It gets really hard. So I think especially in Woolgoolga because they're more aware of this problem. Female Punjabi Sikh.

The respondents thought the present system of arranging marriages should be modified and yet remain traditional. The person selecting the marriage partner for the Australian Punjabi Sikh man or woman only knew the Punjabi culture from when he or she left the Punjab years ago. This selecting person chose with little consideration regarding the individuality of the person in Australia, the Australianisation of the Punjabi Sikhs in Woolgoolga, and the changes in the Punjab since migrating.

The choosers, because when they go to India to find someone to marry someone in Woolgoolga. They go basically back to their village 30 years after they've left their village and they are coming back to the village to choose someone from that area. The person then comes here and they find that they're unsuitable. Female Punjabi Sikh.

Some of the respondents suggested that the people who are marrying should be given more choice about whom to marry, perhaps a pool of five or six people. Additionally, the people doing the choosing should consider the English language capacity of the

India-born Punjabi Sikhs as well as the employment background. This way, then, there is less likelihood of marriage conflict and breakdown.

The respondents did not speak ill of their migration or that they regretted the arranged marriages. They did speak of problems they had to work through with their partners and the Punjabi Sikhs in Woolgoolga (de Lepervanche 1984, pp. 169, 174, 184), but this was not in a negative light.

Compatriots

The AIHE population in Coffs Harbour did not have many compatriots (ABS 1998) except the Punjabi Sikhs because they were the largest single group of AIHE people, 446 people (ABS 1998), and most of them lived in Woolgoolga. A theme was the Punjabi Sikhs were conservative and the same as the Punjab was 30 years ago. They took care of the needs of its members, which de Lepervanche (1984, pp. 147-148) confirms, but they expected compliance and conformity in return. Compliance and conformity were required by religion and culture, they said, and de Lepervanche (1984 pp. 160-161) again confirms this. The ultimate price for too much rebellion was ostracism.

The theme of the Woolgoolga Punjabi Sikhs being locked in time was echoed by two respondents. Apparently, change did not happen with the times, as has happened in India. This male Punjabi Sikh had this to say about the matter.

Woolgoolga is also a village not a big city. It is not much different from comparing it to a Punjab village area. Probably India is more modern than here. Because in Woolgoolga Indians are a little bit more backward than from India. To tell you the truth, the Indian population here is very backward than from there in India. In Woolgoolga, they're still the same as they were in the 1950s.

Both respondents expressed their perception of the staidness of the Woolgoolga Punjabi Sikhs. Singh (1999, pp. 141, 143) adds that the majority of the Punjabi Sikhs, mostly uneducated, came from the same rural agricultural areas of the Punjab. Jupp (2002, p. 24) calls the stagnation of the transplanted culture from the country of origin 'cultural fossilisation'. This female Punjabi Sikh voiced her opinion about the traditions.

I know what you mean like you got to keep your traditions and you got to be very traditional to keep that going on. Getting into some of them is comfortable, but when things start getting uncomfortable with your own tradition and culture that's sort of going too far. I think I find there's lots of good tradition, and I would say bad tradition.

While the longer-term Punjabi Sikhs provide support and work for new arrivals, especially for those who do not speak English when they arrive, there are expectations. These may involve deferring to in-laws, practising generally patriarchal customs, and following the expectations of the Sikh religion or local people's interpretation and practice of the religion. The literature did not say the Punjabi Sikh community was inward and insular, but it did mention that the Punjabi Sikh community in Woolgoolga as being divided from the non-Punjabi Sikh community (de Lepervanche 1984, pp. 33, 104). One key informant described how this happened.

And plus it's because the cultural things with Indian families being so close and supportive and extended families. And plus because religion plays such a major part and Woolgoolga is very religious orientated.

The main thing on Sundays is relaxing and socialising at the temple, where they are then with other Indians talking Punjabi. In their religion, the main issue is this total segregation away from mainstream life in Australia. It's changing and it has changed.

Nearly all of respondents associated with compatriots because of a significant number of people in a small geographic area and

because most of them have married Australian Punjabi Sikhs. Marriage, like culture and religion, also binds them together, and is another example of control. Control of new arrivals was taken, this key informant said.

When the Punjabi people bring out a bride from India in their culture, it's their habit to absorb that person as part of the family and they don't let her out. Not even virtually to go shopping at times for the first three months.

This impeded the new arrivals from accessing the free English classes that DIMIA-funded and had to be taken within the first few years of arrival or the hours were forfeited. This key informant had this to say.

The problem was they didn't get out to find out about that service, and they weren't allowed out of the families to access it, so they lost their opportunity of getting free English for those first few months and by the time they were allowed out and the family was comfortable with them going out to some extent because they're still not always comfortable with them going out to learn English I might add. By then, most of them had lost the opportunity for free classes and that was the biggest headache that we had was letting those families know a) that their people were allowed to have free classes but b) getting the family to allow them to access them as well.

The key informants all agreed saying that the immigrant Punjabi Sikhs feel this control because of the expectations and obligations put on them and the debt they feel they owe, as one key informant said:

And of course, they put that in too because they are sponsored out here, because they say we sponsored you out here. You know you owe a lot to us.

There have been instances of ostracism because of refusal to follow what was expected. For example, if Australian Punjabi Sikh men or women marry partners not deemed acceptable or marry people who do not conform to expectations, then, though not immediately, rejection and ostracism can result. For those Punjabi Sikhs who go

against the expected conformity, one key informant described the ultimate punishment:

The fear of being ostracised for separating in that community. Just being a nobody, they make things work at any cost.

Government and Settlement Services

The Punjabi Sikhs said that concerning settlement compatriots would provide them with work and take care of their needs. This did not, however, always translate into emotional support. Not one of the four Punjabi Sikh respondents (there were five, but one did not live in Woolgoolga) said they used the DIMIA-funded half-time CSS worker in Woolgoolga as a settlement service, as most of the respondents arrived before the service started. Settlement needs were greater in the earlier years of settlement for individuals. The key informants said things were better now for the Punjabi Sikhs because of the CSS worker in Woolgoolga, but many people were still isolated, especially women needing health information. The CSS worker was still very busy.

The CSS worker is always limited by what she can do and the amount of funding that's available. She's exhausted at the end of the week because she put in a huge number of hours and then does overtime as well, because the needs are there and there is nobody else to do it. For that reason I'm still involved with them very much. A key informant.

The Punjabi Sikhs were also so busy with work on banana plantations and their religion that they could not develop or maintain connections with non-Punjabi Sikh society. Their settlement needs were taken care of by their own, the Punjabi Sikhs did not need to interact more with the mainstream community. The Independents and the Partners who did not have compatriots to meet settlement needs, used settlement services

somewhat more than the Punjabi Sikhs, but interacted more with mainstream society, out of necessity.

Employment

Several of the key informants added significant background information about the employment of Punjabi Sikhs. The original Punjabi Sikhs came for a better life in Australia. They came to the NSW North Coast because they had rural and agricultural backgrounds. Some came to Woolgoolga from the sugar cane fields farther north in NSW. Acreages required for bananas were smaller than for sugar cane and more affordable. A nucleus of Punjabi Sikhs developed, and people came because they could support each other with work and settlement, and they practised the same religion and spoke the same language. Adult children raised in Australia then began marrying Punjabi Sikhs partners from India.

The compatriots helped each other. One Punjabi Sikh said that Australian banana plantation owners sometimes sold their plantations to their Punjabi Sikh labourers who worked off the debt. This meant banks and real estate agents were avoided, and this benefited both parties. Families, relations, and friends would also help in the busy times. Thus, everyone had a stake and worked hard for the benefit of the business.

Here we help that way too. If they want to buy bananas we help them, otherwise we get them somebody who can lease bananas to them, so they don't have to buy all the materials and equipment. They can borrow from us, give it to them, get them established so they know they don't need lots of capital just to buy all the machinery and everything to start up the business. They can just start working. Then they will help others. Male Punjabi Sikh.

The Punjabi Sikhs and the key informants did not mention the external factors of the economy or the lack of jobs (such as the

bleak employment situation in Coffs Harbour) as reasons for not finding work, nor were reasons of interpersonal discrimination or systemic and organisational discrimination given as reasons for not finding work.

Social Problems

Key informants discussed the overall intricacies of the local Punjabi Sikh society and the changing roles of men and women, which the respondents did not discuss. One key informant spoke of the changing nature of the new arrivals, that they were more educated, more urbanised, and spoke more English than their predecessors.

Several years ago when the new spouses came over, they were happy to go into banana farming and do just as the families said, and then the family supported them quite happily. But India has changed and the new spouses have grown up speaking fluent English and learning computer skills. So they're not happy here just doing banana labouring work. The more affluent urbanised Sikhs think they are better. So when they come here, they marry people from Woolgoolga, and they are not happy. They just sit here in Woolgoolga and do banana farming like what is expected, so they like to break away and that's where we are getting the problems, when the families become unsupportive. And that's when they turn to services to get their skills recognised over here to do further study, to move away to cities where they have got better opportunities.

Despite the stereotypes of the Punjabi Sikhs in Coffs Harbour working in bananas, of the five Punjabi Sikhs interviewed, only one worked in the banana industry. None of the respondents (nor the literature) mentioned the hard working conditions of the banana plantations, under which some newly arrived Punjabi Sikh immigrant husbands (who were not labourers in India) worked, an accepted and tolerated practice. However, several key informants said domestic violence and marriage break-up did occur, but were kept quiet. They occurred because of exploitation as labourers in arduous work conditions, being paid low wages from working on banana plantations, and keeping these new arrival husbands

isolated. This key informant described these challenges and resulting problems.

It makes it very difficult for the Indian women who were brought up in Australia because one, they are caught between doing what their parents want and doing what their husband wants. And two they really need the support of their families to put some money behind them. It makes a nice little nest egg, but some husbands are coming out and saying they don't want to be at the beck and call of their in-laws and do labouring in bananas. And the problems come up when the woman doesn't go along with the husband's wishes. And quite often, the husband has left her. So we are getting divorces and social problems. These are some of the issues coming up and that is when there is no support, except for wider community organisations.

The new arrival men with qualifications and English language skills often did not know they could not work in their occupations because they did know their qualifications often were not recognised and were not likely to be recognised. This is the case with other IHE people (Burnley et al 1997, p. 127; Richardson et al 2001, p. 56). It is almost impossible for new arrival Punjabi Sikhs to upgrade their qualifications locally or to move elsewhere to do so because of culture, family, and marriage. Such partners end up in less than desirable conditions working in bananas, as one key informant related.

Many of the Punjabi people in arranged marriages are not told that they can't work here. It's just an arranged marriage by the family. There are instances we've got solicitors, we've got nurses, we've got accountants, professionals who are working in bananas or looking after children who would deeply like to work but they have got Buckley's chance of doing it.

Several times I had a men's English class going as well for a while and I got very frustrated in the number of Punjabi men who were being used for slave labour in the family plantations. And a lot of those young men were in arranged marriages and they come with a university education and yet were virtually left as prisoners on the plantations. They're often offered minimum wage if any wages at all because they're considered family, and it makes it almost impossible to get anywhere to do anything.

Social problems resulted such as the families leaving Woolgoolga and moving to Sydney or Brisbane to find work or to upgrade their qualifications, domestic violence, or marriage break-up.

The Punjabi Sikhs were a distinct group in the sample for two reasons: Firstly, marriages were arranged and the Punjabi Sikhs came to Australia primarily because of marriage; and Secondly, they had a tight-knit community based on culture, language, and religion. Other AIHE people in Coffs Harbour were made up of smaller numbers, were not as cohesive, and did not live near to each other. The Punjabi Sikhs maintained a local culture, which was supportive of new arrivals from overseas as well as demanding such as the new arrivals having to work hard in the bananas. The benefits of support and friendship from the compatriots do not come without interference and restrictive expectations. The key informants painted a more negative picture of the Punjabi Sikhs than did the respondents.

THE HUMANITARIAN ENTRANTS

The fourth group of respondents was the Humanitarian Entrants. They were six men and women from Burma, Cambodia, and Viet Nam who fled their country of origin because of persecution and trauma (Mares 2002, pp. 225-226). Marriage and skilled employment in Australia were not features of their migration to Australia. Their concerns were about leaving their country of origin rather than coming to Australia specifically or migrating. Their stories were disheartening. They were the most disadvantaged of the four groups because of not having compatriots, much English, or resources. The local CRSS committee sponsored most of the Asian humanitarian entrant people in Coffs Harbour. The

Humanitarian Entrant respondents spoke highly of the CRSS committee and the services that helped them. The Humanitarian Entrants spoke more about much more about their premigration, leaving the country of origin, and immediate arrival than they did about their post-arrival settlement or their use of government and settlement services. This occurred because the Humanitarian Entrants' premigration, leaving, and arrival were much more poignant to them than anything else when they were recounting their stories.

Premigration and Leaving Country of Origin

As already seen in the literature, migration occurs because of more than push/draw and because of more than the result of the choice an individual has made to migrate. Migration is the result of an interplay of micro and macro factors (Adelman et al, 1994, p. 51). Madden and Young (1991, pp. 151-152) characterise the place of humanitarian entrant people within the framework of people who arrive and settle permanently in Australia. This was where the push factors were compelling and a choice of countries in which to resettle did not exist, for example Vietnamese humanitarian entrant people. There is the host society and society's structures (Cox 1987, p. 17; Holton and Sloan 1990, p. 323; and Petruchenia 1992, p. 43). Cox (1989, pp. 18-24) adds to this by mentioning the circumstances in the country of origin having an effect on migration and on settlement because settlement is predicated on migration. While not specifically about humanitarian entrant people, some of the events and circumstances in the country of origin are, for example, the economy and economic opportunities, political situation, and rights and freedoms.

The events and circumstances in the country of origin are probably more significant for humanitarian entrant people than for other arrivals to Australia. The Humanitarian Entrants fled their country of origin because of external events and circumstances. Threats, imprisonment, and torture would have left lasting negative effects or traumatisation. Traumatisation is the psychological effect of experiencing harrowing events, and trauma needs to be recognised and treated (Bowles, R. 2001, p. 226). These are not the usual events that immigrant people experience; although, these might be usual events for many people in some parts of the world. While this research did not look for or explore trauma, trauma was evident in what the Humanitarian Entrants had to say, for example the two following quotations.

The Humanitarian Entrants from Viet Nam said they left because of the communist takeover and oppression after the war. A Vietnamese person recounts memories of the war:

We moved from one place to another. I remember gun shots during the night. Sometimes we fled to the bomb shelter. I enjoyed this because it meant that our family was together.

The Humanitarian Entrants from Burma said they left because of the student and democracy uprisings against the military junta. They were trying to effect political change, but had to flee because of the fear of imprisonment and torture. A Burmese person described what happened.

Conflict and controversy happened. I went with the students and joined in demonstrations at the University. In the night about two o'clock, the Army surrounded our university compound and arrested so many of us. I was also arrested and taken away to prison and put in a solitary confinement cell for about three months. They released me after that. I have suffered so much because of politics and the Burmese authority who came into the country who were not civilians. Most of them were army personnel.

The opinion of the key informants as to why Asian humanitarian entrant people came to Australia was resonant of respondents' reasons. The key informants said Asian humanitarian entrant people came for reasons of religious or political persecution. They fled with very short notice, not knowing where they were going, with little choice, and were placed in refugee camps. They wanted freedom and sanctuary.

They do this because they want to get out of their existence, and they are prepared to go anywhere, and Australia is seen as not a bad place, although very, very remote. Former senior DIMIA official.

Three of the six Humanitarian Entrants interviewed described the conditions in the country of origin.

All my family lost all their property, house, and the money in the bank. The government had a plan for some people to go to a new economic zone and we had to go. But we had never done that before so my family tried to escape. That meant we couldn't survive. Our lives were very hard. It was difficult to find the jobs, difficult to find money, to earn money for living. We tried to do everything to earn money for living.

So many demonstrations because of the pro-democracy movement. So many heavy heavy things happened in Burma. All the demonstrators were shot down brutally and inhumanely. So many students were dead. Then, on 18 September 1988, the military staged a coup. I mean students, civilians, monks, school teachers. Everybody against the plans of the government was arrested.

For four years, I lived under the Pol Pot regime. Then Vietnam invaded Cambodia in 1979, and I escaped to Thailand in search of a better life. I ended up in refugee camp in Thailand. It was on the border of Thailand and Cambodia. I stayed for a year.

All the Humanitarian Entrants fled to a second country (not Australia) and spent some time in refugee camps of dubious safety and sanitation. Bowles, R. (2001, p. 224) and Victory (1994, p. 15) confirm that this happens. Humanitarian Entrants all spoke of leaving quickly, fleeing, and escaping with few if any possessions.

I remember leaving. It was dark and raining. I remember the upstairs of the house as quiet and empty. It was quite sad because we did not know if we would ever see it again. We lived closed to the river bank and took a small boat to the big boat. There were about 300 people. The boat was overcrowded. The water came to within half a metre of the top.

I left with what I could take with me, just clothing. Beforehand, I tried to escape two times, but the government caught me. The third time I escaped it was midnight. A small boat took me to a big boat with 73 people on it. We went to Hong Kong. We were at sea for 23 days. Some people died on the boat. Many were lucky to be alive.

They hoped that they would end up in a safe Western democracy, not necessarily Australia. None of the six Humanitarian Entrants expressed a particular desire to go to Australia, nor did they say they did not want to go to Australia. Mares (2002, p. 234) acknowledges this as well. This Humanitarian Entrant had this to say about going to Australia.

I had no idea about Australia nor knew anything about it. I had no idea where I would end up. I was just following people by foot in Cambodia, just to get away from the war.

The media often portray humanitarian entrant people as poor, illiterate, and from a peasant, agricultural background. It is true they often have nothing in Australia because they have left behind their belongings and money. Sometimes they are literate, and sometimes their English is adequate to quite good. Of the six interviewed, four spoke adequate to good English. Two spoke minimal English.

The Humanitarian Entrants did not talk about how they felt about leaving their country of origin and arriving in the refugee camps. They did not talk much about being tortured. The researcher did not explore these issues and the respondents did not volunteer the information. One person who lived in a camp for several years described camp life.

Yes, I think that in my opinion some people treat you very badly because you're Asian. In the camp, I didn't have anything. I didn't have any problems in the camp, because I decided that my life was not in the camp. I just stayed there, and I just found temporary shelter because I planned to go to another camp. I just did what I had to do every day. For instance, you have to clean the place where you live and to clean some other places in the camp - but not everyday. We took turns. For example, today I do it and tomorrow is your turn. And they have English school. You can go there to learn whatever you want, but it's up to you. If you do something wrong, they will treat you badly. Humanitarian Entrant, recent arrival to Australia.

This person was hinting that torture and beatings went on in the camp, but in the camp he/she tried hard to avoid precarious situations and be calculated about surviving to bide time to leave. Obviously, people who tried to advantage themselves or who tried to change things were admonished. It would have been hard not to succumb to the difficult living conditions in the camp, but this person kept his/her perspective about survival and leaving the camp.

Arrival

Firstly, let us examine what two Humanitarian Entrants from different countries had to say. The first person spent several years in a camp, and then arrived in Sydney:

My impressions of Australia were of strangeness. It was like arriving in heaven. I was away from war and hardship. I remember staring at a tall building and just looking and looking.

This person had finally made it to Australia, had finally escaped the war and poverty. His/her reaction was one of disbelief and temporary amazement, again not so much of Australia but where he/she was not. Again, this was not an unexpected reaction given life in the country of origin and life in the camp.

The second person wanted to make sure that this was indeed Australia because it looked too much like the country of origin.

We went from the airport to a migrant hostel. There was lots of vacant land. Someone said that we were going to a concentration camp back in my country because this didn't look like Australia because of all the vacant land. This worried me. We asked one of the detainee persons at the hostel if this was Australia, and the person said it was. I was not worried as much then.

This person was not amazed and in disbelief like the first person, but like the first person wanted to be away from the country of origin and refugee camp.

Upon arrival, the Humanitarian Entrants' feelings were gratitude, relief, and surprise and needing to make sure that the worst of their journey was over, that they were really out of their country of origin and the refugee camp. Their migration was probably more significant for them than was the migration for the other three groups of respondents because the Humanitarian Entrants fled persecution and human rights violations in their country of origin, and then spent time in a refugee camp or a detention centre.

Conclusion

This chapter has analysed the findings from the interviews held with the respondents from the sample. The sample from the population of AIHE people in Coffs Harbour was comprised for four different groups: the Independents, the Partners, the Punjabi Sikhs, and the Humanitarian Entrants.

The four groups of respondents all arrived in Australia, having been processed through the immigration program. However, the circumstances in the country of origin were different and had a bearing on the reasons why the four groups migrated, how

migration turned out, and how the respondents perceived their migration, which subsequently influenced how settlement turned out and how it was perceived.

The four groups of respondents had different perceptions of their migration to Australia. The Independents, whose life in their country of origin was favourable, migrated for adventure, business, or economic reasons and not for marriage or religion. More than likely, the Independents had already been to Australia. The Partners migrated for marriage to Australian men but marriage did not seem to be used as a vehicle to enter Australia. The Punjabi Sikhs married Australian Punjabi Sikhs because of religion and then migrated. The Humanitarian Entrants fled their country of origin because of persecution and violation of human rights.

Like migration, the four groups of respondents had different perceptions of their settlement. The Independents did not perceive settlement as difficult or as having obstacles. The Partners perceived settlement as marriage to Australian men who did not speak their first language and whose culture was different. The Partners were also faced with a lack of compatriots. The Punjabi Sikhs perceived their settlement as marriage to Australian Punjabi Sikhs and living among a small compatriot community that was supportive and controlling. The Humanitarian Entrants perceived settlement as finally being free from their country of origin and the refugee camp.

The respondents were more isolated in their settlement than they recognised. They only saw their migration and settlement from the individual point of view and not the larger picture, for example settlement was only marriage. The key informants contextualised the isolation and difficulties of the respondents' settlement by

mentioning the large spaces and fewer people, the lack of compatriots, the Punjabi Sikh compatriots' control, and marriage to Australian men.

The early stages of settlement have only been examined so far, and these have been analysed according to the four groups of respondents. The next two chapters examine more elements of settlement that have occurred later in the settlement process but according to the four groups of respondents as a whole. These elements are compatriots, English, townspeople, discrimination and racism, employment, and the outcome of settlement that is belongingness.

CHAPTER SIX - LIVING IN COFFS HARBOUR

Social work deals with people in their economic, political, and social contexts, and this chapter will describe the place of Coffs Harbour in the settlement of IHE people studied in this thesis. It has already been argued in Chapter One that settlement is an appropriate site for social work. Settlement is the IHE person adapting to life in Australia (Burnett 1998, p. 14), and structural elements shaping an IHE person's settlement (Petruchenia 1992, p. 43). One such structural element is the host society (Cox 1987, p. 17; Galbally 1978, p. 4 cited in Burnett 1998, p. 9), which plays a role in settlement.

THE ROLE OF COMPATRIOTS IN SETTLEMENT

The literature (Branscombe and Ellemers 1998, p. 251; Ornstein and Sobel 1987, pp. 4, 5; and Siegrist 2000, p. 1288, 1291) discusses the importance of acceptance, integration, and interaction with fellow human beings for emotional health and wellbeing. The authors do not single out compatriots as the people with whom IHE people should necessarily or only interact. Association and interaction with compatriots occurred very little for the respondents of the sample, which the literature did not predict, except for the Punjabi Sikhs (Chapter Five). Therefore, part of the settlement process for the respondents occurred differently from what the literature predicted.

Compatriots are IHE people from the same country of origin and cultural and linguistic background, living in Coffs Harbour. IHE people in Australia and their compatriots seek each other for assistance, company, support, and a sense of togetherness (Castles

and Davidson 2000, p. 131; Giorgas 2000, p. 2). There were reasons respondents (some of whom were new arrivals) did not have contact with compatriots. The most logical reason was that the compatriots of the respondents in Coffs Harbour were small in number, dispersed, and therefore unable to associate with each other to promote assistance and interaction with each other.

This association among compatriots is more likely to happen in metropolitan centres where there is usually a critical mass of people from the same country of origin or same cultural and linguistic background, but this was difficult in Coffs Harbour, except for the Punjabi Sikhs. Where AIHE people's compatriots are dispersed such as is the case of the Filipinos in Coffs Harbour, who were the second most populous group of AIHE people, distance, limited public transport, and the small number of people from the same background can make association difficult. The level of association that respondents had with compatriots was not affected by the factors or characteristics of respondents such as gender, marriage to Australians, speaking little or reasonable English, or being new arrivals or long-term residents. There were three main groups of reasons, apart from low numbers, why respondents did not associate with compatriots: the individual respondent, Australian husbands, and the respondents' compatriots.

The first group of reasons for not associating with compatriots were personal reasons. Clearly, the newer arrivals wanted to associate more with compatriots than did longer-term residents. This is because the early part of settlement was the most difficult, when people were taking stock and becoming used to the change.

And I met friends, people from my own country and I feel I'm not isolated anymore. Okay so because I know there might be twenty or forty people from my country in the area. New arrival woman married to an Australian man.

This is a common phase of settlement, but this does not mean that all new arrivals would want this. This desire is usually an inverse function of time. Longer-term residents in Australia would usually have less need for contact with people from their country of origin. This was true for this sample. A long-term resident woman who used to associate with people from her own country in the early years of settlement explained why she did not associate with them much anymore.

Oh, probably getting old, growing up I suppose. I don't worry so much.

Some respondents felt that they were more Westernised and thus settled more easily because of their association with Westerners in their country of origin. There were also those respondents who travelled or studied in English speaking countries or those who travelled to Australia as business visitors before migrating to Australia. Their familiarity with Australia was greater. Therefore, they had less need to seek the company of compatriots.

Yes after travelling and living in Europe I went back to my country of origin for a little while. Several years later, I decided to go overseas. I went for two to three years. I came back with no money, so I had to make money still wanting to travel around so I started to work for a magazine as a free lance photographer. For six years, I went on a lot of overseas trips and then I had a company in Australia. Yes after this because I was involved in the company's business. Middle aged immigrant man 10 years resident in Australia.

The men and women who married Australians who had been living in their country of origin for some months or years expressed this view. Another reason was that some respondents felt they wanted to leave behind their compatriots, country, and language. Several respondents said they kept to themselves and were not the kind to socialise too often. A long-term resident woman married to an Australian man expressed her shyness and the shyness that several other respondents expressed.

I am basically a fairly shy person. When I come to meet a group of friends, it doesn't matter who, I always sort of stand back. Watch and see how they laugh before I ever open up. My mother was a very good one. She could just walk up to the bus stop and make friends. She could walk down the street and she would know everybody. She could go up and talk to them, but I'm not like that. I find it very hard to go up and say who I am. I would not say 'where are you from?' My mother would say 'where are you from, how long have you been here?' Then she would make friends, but I'm not like that so it's just my nature, but once you get to know me it 's all right. Once I get to know the person, it's not hard to do things.

Two respondents said that because they had sufficient English they did not need to associate with people from their own country.

I thought when I first arrived in Coffs Harbour, I hadn't met any other Asians. I thought I was the only one! Because I stayed in the city and then Coffs Harbour and I didn't really know anybody. And then when I go to the shopping centre you see all the white people. It's fine. It didn't really bother me because I can speak the language anyway. New arrival woman with good English.

The key informants did not have a common point of view on the importance of association with compatriots for settlement. Some thought that association with each other was important to AIHE people because it provided support, particularly in initial settlement. Association would diminish as settlement progressed, as these two key informants had to say.

Well I think it is quite an important issue particularly in the early years. There is no doubt that homesickness hits us in those moments when we are really down and really struggling to come to terms with a new environment. I think if you have somebody to share those troubles with it helps a lot, for example it is very nice to be able to speak your own language once in a while, and it is very nice to have an evening where you all sit around and say how awful Australia is. It's almost cathartic. The next day you probably feel the ability to keep going. MARS committee member and founding member.

They need their support network. As they grow in confidence, you will find that people even turn their back on their own people, so they tend to move more into being accepted and accepting the Australian way of life whatever that may mean. The newcomers most certainly still need to be closer together to people who will talk within their own language and be familiar with, and I think that's what happens in places like Cabramatta. People tend to go to where people who they are familiar with and as they grow in confidence they move out. The same thing happens with those people in a place like Coffs Harbour. Former MARS worker and former committee member.

One key informant spoke particularly about Asian humanitarian entrant people and their needs when they arrive.

With refugees, I think that is the prime reason why they tend to move away from the initial point of settlement. Once they are back on their feet, they do like to have the comfort, (I'm talking about refugees here), of being part of a wider community, where they can talk to people of their own type about their experiences. Former senior DIMIA official.

The second group of reasons for not associating with compatriots were the attitudes of Australian husbands. Only one woman said that her husband would not let her associate with people from her own background or with hardly anyone else. Another woman, and the only one, said her husband did not speak her first language and was not familiar with the culture, and social gatherings with people from her country of origin were awkward for him. She is a long-term resident with good English.

He can't speak the language and if I mix with a lot of people from my country he will feel left out because he can't communicate. They would try and speak English with him, but when you are with your own people you try and talk in your own language. It would become awkward and I always try not to create that situation so I never really go out of my way to meet some friends who are people from my country and I don't miss it.

No other respondent woman married to an Australian man said that her husband would not let her associate with compatriots. Most of the husbands were tolerant or encouraging. One key informant spoke about Australian husbands, saying that some of them did not

like their wives to associate with people from their wives' own background, but the key informant had met many husbands who did not mind their wives associating with compatriots.

The third group of reasons was about the respondents' views of their compatriots. Certain characteristics and behaviours of the compatriots in Coffs Harbour did not suit some of the respondents. The main comment was that their compatriots were not like them and were 'not their type' for various reasons, or compatriots would not accept them or looked down on them or vice versa. One person said this about his/her compatriots:

I think another thing is, there are people from my country here in Coffs Harbour. They are not from the city, they are provincial, as we call it. And, this is why they cannot speak very good English, because where they are from is far away. And education is not very good, it's not modern. Because in my country that is a very strong thing, a social thing that they don't mix together. Even at school or even at university in the city, the students that are from the same area go to the city and they all stick together. And they don't mix with the students who are from an area that doesn't belong to them. It's social division.

Some other respondents mentioned disputes among compatriots, gambling, gossiping, nightclubbing, and swearing. These were not people with whom they said they wanted to associate. Class was an apparent separating feature among the respondents towards compatriots. The expectations and obligations of the compatriots could be based on culture, gender, power consolidation, or religion. Some compatriot communities wanted to maintain their culture and country of origin in Australia. Respondents generally wanted to stay away from these things. The consequence was the respondents did not associate with people from their country of origin, but most respondents did not want this anyway, which in both cases the literature did not predict. The following respondent talks about the reason for leaving a capital city and moving to Coffs Harbour.

The Asian community in that city was not forgiving or understanding if you made a mistake. They won't support you. I don't like the Asian community because they will not integrate into the Western community, but still they want the good life. What they did in Asia, they want to do here.

Some respondents came to Coffs Harbour to be away from their compatriots in the metropolitan centres. The reasons were the expectations and obligations of the compatriots. The outcomes for respondents not associating with compatriots compelled respondents to interact more with Australians; more opportunity to learn and speak English; less visibility in a regional centre as an overseas born group; and as already discussed, less opportunity to become embroiled in factions and unwanted interference because of the cultural group's expectations.

Seeking compatriots for association and support is not a negative statement about Australia. People can feel committed to Australia and their country of origin at the same time, as will be shown at the end of Chapter Seven (on belongingness). The possible outcomes of associating with compatriots can be positive: friendship, information, support, and a buffer during the transition that occurs in the earlier years of settlement. When people leave their country of origin, they most miss their country, culture, and first language. Even some humanitarian entrant people say this: they do not miss what they fled but sometimes they still miss who and what they left. A welcoming host society is important, but it cannot alleviate homesickness or the loss of heritage and upbringing. People from the same country can understand the culture, customs, language, migration, religion, and settlement experience. This is not exclusive to IHE people from NESCs.

This non-association with compatriots compelled respondents to interact more with the wider society and to speak, practise, and

learn English. While key informants agreed it was necessary and useful for new arrivals to associate with people from their own background, several key informants said AIHE people would forgo their own compatriots if it meant a business opportunity or a job. Several of the key informants saw association as a step in the early years as needed and wanted, but in later years, there was a move away. The key informants did not mention any of the complexities of the issue, mentioned by the respondents, for example, expectations, factions, or politics.

To conclude this section on association with the respondents' compatriots, most respondents did not want to, did not need to, and did not associate with people from their own background of country of origin, with the exceptions of the Punjabi Sikhs and some new arrivals. The finding is unexpected because it was generally thought that most AIHE people would want the association or would need the association. Again, individuals contextually construct settlement. Association with compatriots was based on the need of the individuals such as support and companionship; the choice of the individuals if husbands permitted; the availability of the compatriots – if in sufficient numbers and within geographical proximity; and the characteristics of the compatriots for example their desirability as to whether they should be associated with and whether they wish to associate with other compatriots.

ENGLISH

There is a variety of tasks that new arrivals might have to accomplish, such as to separate emotionally from their country of origin, find a place to live, settle into a new marriage, raise

children, and find work. The success in accomplishing those tasks is dependent on several factors, an important one being how well English is spoken. If it is not spoken well, then it needs to be learnt. The literature stresses the importance of adequate English, especially in finding work (Birrell and Jupp 2000, pp. 19-20; Burnley et al 1997, p. 127; and McAllister et al 1995, pp. 22, 57, 94). Learning English is the single most important settlement task to achieve, but it can take a long time, is therefore not perceived as urgent, and can be delayed.

For the whole research sample, English language competence and learning English, according to the respondents, did not emerge as a significant factor in settlement in the Coffs Harbour. However, some respondents recalled occasions of feeling embarrassed or inadequate because of their perceived level of English or because their pronunciation was not understood. They wished they could speak better English. For some respondents, their level of English was not sufficient for them to find work in their desired field of employment. The key informants' point of view was different in that they stressed the limited hours of English language tuition available in Coffs Harbour and the difficulty for adults to learn English. Essentially, the key informants agreed with the literature. Learning English was more important than the respondents thought.

Interpreters were required for four face-to-face interviews out of the 31 respondents interviewed. The rest of the respondents had sufficient English to participate in the interviews. All the respondents had accents, irrespective of their competence in English. Accents made it difficult at times to understand something they said and to transcribe the tapes.

When the respondents reported that people were unfriendly, they believed the causes were that they did not speak good enough English or had an accent that made it difficult for people to understand them.

Sometimes they don't understand what I'm saying and my English is not that good so sometimes they say pardon pardon and I just feel when people say pardon more than once I feel so stupid. I just feel very stupid because how come people don't understand what I'm talking about? New arrival woman.

As is the case with nearly all speakers of English as a second language, they understood more than they could speak. Many had studied English at high school or had taken tertiary subjects or even courses in English in their country of origin. Two respondents were English teachers in their country of origin. Some respondents had spent time travelling overseas on pleasure or business and needed English to conduct business. Other respondents acquired English because it was spoken as a second or official language of their country of origin, for example India, Malaysia, or the Philippines. Finally, the Humanitarian Entrants learnt some English in the refugee camps.

Some of the respondents said that they learned American English in school, and this made it more difficult for them to be understood by Australians because American words and/or pronunciation exacerbated difficulties in English because of the respondents' accent from their first language. The following respondent describes how she felt at the optician's shop.

I remember, one time when I went to the optician to get a glasses prescription filled. I had the Medicare card, but because the first time when I came to Australia I didn't speak English very well and my listening was not good because in my country we always learn American English and not Australian English, so I sometimes get things mixed up. I think the shopkeeper was not happy and she spoke to me in the loud voice and she made another person angry with her because of when she spoke to me in a loud voice and I don't know how to explain this, but it does make me very upset. From then on, I never went into that shop again. New arrival, 50 year old woman.

This woman was soft spoken, had an accent, and spoke moderate English. With a little bit of effort on the part of the listener, she was understandable. The shopkeeper was clearly at fault as is evidenced by the angry reaction of the other customer towards the behaviour of the shopkeeper. The respondent was blaming herself for not being understood, that it was her fault because her English was not adequate or because she spoke American English more than Australian English. The shopkeeper was not demonstrating patience but rejection. There is no responsibility on the shopkeeper in this quotation, which is in line with the general theme of what the respondents had to say about their English and how they learned English. This respondent did not say that she would not go to any shops again, just this shop. She was not daunted.

Another respondent, who married an Australian man, spoke some English when she arrived several years ago. She described how she improved her English. This was typical of what several other respondents had to say who spoke some English. It was different for people who arrived with no English because they did not have anything on which to build.

Now, to make friends with people I said to myself, they don't want to be friends with me because they couldn't understand me, perhaps because of my pronunciation or accent and that embarrasses me. I said I can't understand this Australian language! Only my husband I could understand because he speaks good English and he is trying to teach me good English. So it frightens me just to go to the supermarket. I dare not ask any questions because I thought, well, they may not understand me because I can't understand them! And my husband said, come on, and he asked me to take an English course at TAFE, so I did that. I met quite a few people and I did well.

She had learned English in her country of origin, was reserved, and spoke good English, yet a bit of effort was required by the listener to understand her. Her quotation, like the woman who went to the optician's shop, belies who was at fault. She blames her level of English and puts no onus on the other parties, again as was the general theme of the respondents about English. There is the responsibility of the host society to interact with IHE people, not to reject. Nevertheless, she is undeterred as was the woman in the optician's shop.

Additionally, another respondent told the story of what happened to one of her friends who did not speak good English, how the friend was misunderstood. While the story is humorous, it demonstrates what can happen to new arrivals and how they feel.

One wife, because she didn't have much English and her husband wasn't very supportive and her husband said, come on, don't keep complaining with that English of yours, go and learn some English. She tried to learn English and sometimes it's not so easy. One time she was trying to buy sausages, and she could only remember dick sausages! It sounds funny, but this is a true story! Anyway, she asked these men at the counter, the butchers, can I buy some dick sausages and the men were speechless! What's this woman talking about? Maybe they thought she wants us to sleep with her? And then, afterwards, I think she couldn't really understand why their faces looked the way they did, the men were so embarrassed or so surprised or something. She just pointed out, those ones there, that one there. Then they understood. It was thick sausages she wanted!

This woman, while not one of the respondents, despite her accent, level of English, pronunciation, and the limited hours of English

language tuition available in Coffs Harbour, persevered with her day-to-day life and having to use English. She was not made fun of or rejected, but the effort was made to understand her.

A handful of people were illiterate in their first language. This made it difficult for them to learn written English, but they managed over the years by learning spoken English the same way the other respondents did. One woman said that she was not educated and did not study English in her country of origin. She learned some written English by reading Women's Weekly and New Idea because the articles were basic, interesting, and short and the magazines had pictures. Another young woman who has just been in Australia for a little while described what it was like for her, what it was like for her now, and how she has used television to gauge her progress.

Then sometimes I can't really catch up to his level, but sometimes I can understand, and my understanding now is getting better than the first time I came to Australia. I could only understand just a few words, but then I couldn't really understand if I was right or understand what they were talking about. But now after several months I can understand what people say and the news on television.

No one claimed to learn English from his/her spouse. This was because many respondents spoke some English before they arrived. However, there were some women who spoke little English who married Australian men. Some respondents said that living in Coffs Harbour was good because there were not many people who were speakers of their first language. By default, they could not speak their first language and were forced to learn and to speak English.

One man said that there were few people in Coffs Harbour who spoke his language, but his wife spoke his first language. In addition, his job was with people who did not speak much English.

Thus, he did not find much of a chance to speak English. There was little time to learn and practise English between home where he did not have to speak English and work where he could not speak English.

One woman (who has been in Australia for 10 years and speaks reasonable English) has some advice for immigrants who want to improve their English.

Too bad if my husband's friends were going to correct me. I am not going to be embarrassed. And that's one attitude that all immigrants have to really take on. That they are willing to learn. If they are told okay you pronounced this one incorrectly, hey you said this one incorrectly, they should just accept it. They shouldn't get annoyed with them or embarrassed, or take it to heart that these people they're criticising me. In my case, I take it as a challenge.

Some people mentioned that they needed much better English, especially written English, to be able to find the kind of job they wanted. These respondents' level of English was too advanced for Coffs Coast Adult Education (CCAЕ), AMEP, or TAFE classes. Their only option was the English Language Centre (ELC) that cost too much if they were not employed. The ELC centre can bring people to functional and professional English more quickly, offering 20 hours a week of intensive English language tuition. The ELC's market is short to medium-term residents from overseas (principal countries of Japan, PRC, and South Korea), but Australian residents can enrol.

Only three respondents criticised the provision of English classes offered in Coffs Harbour, bearing in mind not all the respondents had attended English classes. One respondent said that there were too many Spanish-speaking people in class. They spoke Spanish among themselves and did not practise English with the other students. Another respondent said that she wanted basic level

English, but the teacher said she was beyond that level. The student wanted on the spot feedback about her English rather than homework that was later corrected. The third respondent said that there were not enough hours offered per week. Some key informants said there were not enough hours of English language tuition available, as a MARS committee member and founding member said:

And people that didn't have English feel very isolated. There's not enough English classes for them, and some of them have been very keen to learn English, the key to being part of the community.

The hours offered were five or nine hours per week depending on which class people accessed. This could only bring people to functional English, not to the level that professional occupations required. The government funded English classes in Coffs Harbour were 510 hours to be used within the first several years of arrival.

The few hours offered a week suited some people and not others as this English language provider (key informant) said.

So that is the disadvantage, they are kind of marking time a bit. We often get especially women because they have family and kids and things and they couldn't do any more. The single people or men who really want to learn quickly so they can move on to the next step it can be a bit frustrating I imagine.

Most respondents had survival to functional English. They had learned English in their country of origin, or from business and travel. Spouses, English speaking friends or relations, or local classes were not reported as being of much help. Respondents improved their English by living in Australia over time and practising, but few respondents were proficient in speaking, reading, and writing. However, not all of the respondents needed a higher level of English language skills. The respondents struggled along with a level in English whereby they could perform day-to-day life tasks, talk to people, buy things, maintain employment, and by then their level of survival to functional English had peaked.

Some key informants echoed what the respondents were indirectly saying about the difficulty of learning English as adults. A key informant who was a MARS committee member and founding member described this.

For those of us who struggle to learn another language particularly adults, what is it 500 hours or something they get and unless you put a hell of a lot of work into it you're really not going to get very far on that. Though of course learning another language is very dependent on skills in your own language, and some migrants might have major difficulties there because they were not that proficient in their own language, and I'm not sure we help those sorts of people enough.

The key informant was talking about people illiterate in their first language. Illiteracy affects people's ability to learn a second language effectively and efficiently. Sometimes eligible students did not know that the 510 hours of free English tuition existed or that they had to access these hours within the first several years.

Their present level of English helped them to find and remain in their present jobs, but that same level of English also kept them where they were. They were not able to find better jobs or the jobs for which they were educated or trained in their country of origin. Most respondents were aware, but not ashamed, that their English was not as good as it could be and that it needed improving. Obviously, once respondents had a job, which was an urgent need, the need to learn English would lessen, but sufficient English was still a paramount need.

While a sufficient command of English is the single most important key to achieving the tasks of settlement more easily and quickly, there can be restraints to learning English. There are not enough hours of English language tuition available in Coffs Harbour, for AIHE people to reach occupational level English, especially in the professions. The system is failing them in assisting them to have a

more fulfilling settlement. This was the point of view of most of the key informants. The key informants also spoke about problems with IHE people in Coffs Harbour knowing about the availability of the classes, then attending, and persevering and difficulty in learning English as an adult. For an aspect of settlement that is so essential, the structural barriers are again present.

Respondents did not complain very much about the level of English they had or the lack of services available to teach them more English. The respondents were on occasion embarrassed about their pronunciation or whether the Australian-born could understand them. The respondents spoke much more about how they had learned English or were learning English, about which the key informants did not speak. There was no emphasis, from the respondents, on the host society and how it should make more effort to facilitate respondents to learn English more quickly.

These findings raise the speculation that AIHE people reach or have more quickly reached a certain level of survival to functional English out of necessity, in a regional centre such as Coffs Harbour. They have learned English from classes/courses in their country of origin, English language tuition in Coffs Harbour, English speaking spouse, media, refugee camps, or travel or business in Australia. This learning English occurs despite the host society not allocating enough resources, and respondents' English will not improve otherwise. As a result, respondents have been compelled to interact more with the English speaking townspeople to live day-to-day life. This happens because there are small numbers of compatriots with whom to speak their first language or to receive assistance, companionship, and support throughout their settlement. This compulsory interaction with the townspeople has another outcome: the townspeople are polite towards AIHE people.

THE TOWNSPEOPLE

This section of the chapter reveals how the respondents perceived the townspeople (the non-Asian resident population) of Coffs Harbour. The assumption is that a medium sized regional centre that is conservative (Briskman 1999, pp. 5-6, 9) would not be welcoming to new arrival overseas born people who had another culture and who spoke another language. There are indicators that Coffs Harbour is conservative by its higher primary vote of the ONP in the 1998 federal election (AEC 1999) and the 1999 NSW state election (SEO 1999), especially as these two events occurred near the time of the interviews with the respondents. There were also the alleged comments made by the mayor and a councillor of Coffs Harbour in July 1999, which appeared in the *SMH* and the *CHA*.

The respondents knew that the townspeople perceived them as separate, not as one of them. The respondents said that the townspeople treated them politely though not friendly or warmly and not engagingly. Of the sample of 31 people, 24 had something to say about the townspeople. The respondents overwhelmingly reported people as polite, as this newly arrived man said.

I think that most of the people in Coffs Harbour are very helpful and very friendly and whenever they meet me they say hello to me, and I think they are very nice people. They are not very creepy and they are very simple people.

Several respondents said people were helpful. Some respondents reported some people as polite and some as unfriendly. One long-term resident woman had this story to tell:

One time I filled up at the petrol station. After I filled them up, I took off, and forgot to pay. Then I realised after turning the corner. I turned around and come back. I go to the same station every time so he said 'Well we know you will be back'. 'Thanks for trusting' I said.

This fairly new arrival young man has this to say about the townspeople:

I think that most of the Australian people are helpful people, better than from my country because Australian people are always trying to help. Like, I can give an example. My teacher, all the teachers, they are helping me a lot. They are Australian, I think Australian people are much better than people from my country.

The question arises whether or not the perception is correct that the townspeople are polite and often helpful, or does this perception reflect the nature of the respondents. The respondents were obviously open people in some respects, at least, because they agreed to be interviewed for the research. All of the respondents were polite to the researcher. Some were friendly. Those respondents who were not friendly were not necessarily unfriendly, but more reserved. It could be that the townspeople responded to the behaviour of the respondents. It was not possible to answer this question definitively.

Two quotations from respondents exemplify the notion that if people are polite it is because other people are friendly and polite to them. One long-term resident woman working in the hospitality and restaurant area described herself and the treatment she received from Australians as a reciprocal relationship.

I always get respect from Australians. I don't know why. Maybe I feel that I've adapted well. I have always tried to blend into their lifestyle and tried to understand their lives. So, I've had no problems, and I always found Australians very nice and respectful. I don't have any culture or immigration problems. It's how you treat people. What people have told me is that people might see me as Asian, but once they get to know me they see beyond that and that goes into the background and they see me as whoever I am.

One man, a long-term resident of Australia, said it was a mutually reinforced happening.

It goes both ways yes. It's a relationship where you have to understand the partner and the partner has to understand you. Migrants have to be aware of what their expectations are, and the people here, like the hosts, have to be aware of this side of things.

A factor, which is speculation on the researcher's behalf, that could have contributed to this openness was that the respondents had to develop this trait to survive in Coffs Harbour given the lack of cultural, settlement, and social supports. Less open AIHE people may have moved elsewhere, given that it was important to gain employment. This demeanour may have been cultivated, especially by those respondents who entered into hospitality/public contact/retail employment. They may have adapted to the 'Australian way of doing things and getting on with people', for business and employment reasons. Friendliness in most circles in Australia is indicated by giving eye contact, shaking hands, being informal, showing interest in other people, listening, engaging in small talk, smiling, talking about common interests such as sport or work, etc. AIHE people may have taken on these demeanours, or these demeanours may have been natural for them. Another possible reason that respondents did not mention was that the townspeople knew that AIHE people were facing obstacles such as learning English, feeling homesick, and finding work so the townspeople helped them or showed concern or interest.

This politeness that the respondents described about the townspeople was contrary to what the literature predicted, particularly Dunn and McDonald's (2001, pp. 30, 34, 35) research about attitudes of people on the NSW Mid North Coast in 1994 and 1996 towards immigrant people and multiculturalism. Also, Rothwell (11 May 02, p. 26) thought there was limited acceptance for multiculturalism in Australia. There could be the macro level disagreement with IHE people and multiculturalism. However, on the micro level, day-to-day life, there is limited acceptance of IHE

people. The literature does not make this distinction. For example, the average Coffs Harbour townspeople might not like and might even be racist in his or her views about AIHE people, but he or she might be welcoming to the AIHE neighbour.

When it appeared that the townspeople and Australia were prying, or said or did the wrong thing, the basis of this was curiosity or lack of knowledge rather than malevolence or maliciousness, and it came out as awkwardness. Two respondents related how people mistook them for Vietnamese. One woman, who is a long-term resident of Australia, described what happened to her in Coffs Harbour about 20 years ago when Australia had an influx of Vietnamese humanitarian entrant people

There were a couple of instances I can remember. One was when I was doing my shopping in the local shops. People in town came up to me and asked in a very patronising way if I was Vietnamese because the church had told them, and I just laughed! I said I'm sorry, I'm not. But I wasn't, I did not say anything else. I thought, oh! That was nice of them to care for other people. So I think there was this perception for people who didn't know my background that I was one of the Vietnamese people. So I sort of didn't mind that very much and the other thing is that it was based on not knowing.

However, to balance this with what other respondents said and intimated, this conduct by people of the Coffs Harbour was more because of awkwardness and lack of familiarity with AIHE people, as this man, resident in Australia for 18 years, said.

To a certain extent it is much harder to penetrate into Coffs Harbour than in Sydney, that's what I noticed. Sometimes it can be quite disheartening. The only reason is that, even though I've been here for some time, I have the confidence to deal with people in general, but in Coffs Harbour there is always that little, sort of, what you call it, pull back.

The way people approach a new person coming in trying to market a product is different, is not very encouraging as well and sometimes I come to the conclusion I think sometimes they got a feeling that I look different. I think that's the main issue.

The above quotations demonstrate the bland and reactive tolerance that townspeople have towards AIHE people. AIHE people certainly are not regarded as equals, nor are they treated the same. The townspeople are polite and largely not overtly discriminatory or racist. The welcome mat (tolerance) and the degree of its being laid out are an example of the dominant group extending variable and limited inclusion (Castles and Davidson 2000, p. 149; Hage 1999, pp. 85-87; Hollinsworth 1998, p. 273, Perera 1999, p. 187; and Quinn 2000, p. 14, 109).

Three key informants thought that respondents settled in Coffs Harbour because it was easier to settle there because of less discrimination and fewer compatriots. The AIHE people did not stand out as identifiable groups. This is what the MARS CSS worker had to say.

But a lot of people say they stay in Coffs Harbour because they can settle more quickly. They stay in Coffs Harbour because no one is interested in these migrant people, those migrant people. It's just all part of Coffs Harbour and that's it.

This could mean that the townspeople were accepting, were not threatened, or were indifferent. The presence of AIHE people and other IHE people from NESCs was small. The townspeople did not see them, except the Punjabi Sikhs, in congregations or enclaves.

Another issue that came out of this section was the difficulty of making friends with Australians. People who are not the same are avoided; the interaction with them is limited probably because of awkwardness. Certainly, accent, appearance, cultural customs, dress, and language may have been reasons. People can be helpful and polite, but that does not make them friends. Friendliness is not the same as friendship. Close to one third of the respondents mentioned they had friends who were not from their own cultural

background. If their friends were IHE people from other NESCs, the respondents often initially met them at English classes or at MARS. Another third of the respondents said they found it hard to make friends. Some people did not want to make friends. Some people did not have many friends in their country of origin. People were busy in the first few years of settlement with raising children, learning or upgrading English, establishing a new marriage, studying or upgrading qualifications, and/or finding and keeping work. People did not have time to make friends. The reason that they might not have friends was not totally because the townspeople avoided them or rejected them.

One young woman, a new arrival who married an Australian man, explained why she could not meet people and make friends.

My husband worries about me because I don't have any friends here because most times I stay at home by myself. I didn't want to go out. I stay home and cook curries. So my husband asks 'why don't you like to go out and make friends?' He takes me and tries to make friends for me, but when I talk so basically because my English is so limited that when I finish my introduction I don't have enough English to continue so there's no communication. So if they give me a phone number or say just give me a call when you have time to visit me anytime. I can't make a phone call to visit them because I'm really not able to make friends.

Her argument was quite legitimate, but there was also a lack of confidence. Her English was sufficient for the interview, and the researcher with a little effort could understand her. The researcher believed this woman could make Australian friends based on her level of English, if she developed confidence in her language skills.

Undoubtedly, politeness and support from the townspeople were part of settlement in Coffs Harbour for AIHE people, given the limited English classes, difficulty finding a fulfilling job, lack of public transport, and lack of access to support services. Only one respondent discussed the emotional side of settlement about the

townspeople and their support. She married an Australian man and has been a resident of Coffs Harbour for about 10 years.

The women's sharing group has supported me emotionally when nobody else was there for me. And, sometimes the women sing and in that sharing group we're all women. So we could share our own problems. That's the one thing I found very helpful that sharing group. Other women need that too. For some of them, they just I don't know. They will almost have a nervous breakdown because they haven't had that group that they could just unload their emotions to.

The MARS CSS worker believes the people of Coffs Harbour are accepting rather than indifferent.

On the whole, the community of Coffs Harbour is quite supportive of MARS and migrants, and though they will admit that they often don't know how to handle them, but I think that is more a lack of knowledge, and not a refusal to deal with it, but more of a lack of knowledge of interpreters and things like that.

This evidence from the key informants supports the theoretical premise that Coffs Harbour was accepting of, or rather not against IHE people, but also unsure and not knowledgeable of how to treat them. This could translate into awkwardness, fringe discrimination, misinformation, and unfamiliarity rather than discrimination with a malevolent or deliberate intention. However, the dominant group still controlled the welcome mat of tolerance.

The Punjabi Sikhs were more established in Coffs Harbour (but this had its downsides) than other AIHE groups of people. The Punjabi Sikhs have also been in Coffs Harbour much longer and were larger in number than any other AIHE group of people. Two key informants spoke about the Punjabi Sikhs. One key informant said that Coffs Harbour had grown more to accept the presence of the Punjabi Sikhs. She referred to the clothes and traditions.

Look I think it is interesting in Coffs Harbour that you find that people are used to what the Indians wear. If you go anywhere else you get stared at and look you say well this world is different if you wearing an outfit, whereas here now one hardly even blinks an eye about what they are wearing or whether they are wearing full Indian traditional customs or turbans. Those sorts of things are not even looked at twice, so I find that local people really become accustomed to a lot of things. Yet that wasn't the case when it first started. They weren't very familiar to the local community, and it wasn't accepted and acknowledged and then as time went on and the multicultural exposure, the local community here now loves it. The hostels for the elderly ask when can you put a dance on with those lovely bright costumes and things, so the attitude has improved greatly.

The other key informant spoke about Punjabi Sikhs mixing with non-Punjabi Sikhs. She thought that the Punjabi Sikhs were now more Indian and traditional because more people were marrying people from the Punjab, it was less expensive to travel to India, and the internet allowed easy communication. Punjabi Sikh culture was able to thrive. This meant that the Punjabi Sikhs had more of a 'critical mass' and did not need to interact as much with broader society. Twenty years ago or more, because there were fewer Punjabi Sikhs and less opportunity for the culture and religion to thrive, the Punjabi Sikhs had to interact more.

Let me just go back to the six families. The elders of those six families were the early pioneers. Their children were very Western. Those people were a lot more Western than some of the people coming out of Woolgoolga are now. Because there were so few Indians, they were forced to mix with the wider community on every level. I mean I remember things like pictures and photographs in people's houses where the Indian people used to get together and wear a suit and tie and go to the races and go to the show, like the Australians used to do so. They were very much part of that community.

Then the children were born in a very poverty stricken background. They were just children of pioneers. Not many of our parents owned plantations. They were still working in banana plantations or cutting sugar cane or working for the Italian farmers. On a daily wage, we grew up and mixed in with the mainstream community, and also we had to try very hard to establish ourselves in Australia. And it's very strange that most of those children went on to further education and went on to careers.

On the one hand, the Punjabi Sikhs were only tolerated and not integrated into the wider community by the townspeople, but the Punjabi Sikhs were part of the people landscape of Coffs Harbour, and that was recognised.

People in regional centres such as Coffs Harbour might be friendly – ‘country town values’, or the AIHE people are reaching out and interacting (or perceived to be) and this brings about politeness from the townspeople, but perhaps to other Caucasian people this politeness would be friendliness. The two groups could have reciprocated each other’s conduct. In a regional centre like Coffs Harbour where the numbers of the AIHE people were not large, the respondents could have the opportunity to interact and mix with the townspeople. The townspeople of Coffs Harbour have responded to the AIHE people who reached out because of necessity. AIHE people could not remain as secluded as they could in Sydney or Brisbane.

Conclusion

Two structural aspects of Coffs Harbour, the lack of compatriots of AIHE people (except for the Punjabi Sikhs) and the limited English language tuition, have been described and explained. These features, which cannot be easily changed, have led to a third aspect of Coffs Harbour, which is more susceptible to change: the attitude and behaviour of the townspeople towards AIHE people. Two structural factors of Coffs Harbour have softened the welcome mat the townspeople still control.

Coffs Harbour did not have many compatriots for AIHE people, except the Punjabi Sikhs. However, the compatriots who were in Coffs Harbour were not sought out by the respondents, nor did they

necessarily want to associate with the compatriots or vice versa. The compatriots did not play much of a role in the respondents' settlement. Generally, there were not enough compatriots to whom the respondents could speak their first language very often, except the Punjabi Sikhs.

What was striking was that, other than the Punjabi Sikhs, not one AIHE person from this sample mentioned help from people of his or her linguistic or cultural background: compatriots. Reasons could be because the respondents moved to Coffs Harbour to be away from compatriots, the longer-term respondents did without compatriots in the early years of their settlement because compatriots were not there, or the respondents were self-employed and worked long hours and that made contact difficult. This could have been because the numbers of compatriots were small or because the distances between compatriots were too great: Coffs Harbour has poor public transport and no identifiable areas where respondents lived in the LGA except for the Punjabi Sikhs in Woolgoolga. The situation was different for the Punjabi Sikhs. Their compatriots supported and gave assistance to new arrivals on the one hand, but, on the other hand, compatriots were controlling and had expectations.

The literature predicted that interaction with people and the social environment, not necessarily compatriots, would be a significant feature (Branscombe and Ellemers 1998, p. 251; Cox 1989, p. 41; Gardner et al 2000, p. 491; Giorgas 2000, p. 2; Ornstein and Sobel 1987, pp. 4, 5; and Siegrist 2000, p. 1288), but in this research especially with settlement, this was not the case. It could be that the mix of settlement services was right for the needs of these respondents, or they just made do.

Additionally, Coffs Harbour did not have many DIMIA-funded hours of English language tuition available for the respondents to learn English, only several hours per week. However, this situation was not unique to Coffs Harbour or regional Australia. Five hundred hours had to be taken within the first few years of arrival or forfeited. It was not possible to reach occupational level English through DIMIA-funded hours and hope to find more desirable and better paying work. The respondents had to rely on the English they were learning by living in an English-speaking environment, survival to functional English.

These aspects of Coffs Harbour forced the respondents to interact with the townspeople, just to live and carry out day-to-day life. The respondents described the townspeople as polite and sometimes friendly but overall as tentative. The townspeople saw the respondents reaching out and reciprocated because the townspeople did not see many AIHE people and did not see them as a threat. The respondents were polite and friendly to the townspeople, possibly because the respondents were in business, were trying to fit in, or go unnoticed. The townspeople might have been reported as polite simply because regional centres might be that way. Other possible reasons are that the townspeople did not see enclaves like those that they might imagine in Sydney, and AIHE people were not in a position to take desirable jobs. The Punjabi Sikhs had the same experience with the townspeople as did the other AIHE people, but Punjabi Sikhs had less interaction with them.

CHAPTER SEVEN - SETTLEMENT IN COFFS HARBOUR

Discrimination and racism appeared mainly in the form of misinformation and stereotyping without malevolent intentions. The settlement of AIHE people in Coffs Harbour, in terms of discrimination and racism and employment, while not at all desirable could have been worse. The settlement experience of the respondents was reflected in the outcome of their settlement: where they felt they belonged.

DISCRIMINATION AND RACISM

It would be expected that the people living in a regional centre would be more narrow-minded and discriminatory because of a lack of exposure and interaction with AIHE people and because of conservatism in regional centres. Coffs Harbour should be a case example especially because it is politically conservative as evidenced by its electoral support for the ONP and by Dunn and McDonald's (2001, pp. 30, 34, 35) research about the attitudes of people towards AIHE people and multiculturalism, as outlined in Chapter Three. However, the main sentiment from the respondents was that, overall, they have only experienced discrimination in minor to mild forms, but some respondents have experienced racism. It was not clear, however, if the accounts of discrimination and racism that people recounted were actual discrimination, or merely perceived as such. Many respondents said that they have not experienced discrimination or racism.

For example, respondents talked about their educational qualifications from their country of origin being seen as of a lower standard or not equal to Australian qualifications. Respondents thought Australians thought of their countries of origin as 'behind

the times' and backwards; although, there is prevailing poverty in some of the countries of origin, these countries have modern aspects.

The simple reason that when you say India, people think that is a bad thing, backward, because the general impression of the world that India is a backward country and that it has just snake charmers and all that sort of thing. But it's very modern and they don't know about India, and they have the general impression in their mind that India is something else. Person from India.

However, respondents felt that impressions about their country of origin and their overseas-obtained qualifications were discrimination only if these things led to respondents being precluded from jobs. The two key terms that summarise the sentiments from the respondents are misinformation and stereotypes, on which Australians relied to inform themselves about people from Asian countries. Inaccurate stereotypes have come from movies, television, and lack of interaction and exposure with people from these countries, and not having travelled. It was not clear if respondents meant discrimination here because what they described most often did not occur with intention.

The key informants agreed there was discrimination when AIHE people tried to find jobs. They emphasised this even more than the respondents did. They knew more about this than the respondents did because they witnessed discrimination over the years. This would be expected where there were fewer jobs in regional centres and more conservative attitudes about multiculturalism.

Another similar issue that emerged from the respondents was that some Australians avoided the respondents or people of Asian appearance. The Australians apparently did this because they did not know if the respondents could speak English or if they would have to decipher respondents' accents, as the long-term resident

woman below recounted when asked about discrimination. Again, respondents did not give the impression that this was active discrimination, but described it as something inevitable that they had to tolerate. It was more like an inconvenience.

No I have never come across that. I remember I went to a restaurant, and the waiter asked can you read the menu but that didn't worry me. It is natural, and I have never personally felt discriminated in my job before. I had to do a reception job. Not so much now but before I had to attend to the counter. I had noticed that people would work out there were two of us, me and an Australian woman. They would ask a question and I was attending to them and they would look at the other woman and keep on asking the question as though I probably couldn't understand what they are asking. Sometimes it hurts, but I try to understand. They just don't know how to handle the situation. It's not my fault, they just don't know. Maybe they think that woman can answer quicker than this woman, but you get used to it. I don't really feel discriminated against in any other way, certainly not from my peers. They are all very good and I work hard.

In addition, respondents had different ways of dealing with discrimination ranging from addressing it; changing their perspective; and ignoring it, laughing it off, and making changes to avoid it. Some respondents said that they walked away from people if they made discriminatory comments. Other respondents ignored how people behaved. Some respondents challenged what Australians had to say or what they did, to inform them and educate them. Branscombe and Ellemers (1998, pp. 256-258) and Swim et al (1998, pp. 38, 44, 50) confirm these responses to discrimination. There were two cases of responses to discrimination: One was from a woman whose daughter was racially assaulted. She said this altered her view of Australians. She no longer went out of her way to make contact with Australians. She waited until they made an overture to her.

When I first moved to Coffs Harbour, it was all right. I never had bad experience with the people. But, when that thing happened to my daughter - about the racial assault - things changed a lot. I hate people! I think I have to come to terms with them more. I can't look at them when I go shopping. After a couple of weeks after that happened, I would be in the shopping centre and I would not want to look at their face. I just didn't like them. So, I keep my distance instead of smiling and being friendly. By not being too friendly. You know, like instead of walking in and saying hi, like I did before now I walk in and I look away. When they say hi I say hi, but if they don't, I don't. But you are not conscious about it before the thing that happened, you know, what happened to my daughter. Woman with two children who arrived in Australia four years ago.

The second was another woman who had been in Coffs Harbour for 20 years said that IHE people in Coffs Harbour made themselves invisible, to hide their multiculturalism and their ethnicity.

A lot of migrants in Coffs Harbour hide their identity, and we're very short of cultural life, you know, but I think now that has changed. We now have more.

Another thread coming through from the respondents was that discrimination was a subjective experience, as Swim et al (1998, pp. 52-53) agree. If one wanted to find discrimination, one could interpret innocent actions as discrimination. One woman said this about others that she knew, and one man said this about himself, as follows:

I initially, it was funny, because initially when I came here I was very conscious of being discriminated. Let me describe an event that happened. I won't try and label it as discrimination. I'll go to the deli and it's busy, and I'm there before somebody else and they get served first. I got really upset because I felt it was discrimination. It was only after being here for six months, one year - I think perhaps a year or two later - that I realised that sometimes it's not. In fact, a lot of the time it's not. Because there were occasions when I got there and I was there after somebody else and I got served first. And I realised, it's just that there isn't a system so that person wasn't really aware of it. But as the years went on I think I felt that most of the time it's not discrimination. It's just the person knew that person a lot better because that person was a regular customer or even a friend. And sometimes the person that you're dealing with is always like that - rude to everybody! Long-term resident man.

Another feeling that came from a minority of respondents was that other people were in Australia first and newcomers (including themselves) had to make an effort to fit into the dominant culture and the ways of doing things (Hage 1999, pp. 85-87; Perera 1999, pp. 188-189; and Quinn 2000, p. 14).

And I said to them maybe you just feel that way, that you are being discriminated against. I say to them, in my case I try not to feel that way. I only feel like I come from a different country and so what? I have to learn to live their way. I don't feel like, if they correct me or teach me something I don't take it as discrimination. Medium-term woman resident with good English.

Other respondents said that how you carried yourself, for example with respect to dress and speech, determined how people treated you. Presentation conveyed messages about how you invited people to treat you, they said. This 'new racism' (Hollinsworth 1998, p. 238; Jayasuriya 1998, p. 4; Perera 1999, pp. 188-189; and Popeau 1998, p. 170) was about fitting in with the dominant group's desired behaviour, norms, and values; otherwise, people were othered: stereotyped and essentialised.

One of the reasons why I don't think it is a problem is because I think image is very important, the way you project yourself. Not just the way you look in terms of the way you dress and the way and how well you keep your hair, or whatever. Just the general impression. And also, when you start to talk, those two things are important factors, I think, in not being discriminated against. I don't know if that's true or not, but that's my impression. I find that people, not because of their fault, I mean probably they're just not really concerned with the way they project themselves when they go to the local supermarket or shopping or an office. That's just my personal impression. Long-term male resident.

Even further to this, two people said that it was important how you treated Australians - friendliness, making the overtures, and politeness. Only one person discussed the responsibilities of the Australian people as hosts. He said that he did not expect Australians to place any obstacles in his path.

As long as they didn't put any barriers in front of you and kept the door open, it's a matter of you making the effort to walk in. Long-term resident man.

While the general response from respondents was that discrimination was usually covert, not endemic, and did not usually occur with malevolent intention, there were several reported cases of overt discrimination and racism such as being taunted by children shouting 'Ching chang chong', being spoken to in a loud voice, being told to go home, having a shopping basket kicked over in the supermarket.

I was riding along on my bike and the young kids said things to me that I can't repeat. I can't really think what they were, but probably not nice things anyway. Newly arrived woman with little English.

The key informants confirmed the respondents' views that overt discrimination was not endemic but commented on more widespread and inherent, but low-level discrimination, which was a result of stereotyping and being misinformed. However, they concluded although the situation was not serious, that did not mean nothing should be done and complacency should rule.

Migrants probably had to overcome certain obstacles because there must have been certain prejudices, but I really think they have almost melted away. We are always redneck or want to make trouble, but in general I think they have really settled down and they are acknowledged by Australian citizens. NESC migrant and long-term resident and volunteer at MARS.

However, one key informant had an additional point of view that none of the respondents or other key informants raised. This key informant said that the discrimination and racism might not be realised as such, that AIHE people did not report discrimination and racism as much as they could because they were not always aware of it because of language competence and nuances in the Australian culture.

But I think that there have been instances of discrimination, and I know that some people are reluctant to follow that through as a case for discrimination because they are aware or made aware that they could be discriminated against in the future for taking action in terms of seeking employment.

I think you would find especially the Asians are too polite to give a true picture of what their impression would be. I mean their sense of offending is they would feel, I think they would be too inhibited to say, what their true impressions were. And probably in terms of their lack of English, they may not comprehend sometimes totally how they are being received or discriminated against or what sort of cultural shocks or cultural awareness they're feeling. And it is certainly in this sort of bureaucratic area where I work, it's very difficult to gauge because I mean some of them would be fairly intimidated by bureaucracy anyway. Local public servant working in the area of multiculturalism.

The institutional and organisational racism might be too inherent in the system to be apparent to people from another cultural and linguistic background. However, the literature makes clear without a doubt that racism exists in organisations (Castles and Davidson 2000, p. 83; Cope et al 1995, pp. 59-60; Hage 1999, p. 66; Hollinsworth 1998, pp. 55-58, 201-205; Jureidini 2000, p. 194; Pettigrew 1998, p. 84; Quinn 2000, p. 104; and Schram and Reid Mandell 2000, pp. 275-276).

There were a few examples of racism. One woman's daughter was assaulted verbally and physically at school in Coffs Harbour because she was Asian. One man's father was assaulted on two separate occasions because he was Asian, or for no other apparent reason. One man was assaulted, robbed of his money, and taunted while being robbed. He was hospitalised for his injuries. This incident occurred in Sydney.

Regarding discrimination and racism, in 1985, I remember I had finished school and I had a job. I was coming home one night at 10.30. A group of Australian boys beat me up for only a few dollars. I was in the hospital for three weeks. Another job that I had someone said to me 'Bloody Asian you should have a stamp on your head and go back to where you came from'. This made me depressed. I took the matter to the head of personnel. Another time where I was working, a supervisor had told four or five staff to let the slopehead work his guts out. Because of my colour and background, some people judge me because of what I look like rather than who I am. Long-term resident man.

Australia is generally a good country. There are good and bad here. Some are nice. Some are not. Some loitering people in the mall swore at me one time when I spoke my language. They said when you come to Australia you speak English. Newly arrived woman with little English.

Sometimes we can't communicate with them because we're Asian. We are coloured. Different. Sometimes they look down on us. They look down at you. Yes they look down at you yes because your skin colour is different and your accent is different. Newly arrived woman with good English.

Some other incidents of discrimination and racism were attributed to older Australians who may have been involved in one way or another with the Japanese and WW II or to the mood of the country at a time of war. At this time, all Asian people ('Japanese looking') were treated with enmity. As with the respondents, several of the key informants thought a significant segment of the older population was more discriminatory than other people because they had not been exposed to multiculturalism. They absorbed a steady, biased 'news diet' about Asian people during the days of the WAP and WW II.

In their upbringing in school, there was the white Australia policy which talked about the dominance of the white people and how bloody hopeless the coloureds were and so their life experience has been away from the realities of multicultural society, Asian society with the very rich and ripe culture. I think the younger age groups people are more enlightened. They have probably travelled to Asia. They have probably gone through school and university with Asian immigrant and refugee people, and are far more prepared to accept people as they are rather than where they come from. And so I think that you do get a much more tolerant society on an age basis rather than having redneck younger people. Former senior DIMIA employee.

However, one respondent considered that the covert discrimination was more dangerous.

I'm more concerned about the underlying discrimination rather than blatant discrimination. I'm talking about discrimination in the workplace or on a policy level or on an administrative level, rather than this kind of discrimination - a car drives past and calls out derogatory remarks. I find that these kinds of discrimination - I mean it's bad but it's not something that's hidden. I find that what's worse is the hidden discrimination. Long-term resident man with excellent English

The above quotation brings out the structural discrimination that the other respondents have not spoken about, but of which the literature was replete (Castles and Davidson 2000; Cope et al 1995; Hage 1999; Hollinsworth 1998; Jureidini 2000; Pettigrew 1998; Quinn 2000; and Schram and Reid Mandell 2000). Most respondents have spoken about day-to-day, superficial discrimination and some about racism that is more serious but mostly concerning personal encounters with Australians. The above quotation from the respondent is about organisational and more entrenched discrimination. An example of this kind of structural and organisation discrimination was pointed out by one key informant who said that the Australian settlement services system was discriminatory because the government did not provide enough English language hours and settlement services were not extensive enough.

It is in the settlement issues I feel there is discrimination. I think Australia opens the doors to too many migrants and then fails to support them once they're here. Or even inform them in their own languages what's available once they get there. Local worker in migrant field.

When the respondents talked about incidents of discrimination or racism, they never said anything derogatory about Australians or Australia. Blame was occasionally attributed to a rising level of racism due to the increasing media and public attention on policies of Pauline Hanson and the One Nation Party (Castles and Davidson 2000, p. 145; Goot 1998, pp. 71-73; McManus and Pritchard 2000, p. 390; Reynolds 1998, p. 141; and van Krieken et al 2000, p. 528).

In conclusion, people reported a range of incidents but largely did not consider it discrimination. Discrimination in finding work was raised. Racism that was more overt was reported as well, such as name-calling and assault. Stereotyping, which did occur, fell under covert discrimination. Structural discrimination was barely mentioned; although, it was there, especially in the literature. The discrimination and racism that were mentioned were how the respondents were personally discriminated against.

Respondents did not shy away from disclosing incidents that happened to them; although, overall, most had experienced only minor incidents. They were open about this area. However, the key informants had another point of view, saying that AIHE people would not disclose everything, and they were not aware of every discriminatory or racist act, especially covert discrimination.

It would seem that Hansonism did not have a great impact on the local or day-to-day personal lives of the respondents. Organisational and structural discrimination and the perpetuated

social inequality outlined by the literature were hardly mentioned by the respondents, but did receive some mention from the key informants. Thus, according to the respondents, the low reported incidence of discrimination and racism and mostly unintentional and not malevolent discrimination and racism were factors that contributed to respondents' settlement. However, organisational and structural discrimination and racism were present in Coffs Harbour, and this was evident in the employment scene.

EMPLOYMENT

Finding and keeping work is an important aspect of settlement for most IHE people. However, there are more barriers for IHE people in finding work than there are for Australian-born people. One barrier is not having qualifications and overseas experience recognised in Australia. Accent and command of English can be two more barriers (Burnley et al 1997, p. 127; Richardson et al 2001, p. 56), but there are even more barriers. These are age, contacts, employment history, familiarity with the Australian labour market, and length of residency in Australia.

External factors at the local level interacting with national and global economic change, changes in the political and social regulation of labour markets, and significant shifts in government policy aimed at reducing budget deficits (Burnley et al 1997, p. 128) also affect the unemployment rate of IHE people. Finally, even if new arrivals transcend these barriers, discrimination can keep IHE people out of the jobs they want. Richardson et al (2001, p. 57) find that discrimination does not rate highly in their study as a reason for not finding work, but Jamrozik et al (1995, p. 91) disagree by saying that the dominant group uses institutional and

systemic discrimination to influence the unemployment rate of IHE people, so that the interests of the dominant group are not affected. Some new arrivals of this sample were employed but not in what, and where, they necessarily wanted to be.

Nationally, IHE people in the workforce had lower participation rates than the Australian-born (DIMIA 2002, p. 63). However, The IHE people from NESCs had a higher unemployment rate (7.7 per cent) than the Australian-born (6.5 per cent) (DIMIA 2002, p. 64). The employment scene for the overseas born was statistically worse than for the Australian-born.

AIHE people's employment situation in Coffs Harbour was caused by discrimination, the lack of recognition of overseas skills and qualifications, and the type of work most respondents were employed in was semi-skilled, unskilled, casual, part-time, or self-employment such as in bakeries, growing bananas, or restaurants. This also came about because of the bleak employment situation in Coffs Harbour and because of the insufficient occupational English of the respondents. Family and work commitments kept the respondents from studying or relocating to move ahead.

Coffs Harbour and the MNC have traditionally had the highest rates of unemployment on the NSW coast, and this was well-known anecdotally as well. The Coffs Harbour unemployment rate was significantly higher than the NSW rate or the national rate (CHCC 1999, p. 11; *CHA* Sat 13 December 1999; and Salt 2000, pp. 1, 89). The unemployment rate was higher for women, and they held more part-time jobs (CHCC 1999, pp. 10, 11).

Unemployment was not the only indicator that Coffs Harbour was a demanding place in which to live. Coffs Harbour also had a below

average median-weekly-income (CHCC 1999, p. 5), a higher proportion of households on low incomes (CHCC 1999, p. 5), and lower average per capita income (Salt 2000, p. 84). Coffs Harbour also had more older people (CHCC 1999, p. 7), fewer couples with children, more couples without children, and more one-parent families (CHCC 1999, p. 15) than the state average. Life in regional centres is also harder (Budge, Hugo, and D'Rozario 1992, p. 84; Cheers 1990, p. 10; Conner and Heilpern 1991, p. 49; Gray et al 1991, p. xiv; and Schodel 1992, p. 44) economically and socially.

Discrimination did not rate as a big factor in not finding work. Only one respondent said discrimination was the reason she was not hired for the job she wanted because she was better qualified than the candidate who was hired.

I couldn't get the job, and the person who got the job didn't have as high a qualification as I did, so it was very obvious. I think there was discrimination because the person who was selected was working in a I thought it was biased. The simple reason that when you say the country you're from, people think that is a bad thing, backward, because the general impression of the world is my country is a backward country. Then I worked at this new job as a volunteer. I could show them that I was working very well, and after one week he said 'you are really good at what you're doing, and you should have got the job, and I'm really sorry that you didn't get the job'. Young woman with professional qualifications, had been in Australia for two years.

Discrimination was barely mentioned by key informants as a factor against AIHE people's finding work. Certainly, language can be used as a form of institutional discrimination to refuse to employ people when the real reasons are about appearance, ethnicity, race, or unfamiliarity. Respondents did not give the impression that they thought this was happening to them.

No I have never come across that. Woman, a long-term resident of Australia and married to an Australian man.

Race discrimination? Not in my case. I'm very, very lucky. I think because it's how you treat people and in return it's how they treat you. That's my philosophy. Woman, a long-term resident of Australia and married to an Australian man.

However, there was a very limited number of hours of English language tuition in Coffs Harbour. Respondents would be unlikely to have a sufficient command of English because of living in Coffs Harbour for years. English language classes were mentioned. The AMEP-funded classes of five to nine hours a week would not bring the respondents up to occupational-level English. A key informant spoke about the English tuition offered.

It is survival English. It's not English to upgrade qualifications from overseas, and it won't allow, say, a migrant that has come from overseas who's been an accountant or a solicitor or a teacher to learn significant English in a short enough period to bring his English up to scratch to sit exams here. It's impossible, so most of the Asian people or most of the migrants in Australia that come from non-English speaking backgrounds can be absolutely certain within the first five or ten years there's no way they're going back into their own profession again. And for most of them, that's a major settlement issue. Former English Language Provider.

There was no respondent whose work in Australia was the same work as what he or she did in the country of origin. Some of the respondents migrated to Australia as young adults or had just finished their tertiary studies and did not have the opportunity to enter or resume their occupation. The kinds of jobs that respondents held overseas were airline navigator, boatbuilder, boilermaker, bookkeeper, bookshop worker, engineering consultant, English teacher, fisher, import/export business, hotelier, lawyer, librarian, police officer, secretary, soldier, tailor, and teacher.

Respondents found work that was part-time, casual full-time, or self-employment. It was not worthwhile in the short to medium-term to study English because they needed to be employed to earn money, to raise families, and to continue with settlement and all its

demands. No one blamed his or her employment status on the high unemployment rate of Coffs Harbour and the MNC. The types of jobs people had in Coffs Harbour ranged from aged care worker, bakery worker or owner, banana grower, blueberry farmer/worker, bookkeeper, cleaner, farmer, lecturer, masseur, restaurant worker or owner, secretary, social welfare worker, supermarket worker, to translator and interpreter. A handful of respondents were studying while working.

Higher education levels are low in Coffs Harbour. The percentage of people with a bachelor's degree or higher was half the state average (CHCC 1999, p. 17). Among the respondents, there were eight people with tertiary qualifications. Of the eight, two people with degrees (one Australian degree and one overseas degree) were working in other occupations and were not using their degrees. Of the remaining six, one had her qualifications recognised but could not find work in her occupation because of a lack of work experience overseas and in Australia. Another person has had his qualifications recognised but did not have a high enough level of English to be able to work in his occupation. The qualifications of two respondents were not recognised. The two other people possessed Australian tertiary qualifications and were working in their occupation. The respondents who had professional qualifications from their country of origin were not recognised, with two exceptions. Even these two respondents could not find work because one person had little work experience, and the second one did not have proficient enough English to work in his occupation.

Two respondents who had degrees from overseas thought their degrees were equivalent to or better than an Australian degree. This has caused them consternation because their degrees were not

recognised or the respondents could not find employment in their professions.

I think it's unfair. Very unfair because in my country I qualify for teaching English at university. The Department of Education wrote to me and if I want to teach in Australia, I have to go to a one year training course, and then I can teach my first language, not English. But I think it's very unfair. I came here and there's nothing much for me to do. In my country, I can be a teacher. I can be an interpreter or a translator, but here I have to do casual work. New arrival woman with good English married to an Australian man.

Unless professionals found work in their field, which was unlikely, they needed to upgrade their qualifications and English, which was unlikely in Coffs Harbour. This meant respondents would have to relocate, which is not always an easy choice because of family and work commitments. Respondents usually then went into some other kind of work such as self-employment, or they left the regional centre to look for a job or to study, as four key informants agreed. The respondents interviewed may have stayed because they found work, but they may also have stayed for family reunion, lifestyle reasons, or marriage reasons.

There were a number of reasons why people were unemployed or underemployed. A handful of people had worked at a particular occupation in their country of origin and did not have formal training. The formal training was either not required, or the respondents never acquired the qualification. This affected them in Australia, which required training and a qualification, but to undertake this in Australia was not considered worthwhile. One man spoke about what he needed to do to upgrade his qualification and why he would not do this. His English was good and he had been in Australia about 10 years.

I have to do study. I inquired about that and they said you have to. They sent me the papers that you have to fill out. So many papers and this and that. So by that time, I needed money and I said no to study for the time being. I'll earn some money then I'll study, because study will take money. Expenses too, so I can't afford not to work. So since then, she got the job here and I became a supervisor at my place of work, I don't worry about not studying. I enjoy my job and where I live, so I said to myself 'better to stay here now'.

Two respondents had young children and did not want to and could not work. Three people were aged 50 or older and realistically knew they were not going to find a job in Coffs Harbour. One person was finishing high school. One person was at TAFE. Other people did not speak English well enough. Sometimes several of the above reasons were combined.

Four people could speak English well but could not find work or did not need to work. One man had been in Australia a long time but could not find the work he did in his country of origin because of his low level of English.

Several respondents took short courses through the Coffs Coast Adult Education (CCAEE), the Enterprise and Training Centre (ETC), the College of Natural Medicine, and TAFE. These courses were mostly employment-related, but some were interest-related. Voluntary work was also mentioned. One woman did several weeks of voluntary work in her field to gain Australian experience and to show employers her skills and what kind of worker she was.

Other people did voluntary work at MARS and at other community organisations. This voluntary experience met social needs as well as giving work experience. A lack of a driver's licence only proved to be a problem for one person in keeping her job. Public transport is limited in Coffs Harbour, so it would be thought that a driver's

licence would be necessary to find and keep work, but this did not prove to be the case.

The lack of childcare or money to afford childcare did not prove to be a problem. Two women raising children were not working but were not looking for work. Other men and women did not have children or their children were in childcare or were old enough to go to school or to be left on their own. Two people said that when they worked packing bananas their children were able to accompany them and could be looked after by them or extended family.

It is very flexible for me to take my son with me to the bananas. I don't have to take him to childcare because I already hate it. I find that taking him along is wonderful. Because I really want them to be with me when they're young. And when they want to go to school they understand, so the only thing I would like now is a small family and to be flexible and especially with kids and being self-employed.

People from the respondents' own background were mostly not helpful or even used in finding work, with some exceptions. The Punjabi Sikhs employed new arrivals in the bananas or restaurant work, but the respondents did not necessarily remain in that kind of work. Two people were employed in restaurants (not Punjabi Sikhs), but they were not from the same country of origin as the owners. The other exception was the employment of some respondents from the same country of origin in a service business. This practice of helping compatriots to find work could not be extensive in Coffs Harbour because of the small number of people from Asian countries. Respondents did not report either that compatriots should have been helpful in this matter. According to the literature, the interaction with people and the social environment, not necessarily compatriots, would be a significant feature (Branscombe and Ellemers 1998, p. 251; Cox 1989, p. 4; Gardner et al 2000, p. 491; Giorgas 2000, p. 2; Ornstein and Sobel

1987, pp. 4, 5; and Siegrist 2000, p. 1288), but in this research especially with employment, this was not the case.

Most key informants said that employment was the main issue that attracted people to settle in Coffs Harbour. As a MARS committee member said:

Well employment is the big issue. I mean employment and skills recognition are the major ones, and it is probably one of the main reasons why people in the end leave the region because either if they do get their skills recognised then finding employment in the area of their skills may not necessary follow. Let's face it because in the end their main reason for migrating is to establish a new life for themselves and their families and that means work and money.

The key informants had the incorrect impression that AIHE people who remained in Coffs Harbour and found work were self-employed usually in Asian restaurants. Asian restaurants (Chinese, Indian, Japanese, Malaysian, Thai, and Vietnamese) are an employment stereotype for AIHE people. This is because restaurants allow self-employment, people do not need qualifications or their recognition, people know how to cook, there is a market, people can speak their first language, it is a family operation, people can be hired who speak their first language and get by with learning little English, and illegal residents might even be hired for low pay. Three people from the sample owned or co-owned Asian restaurants. There were two other people, now working in other occupations, who had previously owned restaurants. Not one of these five people had worked in restaurants in the country of origin. There was one person working part-time in a restaurant that she did not own or co-own, and she was not related to the owners of the restaurant. One person who has been running a restaurant for several years with her spouse described what it was like:

At first, I worked in my own restaurant in Coffs Harbour. The first year it was very hard to get customers because of our food and because Australian people in Coffs Harbour have never been to my country, and they don't know about food from my country. The first time I opened and people came to eat, they complained. The food was too hot, because here Australian people don't know how to eat food from my country.

Asian restaurants were not the norm for this sample. This could be because of sample selection, but it is more likely AIHE people working in Asian restaurants were a minority.

The other side of the unemployed and underemployed was that the respondents accepted their situation or at least portrayed this. Apathy or despair was not evident; no one complained. Petruchenia (1992, p. 43) predicts this, that the focus is on the individual and not on the structural, concerning the unemployment situation of IHE people. The respondents were possibly accepting of less than ideal, unwanted circumstances. A newly arrived man described how he felt about not having full-time work.

If I have to say that if I get a part-time position definitely I will be living here forever. I'll retire here. I'm quite happy. I don't know if I will go back to my country. But if I can't get a job, even, say, a part-time position, maybe in the future we should decide to go back to my country. There won't be any choice. We can't stay here. I need a job and not just for money.

A key informant agrees and says how poor the prospects are for AIHE people to find work because of discrimination and lack of recognition of their qualifications.

Unemployment is higher here so migrants would be further down the ladder in terms of finding jobs usually because maybe they don't have as much English or maybe their qualifications are not recognised and perhaps because of discrimination. Public servant and MARS committee member.

Some key informants thought that AIHE people came to Coffs Harbour through a family connection or a friend and then they tried

to set up a business. Another key informant said that AIHE people did not come to Coffs Harbour for work reasons but rather for reasons such as family reunion, marriage, or sponsorship as humanitarian entrant people.

The research revealed that about two thirds of the respondents were employed but mostly in semi-skilled and unskilled work. Some were employed part-time or casual. About half of the employed respondents were underemployed. Most of the respondents did not work in restaurants as the stereotype suggests. There was no one employed in the kind of work he or she was trained for or performed in the country of origin. Discrimination and the high unemployment rate of the MNC were hardly mentioned as reasons for not finding work.

The respondents did not report the lack of recognition of overseas qualifications as a big factor in not finding work. This lack of recognition would be attributed to the qualifications rather than the recognising bodies, how they recognised qualifications, or the availability and cost of accessing these bodies. Some respondents had qualifications from their country of origin that were not recognised in Australia. However, the respondents did not have enough experience in those occupations in their country of origin. This was deemed a reason not to employ them in the same positions in Australia. The fact that some respondents did not have qualifications for the positions they had performed in their country of origin meant that they were not allowed to work in these occupations in Australia. Another similar reason was that they did not have Australian experience in these occupations, but the respondents did have overseas experience. Respondents were told their English was insufficient, but it was doubtful if their level of English was tested to be sufficient or not for the positions, they

wanted to hold. Additionally, there were not enough hours of English language tuition available for respondents to upgrade their English to the levels required. The factors that were attributed as individual were largely coming from their country of origin, and these factors have a bearing on settlement (Cox 1989, pp. 18-24).

The key informants' point of view was that employment was a major driving force for attracting AIHE people to Coffs Harbour and keeping them in Coffs Harbour. People came because of a contact or a business opportunity, and if there was not sufficient work, they left. The key informants thought that the MNC was a difficult place to find work, for anyone, and employment services would not be of much assistance. Enough English could not be acquired locally for AIHE people to reach job readiness for skilled occupations. The key informants painted a bleaker picture of employment than did the respondents because of the structural disadvantages that the respondents did not acknowledge.

In the end, many of the respondents resigned themselves to work that was not in their occupation, different from what they had experience in or different from that in which they were educated or trained. Jayasuriya (1991, p. 89 cited in Hollinsworth 1998, p. 251) makes the point that social inequality is not so much because of the individual but because of the dominant group's agenda or controlling power. Hollinsworth (1998, p. 6) points out that the focus should not be on individuals and acts of racism, but on the broader aspects of racism such as inequality, political argument, and representations of national identity underpinned by the political and social structures of society.

BELONGINGNESS

Two structural factors of Coffs Harbour, the lack of compatriots except for the Punjabi Sikhs and limited hours of English language tuition, contributed to the increased interaction AIHE people were compelled to have with the townspeople if the AIHE people were going to settle and live in Coffs Harbour. This increased their ability to speak English. Many were employed but not necessarily to their full capacity. The townspeople granted them limited social acceptance, but their settlement was still from a position of social inequality. An outcome of settlement is belongingness and the type of belongingness reported from the respondents reflected the settlement in Coffs Harbour they experienced and constructed. Their settlement in Coffs Harbour was based on the interplay of micro and macro factors such as discrimination and employment, of which the dominant group are in control.

This last section of the chapter is about the respondents' feeling of belongingness, their sense of home or place, and acceptance by the dominant group despite the fact the respondents' settlement in Coffs Harbour has been located within a position of social inequality. This could explain the findings that the respondents did not report much belongingness to Coffs Harbour simply because Coffs Harbour was the day-to-day reality of their position of social inequality. The respondents had to accommodate this position of social inequality and minimal social inclusion. However, the respondents' feelings of not belonging to Coffs Harbour did not negate their sense of belongingness to Australia. Additionally, even though Australia was the preferred country in which to live because of a better standard of life, belongingness to Australia was often shared with belongingness to the country of origin. However, in some cases there was not a feeling of belongingness to Australia

but only to the country of origin despite still preferring to live in Australia.

Belongingness is congruent with social work for three reasons: Firstly, because it is constructed by the individual; Secondly, because it is predicated on individual and structural factors; and Thirdly because it is an interplay between individual and structural factors. The literature did not conclusively agree on what belongingness is or where people belong, nor could it account for why belongingness happens in settlement or how. Belongingness was rarely found in the social work, migration, or settlement literature, and nothing about IHE people in regional centres.

The literature did emphasise the overall importance of belongingness (Branscombe and Ellemers 1998, p. 251; Siegrist 2000, p. 1288). However, the findings from the respondents (key informants were not asked about belongingness) showed that belongingness was an important aspect of settlement, for which the literature did not account, except for Barnes (1999, p. 137). How belongingness was defined, or to whatever or wherever it was pledged, was based on how settlement took place: the interplay of micro and macro factors such as the person's skills and personality, who the person married, compatriots, circumstances in the country of origin, the policies of Australia's immigration program, the state of affairs of the receiving country, and the host society. For example, if an immigrant person has a smooth transition from the country of origin to Australia, and there are no major obstacles in that person's settlement, then logically, it would be assumed the person would feel belongingness to Australia. However, this was not necessarily the case. The consideration and understanding of belongingness, then, are necessary to understand settlement more fully.

The research question 'where do you think/feel you belong?' was posed to the respondents, allowing them to construct the definition of belongingness, as to what it meant to them. The literature alluded to belongingness being constructed (Allon 2000, pp. 277, 286) as Gardner et al (2000, p. 491, 492) and Giorgas (2000, p. 2) illustrate when they discuss belongingness that people can variably belong collectively or interpersonally to groups. Belongingness is relative to an IHE person's needs and experiences.

The respondents mostly defined belongingness as a sense of place or home. They said they felt they belonged to Australia, to their country of origin, to both Australia and country of origin, not to Australia or Coffs Harbour, not to anywhere, or not sure. Belongingness was not necessarily a localised place. The respondents' answers further extended the concept of belongingness as their personal and subjective perception of how, when, and where they feel they are at home and where or what home is. Belongingness is a result of an intuitive sense, as reported by the respondents, more than a cognitive sense, which contradicts the literature (Bollen and Hoyle 1990, pp. 480, 482, 497; Cope et al 1995, pp. 44, 86). A person's sense of belongingness does not necessarily have a pattern of logical decision-making or thought. Other people, part of the social environment, can contribute to the construction of a person's perception of belongingness. The past and physical and social environment contribute to the construction of a person's belongingness. Thus, the respondents' belongingness, a sense of connectedness, home, identity, or place, is self-defined and can vary from culture to culture and from person to person.

Belongingness is predicated on other factors of settlement such as encountering discrimination, learning English, mixing with people from one's own background, meeting people and friends from the

host society, the person's personal circumstances, accessing settlement services, etc. These all contribute to belongingness in Australia. Thus, these are the external factors that contribute to how the IHE person perceives belongingness as Cox (1989, p. 41) makes the point. Belongingness is constructive (Camilleri 1999, pp. 36-37; Howe 1987, p. 100-102) and contextual (Barber 1991, pp. 122-123, 124; Compton and Galaway 1999, pp. 4, 55; Germain and Gitterman 1980, pp. 4, 9; and Howe 1987, p. 121). Belongingness needs to be reconceptualised as part of settlement, given belongingness' contextual and constructive nature as the literature has shown and respondents will show.

Australia

Most of the Independents felt Australia is where they belonged. This response would be most expected from this group because they had the most choice in coming to Australia and settling where they wanted. They did not come because of marriage or humanitarian entrant status.

Yes. After 10, 11 years you have to feel that way, don't you? Because I don't really think I have anything more to do with the country I came from. I still have family there, of course. I go back to see them, but I never think that I can live there anymore because this is my home. I have all my new friends here and because I have been treated so well with all my friends and have a really good friendship. It's more like a new life to me, a new world you could say. Woman resident in Australia for 11 years.

Australia my home. Yeah home sweet home. I like the very peaceful and freedom country and people. I meet a lot of people very laughing. I show you my house and always people coming over, Australians are coming over. Man resident in Australia for 20 years.

Half the Punjabi Sikhs said they felt they belonged to Australia even though they were referring to Coffs Harbour as localised Australia. This respondent felt belongingness to Australia, only because that was where he lived.

First and because at the time I came from India, I was young and when you are young you don't think about it, you know life and everything. I was coming here to get married that's all I knew. Then I settled here [Coffs Harbour], and raised my family. I stayed here so I love the place, and but at the time, when I was in India, I love that place. My children want us to stay with them, at Brisbane. I said, no, we stay here. You can come anytime and we can visit you, so we can stay as long as we can with you, but we live here. It is natural in our culture too. I think it's in the blood, wherever we work, we stick there. Man, a long-term resident of Australia.

Most of the Partners said that they did not belong to Australia. The reasons were family in the country of origin, or the Partners were new arrivals who were missing their country of origin much more. This is discussed more in the next section. There was also the example of not an Independent but of a woman who married an Australian man who had been living in her country of origin, and then they migrated together to Australia. He died in Australia a few years later and subsequently she returned to her country of origin (not an impoverished country) for three months with the intention of only staying for that period. She did not have any children to draw her back to Australia. Her parents and siblings in the country of origin urged her to stay, but she returned to Australia three months later as planned. Later, she married another Australian man. She felt she belonged to Australia and wanted to live in this country.

It depends on the time, I suppose. but most of the time I belong to Australia. This is my home, but every now and then I long to go home to see mainly my family. I think Australia is where I belong. Yeh, because of my lifestyle, all the people I met here. It's been a happy time, and everybody likes me.

The reasons the respondents have given and the apparent reasons for feeling belongingness to Australia seem plausible, particularly because most immigrant people have chosen to migrate to and continue to live in Australia. It would be thought they would be familiar with life in Australia and have liked it. Likewise, it would be

thought that if immigrant people had a negative settlement experience they would feel belongingness to their country of origin. However, the belongingness to the country of origin was usually not because of something negative about Australia.

Country of Origin

The reasons for feeling that they belonged to their country of origin seemed to be about personal circumstances rather than macro level reasons, as the respondents below have described. The response of all the new arrivals (fewer than five years in Australia) to the question where they felt they belonged was evenly divided. One young woman felt she belonged to her country of origin; although, civil unrest was taking place. She was worried about the fate of her parents and family.

I think I not belong to anyone. I feel I still belong in my country. But I feel I don't not belong to Australia. No I'm not belonging Coffs Harbour either. New arrival and married to an Australian man.

Two young and new arrival women did not feel that they belonged here, and the reason they gave was that they did not have work. One was unskilled and spoke little English. The other had a tertiary qualification and spoke good English, and as she said:

I have gained nothing. I've lost my job and my parents. Yes, I have gained new skills. It's a chance I've had to see how other people live in the world. It's good to learn all that, like Australia is different from my country and all that kind of thing, but if I have a job I think I'll have everything. The only thing is, I want to be independent. To get a job is the most important thing.

When this next woman was a child, her mother died in their country of origin. The woman migrated to Australia and has been here for 10 years. She questioned whether belongingness to her country of origin was a question of growing older. She said that she felt she

belonged to her country of origin. She was not at all unhappy in Australia, but time and age might make one reminisce more or make someone fonder of the country of origin. She was in her early to mid 30s, spoke good English, was employed (although not in the field she wanted to be), was married and had two Australian-born children, and did not disclose any discrimination or racism that has happened to her. Thus, there were not any apparent factors about Australia that could prevent her feeling she belonged to Australia. The reason for her belongingness to her country of origin was that when her mother died the woman and her father and siblings then became all the closer, she said.

This year I feeling very much in my country because I'm still in my country since I was there last time for a visit. No matter how comfortable I'm here. No matter how much the systems are better than in my country, and like you say lucky country and all that, but I really miss my country a lot sometimes. It sort of gets too much. I like to go back probably every year, but I can't afford it. I don't know maybe I'm getting a bit older. I was younger ten years back and you know you sort of say ok maybe you get older maybe get more emotional. I don't know what it is. Yes, I like I love here. It's a really great country, everything is good, but I miss my country very much every single day. Woman resident in Australia for 10 years.

Another woman migrated to Australia for the sake of her two children and their education. She did not marry an Australian man, and she did not want to migrate to Australia. She had a comfortable life and good job in her country of origin. She has family members who have migrated to Australia. She thought that for her children to have better opportunities in life she needed to take them out of a poor country (her words) and to make sure they received a Western education in English. She felt they would not move when they were adults and the time to migrate was when they were children. She did not feel that she belonged to Australia. She said that she had yet to see the gains of her migration. She hoped these gains would come in time for her children. Her work skills and experience overseas were not recognised when she applied for jobs,

and she had yet to find meaningful work. She talked about why she did not want to migrate because of discrimination and not wanting to start a new life.

Well, you always hear things about when people migrate. There's the discrimination thing or being second class citizens that even if you take citizenship like American, Australian or British. You're still sort of second class and I don't like that. That's why maybe living overseas didn't attract me. I was always happy staying in my country. And then I thought that if I go to Australia, I don't want to because I have to start all over again. And it's not at my age that you want to start all over again. You have to find a job. I mean, a house and everything, and it scares me, but I have to do it.

At the other end of the spectrum, it might be assumed that some respondents in the mid 50s and older who had spent about 15 or more years in Australia might express their desire to return to their country of origin. This occurred with two women both in Australia for about 15 years and both married to Australian men. They would like to return to be with aged parents and to retire and spend their last years in their country of origin. One of the women had just recently returned from a visit to her country of origin, and she described what it felt like and how close to her heart was her culture. She wanted to return to her country of origin because it was her culture and to be with her parents.

I still feel that I belong to my country. As our plane landed at the airport in the capital city during a recent visit, the people clapped their hands. I cried when the plane landed. Also, at a visit several years ago, the same thing happened when we went home. I am happy in Australia, but in my country it is a different feeling. I feel closer to the ground, closer to my culture, and closer to my people. I also want to be with my parents.

Several people's circumstances in their country of origin have reinforced their belongingness to their country of origin rather than to Australia, as in one case that had already been described. Three respondents reported that the death of a parent in the country of origin reinforced their belongingness to their country of origin.

The next two respondents felt they belonged to their country of origin because of what they experienced in Australia. Their accounts, while entirely valid, were different from the other respondents in this group. The first woman said that her expectations and images of Australia fell short after the first 12 months. She did not want to migrate to Australia, but 20 years ago, she married an Australian man, and they migrated. Her children were born in Australia. She and her husband were no longer married, but she has lived in Coffs Harbour all that time. She talked about the expectations that she had of Australia before she migrated. The images of Western countries came from films, the news, and accounts from other migrants and travellers, and none of this was accurate. She found herself lonely, could not drive, spoke little English, there were no people from her own background close by, and life in Coffs Harbour was 'boring'. However, on a broad level she recognised Australia was far better than her country of origin in terms of freedom and standard of living. She talked about 20 years of living in Australia having consolidated her as a person from her country of origin. Living in Australia has provided a contrast or a mirror to her upbringing and culture. She said that though she has lived in Australia for 20 years, she did not feel belongingness here and was considering returning to her country of origin.

I don't think Australia has changed me much. I think it is the other way around. I probably have more appreciation of my culture now. I have more appreciation about family support now than I ever had. I have more appreciation in terms of the values that I have inherited from my family and the community I lived with. I don't really think Australia has changed a bit of my aspirations in terms of family and politics. I can say this now, that I think it's the other way around. I think I probably brought some change to some Australians who were very close to me. I think there were a lot of benefits from watching me grow up in an Australian society. I think some of them have benefited in terms of the determination and courage I have, and that's changed them, not changed me because I still have passion and the kind of passion I had growing up.

The second woman felt she belonged to her country of origin for different reasons again. Her Australian husband was controlling and bordering on abusive. She was now divorced, had some part-time work, a driver's licence, a car, and a flat. She would like to return to her country of origin, but this meant leaving her children, and selling her car, which was her independence, all of which were gained after much struggle. She was not sure what she could expect in her country of origin after so much time away, but most of her life in Australia had been difficult. Personal circumstances play a role in where one feels belongingness. However, this woman was the only person who felt she did not belong to Australia because of her settlement and migration experiences in Australia.

I belong to my country because life in Australia has been hard, my ex-husband and all that, but Australia has been good to me. I'm on my feet now.

Several respondents said that they preferred Australia to their country of origin because of what Australia offered such as less crime, pollution, and poverty and a better climate and standard of living; although, they did not feel they belonged to Australia, at least not yet, but felt they belonged to their country of origin. Despite this, their answers indicated they thought they were still better off in Australia. The feelings of belonging to the country of origin in nearly all cases were not because of a dislike of Australia but rather because of personal reasons. The other possible reason for this group of respondents' lack of belongingness to Australia was a lack of interaction with the host society. Without compatriots to interact with and with some interaction with the townspeople, the respondents might not feel grounded in Coffs Harbour, or that they belonged in the regional centre.

The settlement literature (Baldassar 1997, p. 89; Giorgas 2000, p. 9; Peisker 1999, p. 355; and Waitt et al 2000, p. 89) that did

consider belongingness, dealt with established European communities living in metropolitan centres, which provided a structure for belongingness to occur and evolve. There were compatriots with whom AIHE people could interact. The literature said that part of what constituted belongingness was interaction with the community (not specified) and acceptance (Branscombe and Ellemers 1998, p. 251; Dudley et al 1999, p. 432; and Pakulski and Tranter 2000, p. 3). Belongingness, as a part of settlement, occurs differently in a regional centre.

Both

When asked the question of where they felt they belonged, some people said both Australia and their country of origin. The feeling of belongingness did not have to elicit the answer of one place. The literature did not mention this, except Baldassar (1997 p. 89). In this piece of research, Italians in Perth came from San Fior in Italy. They felt belongingness to Perth and San Fior Italy for different reasons. The belongingness of some of the respondents was not either Australia or the country of origin, but both.

One Punjabi Sikh said that he/she belonged to both countries. Four other people (not Punjabi Sikhs) felt they belonged to both countries. Two of these four people were Humanitarian Entrants. They missed their countries of origin but not the persecuting conditions. The two Humanitarian Entrants were grateful and happy to be in Australia, but they felt they belonged to both countries. Read (1996, p. 33) says that IHE people feeling they belonged to two countries might have to do with the death of their parents in the country of origin or the birth of their children in the receiving country.

Two respondents, both men, gave interesting reasons for feeling they belonged to both countries. The first man was married to an Australian woman. Both places were home for him, but for different reasons.

I feel I belong here, but I still have a sense of belonging where I come from. That is both. I find now here is my home, but there is my city home and my place of birth. When I'm here, I think that my country is always my home, so when I go back on a holiday, I feel home, very comfortable. But by the end of the second week, I start to feel restless, Australia is my home. I think there is more attachment to where I grew up, and it becomes more like a sentimental thing to me. When I put it to you, I can see it so clearly and I think I consider that home, even though this is my home also.

The second man was divorced from a woman from the same country of origin. He has travelled extensively throughout the world because of his job. He also lived in the UK for a few years to learn English. When he returned to his country of origin from the UK, he no longer saw himself as someone from his country of origin. His business also brought him to Australia several times over the years before he migrated. He chose Coffs Harbour because it was regional and reminded him of where he grew up in his country of origin. He felt at home in Australia, but in the back of his mind he was unsure because of something his father said to him.

I feel I belong to myself. My father said last time he was here. He's over seventy so he's thinking about another ten years or so in his life and he mentioned 'by the way after I die nobody's going to look after my graveyard'. I said 'what do you mean'? He said 'because you migrated to Australia, I'm still overseas. Who's going to look after my graveyard'? That was first time I thought about this. It was a big decision to migrate to because no one will look after my parents' graveyard. That was only two or three years ago that my father mentioned that. Wow, that's big, and then I thought who's going to look after me after I die if I'm in Australia or my country? Maybe this is an idea from my country only: to look after parents. Maybe Aussies don't have that idea, so I still don't know. Wow, what will happen? Then I thought to myself so I still don't know. I belong half to Australia and half to my country but mainly to myself.

It would have been thought that more respondents would have felt belongingness to Coffs Harbour especially since some of them chose to move to and stay in Coffs Harbour. The first reason would be the attributes of Coffs Harbour and the North Coast such as natural beauty, climate, being on the coast, medium size, and other lifestyle reasons (Department of Human Services and Health [DHS&H] June 1995, pp. 18, 20; The Senate Employment, Workplace Relation, Small Business and Education References Committee 1999, p. 16; and Walmsley et al 1995, p. 90). People moved to Coffs Harbour because of work, more affordable cost of living, friends and family, and disenchantment with metropolitan centres (Sherlaimoff 1986, pp. 36-37; Walmsley et al 1995, pp. 51, 5). There was also the population drift northwards that accounted for some of the movement of people to Coffs Harbour. These included retirees (Salt 1992, p. 18), the unemployed, and those not in the labour force trying to survive the structural changes to the economy (Wulff and Bell 1997, pp. 1, 7, 13).

A handful of people felt they did not belong to Coffs Harbour, but this did not necessarily negate belongingness to Australia. One young woman married to an Australian man thought she would be happier in Sydney where she used to live. Her main reason was Sydney allowed more contact with people from her country of origin and more access to Asian food and ingredients, and newspapers and videos in her language. She also found it hard to meet Australians, because of her level of English. She still missed her country of origin but felt belongingness to Australia.

The respondents overall did not mention they felt belongingness to their compatriots in Australia. They felt belongingness to their country of origin for individual reasons. Thus, again belongingness is individually constructed. The two exceptions of respondents who

wanted to be with compatriots were firstly those respondents who did not feel they belonged to Coffs Harbour. They wanted to be elsewhere, around their compatriots. The second group was some of the Punjabi Sikhs who felt belongingness to Australia presumably because they interacted with compatriots. As the literature (Barnes 1999, p. 137; Cox 1989, p. 41; Gardner et al 2000, p. 491; and Giorgas 2000, p. 2) has pointed out, interaction with compatriots is one way to define belongingness. For nearly all the respondents, there are few compatriots in Coffs Harbour, with the exception of the Punjabi Sikhs. Certainly there are Chinese and Filipino people, for example, in Coffs Harbour, but respondents did not describe association and interaction that could be interpreted as belongingness. Therefore, belongingness is unlikely to be felt for Coffs Harbour or Australia. The respondents reported the townspeople as polite and largely not overtly discriminatory or racist. Therefore, the townspeople were not likely to account for acceptance, social interaction, or a feeling of belongingness.

It is interesting to contrast the people of Smalltown (Dempsey 1990) (AIHE and non-AIHE people) with a history, with the AIHE population of Coffs Harbour. Most people felt belongingness to Smalltown (p. 90). People had to interact because of a small population in a small geographical area. People had roles with expectations, were labelled, and there were sanctions for straying from these labels and roles. This has occurred with the Punjabi Sikhs because of a sizeable number of people within close proximity. However, this has not occurred with the other AIHE people of Coffs Harbour because their small yet disparate and dispersed presence has only come about since the early 1970s. Finally, the other reason AIHE people were not a community was that the only thing they had in common was that they came from the same geographical region of the world.

Not Belong Anywhere

While people could answer that they felt they belonged to two or more places, some of the respondents also answered they did not feel they belonged to any place. This does not mean they were not happy where they were living, nor was it a slight on Australia. In all the comments on this trigger/discussion point, no one had anything negative to say about Australia; although, there were negative comments about Australia in other sections of the interviews, for example discrimination and employment.

Two people said that they did not belong to either country of origin or Australia. The first person was a humanitarian entrant person.

I don't feel belong to Australia right now because I was not born in Australia, but I have already taken up Australian Citizenship. I am going to settle in Australia till I die because I am quite happy here and I have everything that I need and my child's future is also here, so I am quite happy to be Australian.

The second person, who has lived in Australia for 15 years or so, said he/she belonged to his/her religion, and this could mean the person could feel belongingness anywhere.

I belong to my faith. This could here or in my country. The place is not important.

There were more personal aspects to this person's response as well since this person's parents were murdered in the country of origin. This person was afraid for his/her life and left the country of origin for that reason.

Not Sure

What one woman had to say characterised this answer well. She was employed, a long-term resident of Australia, married to an

Australian man, and spoke good English. On the one hand, she revealed how she felt she belonged to Australia and not to her country of origin because it has changed her significantly. On the other hand, she also said how she felt that she will never fully belong to Australia or the host society will not accept her because she had an accent and was not Caucasian.

At the moment, I don't feel I belong anywhere. I feel I belong to Australia, only because this is my home. People always ask where do you come from, and I say Coffs Harbour. And I know that they want to know where I originally come from but I trick them. Whenever I say I am going back to my country I always tell people that I am going home. But people say this is your home. No the home of Mum and Dad. So I suppose I don't feel like I belong there either. I am in limbo. People you don't know can't understand you, but any of that doesn't worry me, but I don't think even if I live for another 20 or 30 years I will ever feel that I belong here in the true sense that I belong here because I always know that I do not come from here originally, but I don't belong at home either because I am so out of it. My country has changed so much. I do love it there too. I go there now and I am from the country and they are so much in the city, loud and everything, like the technology, the things I can't catch up with.

The next woman had been in Australia for three years married to an Australian man and had a child.

I think I belong between Australia and my country. I went to my country last year and brought my little girl. I stayed for six weeks. I still belong I thought, but I felt uncomfortable staying my mum and dad's place, my sister's place, or friends' place because they all got married when I was in Australia. Before they got married, we very friendly and went out together, have a drink, and go to the cinema. But they have husbands now. The husbands are more important to them, so I feel like little bit left out or something.

To conclude this section on belongingness, there was no identifiable pattern (based on age, newly arrived or not, male or female, or married to an Australian or not) why any one group of respondents felt they belonged one way or another, except for the independents as discussed below.

The major finding was that slightly more than half of the respondents said they felt they belonged to Australia. Reasons for belongingness were the acceptance Australians offered, children who were born and raised here, freedom, the opportunities Australia provided, and an Australian spouse. There were no clear reasons for this roughly even division. Additionally, there were two subsets to this answer of belongingness to Australia. The first subset was comprised of a significant yet small portion of the total sample who felt they belonged to their country of origin as well as to Australia, but they did not say they did not belong to Australia. Reasons for feeling belongingness to the country of origin were that is where their upbringing took place, their first language was learned and spoken, the culture was familiar, and where friends and family (especially ageing parents) lived. The second subset was comprised of several people who did not feel they belonged to Coffs Harbour despite the fact they lived in Coffs Harbour. There was another group of respondents who did not feel they belonged to Australia for the reasons of speaking with an accent, feeling slightly spurned by compatriots, discrimination, and the difficulty in finding suitable work.

Straightforward settlement in Australia does not necessarily mean respondents feel belongingness to Australia. Respondents can feel they belong to their country of origin, to Australia and their country of origin, or not to Australia. Additionally, most respondents preferred to live in Australia. Where AIHE people live or prefer to live is not necessarily an indication of belongingness.

Conclusion

Settlement in Coffs Harbour was a mixed experience for respondents despite the structural factors they could not change

such as the lack of compatriots and limited affordable hours of English language tuition. They were compelled to interact with the townspeople, and this experience was mixed. The townspeople were described as polite and sometimes friendly and helpful, but this was because of the reaching out AIHE people were necessitated to do and because AIHE people were not seen in large numbers, in enclaves, or as a threat to desirable jobs.

AIHE people constructed their settlement in Coffs Harbour as discrimination largely made up of misinformation and stereotypes; although, there were incidents of other discrimination and racism. There was institutional and organisational discrimination that led to limited job opportunities for the AIHE people. An outcome of the settlement they experienced in Coffs Harbour was how they constructed and reported their belongingness. Belongingness was to their country of origin or to Australia and their country of origin, even if Australia was the preferred place to live. In most cases, belongingness was not pledged solely to Australia and Coffs Harbour. AIHE people's settlement experience in Coffs Harbour, especially in terms of discrimination and employment, was mixed, and as a result, how they reported their belongingness was mixed. The settlement of AIHE people in Coffs Harbour was from a position of social inequality with limited social inclusion. This needs to change to achieve the social justice principles of social work. The next chapter reconceptualises settlement in a regional centre.

CHAPTER EIGHT - SETTLEMENT RECONCEPTUALISED

In this chapter, the settlement of Asian immigrant and humanitarian entrant people in a regional centre from a position of social inequality and minimal social inclusion is reconceptualised by integrating the literature, Coffs Harbour as a case study, the findings and their analysis, and the researcher's interpretation.

The first part of the chapter overviews the significance of the research in terms of what is now known that was not previously known. The first significant finding was the four groups of respondents with similar and different settlement experiences, which the literature did not mention. The Asian immigrant and humanitarian entrant people resident in an Australian regional centre were not indiscrete and indistinguishable. The other significant findings were about the role of compatriots, English, and townspeople that determined aspects of the respondents' settlement such as discrimination and racism, employment, and belongingness. This chapter concludes with the implications for social work.

The research had two principal objectives: to explore the settlement experience of Asian immigrant and humanitarian entrant people (through an epistemology of constructionism) in an Australian regional centre, using Coffs Harbour as a case study; and to reconceptualise regional settlement because the literature and knowledge were so limited in this area. These two aims were accomplished.

Australia's immigration program had accepted 5.7 million people to June 1998 (DIMA 1999, Fact Sheet 1) since large-scale immigration

started in 1946. The White Australia Policy ended in 1972, and the immigration program became non-discriminatory on certain grounds. The overseas born percentage of the population was 23.6 per cent at 30 June 2000 (DIMIA 2002, p. 4). The Asian immigrant and humanitarian entrant population totalled 5.5 per cent of the Australian resident population in June 1999 (DIMA 6 September 2001 Fact Sheet 13). For the immigration intake year 1999-2000, 44.0 per cent of immigrant and humanitarian entrant people came from Asia (DIMA 2000, p. 28).

The regionality literature said that regional Australia's economic policy and development are not well coordinated, with the focus on agriculture and farmers. Social work, settlement, and immigrant and humanitarian entrant people do not figure as part of the regionality literature. Social work and settlement are not planned with economic policy and development; therefore, social work's role is one of dealing with the fallout, especially from cost cutting and services withdrawal in regional Australia. Nevertheless, people are moving to regional Australia especially out of Sydney and to the NSW North Coast and South East Queensland. Reasons for the move are structural such as the economy, housing, and life stage development such as divorce or retirement, whereby such people have to find work and/or reduce their living expenses. Other reasons are to escape the things they do not like about Sydney. Structural factors play a role in people's choice of movement and to where. They also move to the North Coast for the reasons of climate, geographic beauty, and less population. A significant part of the movement to regional centres is the working poor and those people on non-wage incomes. A significant part of this movement is immigrant and humanitarian entrant people. Immigrant and humanitarian entrant people and Asian immigrant and humanitarian entrant people move for some of the same reasons as the general

population, but their situation is bleaker, subject to more social inequality. Coffs Harbour has been chosen as a case study to frame the settlement experience, and resultant social inequality, of Asian immigrant and humanitarian entrant people in an Australian regional centre. In Coffs Harbour, there is high unemployment, lower average weekly earnings, fewer people with higher education qualifications, more older people and other people on non-wage incomes.

The Four Groups of Asian Immigrant and Humanitarian Entrant People in Coffs Harbour

The Asian immigrant and humanitarian entrant people living in Coffs Harbour fell into four groups, which the literature did not predict.

The first group was the Independents who were unsponsored, and some of whom had previously visited Australia. They were familiar to some degree with Western culture, and they spoke more English than did the respondents from the other three groups. Their life in their country of origin was favourable, and they migrated for adventure, business, or economic reasons and not for marriage or religion. More than likely, the Independents had already been to Australia. They came to and stayed in Coffs Harbour because they had been there before, because they desired a quieter lifestyle, they wanted to be away from Sydney, and not usually because they were looking for work. The Independents did not perceive settlement as difficult or as having obstacles.

The second group was the Partners who were Asian immigrant and humanitarian entrant women who married Australian men, some of whom were resident in the women's country of origin before

marriage, or the women were resident in Australia before marriage. There were also some marriages of Asian immigrant and humanitarian entrant women and Australian men who were not resident in each other's country before the marriage. The Partners perceived settlement as marriage to Australian men who did not speak their first language and whose culture was different. The Partners were also faced with a lack of compatriots. The Australian husbands did not play much of a role in the Partners' settlement. Marriage as a settlement issue and the role of husbands in settlement were more significant for newer arrivals or those Asian immigrant and humanitarian entrant women who migrated and then married shortly afterwards (or vice versa). The role of marriage, although a large part of settlement for some of the respondents, was not reported as significant in a settlement sense because most of the respondents did not marry for the sole purpose of migrating to Australia. They came to and stayed in Coffs Harbour because they married Australian men who lived there or moved there because of some connection such as a job or a relation.

The third group was the Punjabi Sikhs who were men and women from the Punjab province in India and followed the Sikh faith. They married (through an arranged marriage) women and men born in Australia from a Punjabi Sikh background. For some of them, marriage and then migration was a way to escape conditions in India, but their situation was first marriage and then migration. Migration was part of marriage or followed marriage rather than marriage for migration. The Punjabi Sikhs' situation was different from that of the other Asian immigrant and humanitarian entrant groups for several reasons: the Punjabi Sikhs made up 50 per cent of the Asian immigrant and humanitarian entrant population in Coffs Harbour; they lived close to each other, in Woolgoolga; and they had a longer established presence; they shared a common

culture, language, and religion, but were divided into factions. The Punjabi Sikhs was supportive and helped with settlement, but they could also be controlling and exacting. The Punjabi Sikhs came to and stayed in Coffs Harbour because they married men or women who lived there and were part of Woolgoolga. The Punjabi Sikhs perceived their settlement as marriage to Australian Punjabi Sikhs and living among a small compatriot community that was supportive and controlling.

The fourth group was the Humanitarian Entrants who were people who fled their country of origin because of persecution and violation of human rights. They came to Australia in one of two ways. The first was by fleeing to a second country and spending time in a refugee camp, and then being processed by Australian authorities and allowed to enter Australia legally. The second means by which Humanitarian Entrants entered Australia was onshore arrival asylum seekers who were detained in Australian detention centres, processed by Australian authorities, and if accepted were allowed to enter Australia legally. The Humanitarian Entrants came to and stayed in Coffs Harbour for sanctuary and refuge and because the CRSS committee sponsored them and looked after them. The Humanitarian Entrants perceived settlement as finally being free from their country of origin and the refugee camp.

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE RESEARCH

The research came up with significant and original findings, which were not known or predicted by the literature. There were four groups of Asian immigrant and humanitarian entrant people in Coffs Harbour: The Independents, the Partners, the Punjabi Sikhs, and the Humanitarian Entrants. The four groups came to and stayed in

Coffs Harbour (a conservative place with economic hardship) for different and similar reasons. Their settlement experiences were also similar and different.

Six themes proved to be significant in exhibiting limited social inclusion of Asian immigrant and humanitarian entrant people while still in a position of social inequality:

Firstly, compatriots were present in small numbers, but were not deemed important. They did not have much of a role in the settlement of the respondents, except for the Punjabi Sikhs.

Secondly, English language tuition was quite limited, and this resulted in survival to functional English for most of the respondents.

Thirdly, the respondents interacted with the townspeople because the respondents needed to move forward with day-to-day life. The respondents needed to interact with the townspeople and speak English because of the lack of a role of the compatriots, except for the Punjabi Sikhs.

Fourthly, the respondents mainly reported low-level and unintentional discrimination and racism towards themselves. The townspeople were polite but not accepting towards them.

Fifthly, the respondents were employed in unskilled to semi-skilled work and part-time and casual. Their level of English kept them out of the occupations they wanted, and this was not likely to change in Coffs Harbour; although, most of them were employed in some capacity.

Sixthly, belongingness, the sense of place and acceptance by the dominant group, was attributed to Australia and in some cases to Australia and the country of origin. Belongingness was not attributed to Coffs Harbour or to compatriots. This reflects Australia as the preferred country in which to live because of its standard of life, but Coffs Harbour, the face of Australia and Australians to the respondents, was not ascribed belongingness. The respondents were tolerated and minimally socially included.

These findings of this research (following in summary form), through critical analysis, emphasise the construction of the settlement experience of Asian immigrant and humanitarian entrant people, how they were minimally socially included, and how they adapted to the resultant social inequality. The regional settlement of Asian immigrant and humanitarian entrant people can now be reconceptualised.

Compatriots

There were not many compatriots of Asian immigrant and humanitarian entrant people in Coffs Harbour (except the Punjabi Sikhs), and compatriots were not an attraction to move to and stay in Coffs Harbour. This lack of presence of compatriots did not prove too important except for new direct arrivals (fewer than five years). It might be thought that people from their own background would be crucial for information and support with settlement as would be settlement services. However, the respondents reported they did not associate with compatriots much or access settlement services very often.

The respondents, then, did not regularly speak their first language, except the Punjabi Sikhs. Some of the Asian immigrant and

humanitarian entrant people had partners not from their own language and culture, who provided information and support and/or did not let or encourage contact with people from the spouses' background. Some Asian immigrant and humanitarian entrant people saw people from their own background as not accepting them or looking down on them. Compatriots did not rate as important, meaning they were not disliked but they were not necessarily sought. A minority of respondents did not want anything to do with people from their own background. Some respondents were critical of people from their own background, for example, they found them controlling and interfering. Compatriots played a negligible role in the respondents' settlement or finding employment, and this was an unexpected finding of the research. The lack of compatriots was both a disadvantage and an advantage for the respondents. The disadvantage was that compatriots did not provide the role of information and support. The advantage was that the respondents had to interact more with the townspeople and speak English.

English

The respondents' command of English ranged from limited to very good with the majority speaking between survival and functional English. Some respondents had learned English in their country of origin or in the refugee camps; others from the time they have spent in Australia over the years. While improving English to an occupational level was paramount for finding and keeping work to which they aspired or for which they were trained or qualified, it was not likely to happen in Coffs Harbour. This was because of the low number of hours of English language classes offered and the time needed to reach such a level.

Townspeople

With few compatriots and little interaction with them, the opportunities were limited for speaking their own language and for support and help with settlement. In order to survive, the respondents were forced to interact with the townspeople for day-to-day matters and to speak English. The townspeople saw the Asian immigrant and humanitarian entrant people interacting and reciprocated. The respondents reported the townspeople as polite but tentative.

Discrimination and Racism

The discrimination and racism the respondents reported were mostly stereotypical assumptions and ignorance without the intention of malevolence or maliciousness. However, there were incidents of deliberate and overt discrimination and racism. The townspeople did not see the Asian immigrant and humanitarian entrant people taking desirable jobs away from them, the Asian immigrant and humanitarian entrant people did not form enclaves, and there were few Asian immigrant and humanitarian entrant people. The townspeople saw Asian immigrant and humanitarian entrant people 'desirably blending into mainstream society'. The exception was the Punjabi Sikhs. While there could be the potential for more discrimination and racism, this was not likely because the Punjabi Sikhs were well established as part of the Coffs Harbour landscape and they were largely self-directed and self-sufficient.

Employment

Employment in Coffs Harbour proved to be a source of disappointment for respondents. Most of them could not find the

kind of work they wanted. The need for work became more urgent, and most of the respondents were employed but mostly in unskilled, casual, seasonal, or part-time work, or were underemployed. In most cases, their employment was commensurate with their level of English. These findings were not unexpected given the high rate of unemployment in Coffs Harbour and the additional barriers Asian immigrant and humanitarian entrant people faced. In short, the townspeople did not see Asian immigrant and humanitarian entrant people in Coffs Harbour as a threat or problem. The townspeople were still in control. Asian immigrant and humanitarian entrant people were tolerated and minimally socially included. They were in a position of social inequality. Their constructed settlement experience (the structural and external factors over which they had little control) forced them to adapt to and remain in a position of social inequality.

Belongingness

This research found that an important outcome of settlement was belongingness. Belongingness, regarding the sense of home or place and acceptance by the group, does not have a central place in the literature, and the literature only offers an incomplete picture of belongingness. The literature did not predict the belongingness that did occur with the respondents. One of a number of findings was that slightly more than half of the respondents said they felt they belonged to Australia. There were no clear reasons for this roughly even division. Additionally, there were two subsets to this answer. The first subset was comprised of a significant yet small portion of the total sample who felt they belonged to Australia and their country of origin. The second subset was comprised of several people who did not feel they belonged to Coffs Harbour or to their compatriots in Coffs Harbour even though the respondents lived

there, but this did not negate their belongingness to Australia. Australia was the preferred country in which to live because of a better standard of life, even though belongingness to Australia was often shared with belongingness to the country of origin. However, as was also sometimes the case, a handful of respondents did not feel belongingness to Australia but only to their country of origin.

Limited Social Inclusion (Tolerance) but still Social Inequality

Settlement is an appropriate site for social work, but it has not traditionally been so, as the literature has indicated. Settlement is contested but constructed by the socio/historical/political context and the individual immigrant and humanitarian entrant person. Australian regional settlement especially of Asian immigrant and humanitarian entrant people has not been widely researched. Coffs Harbour, an Australian regional which is conservative and suffers from economic hardship, has been used as a case study to discover and explore the respondents' settlement experiences.

In Coffs Harbour, compatriots were few in number with whom the respondents could speak their first language, interact, and receive help with settlement. Additionally, limited hours of English language tuition were offered, so occupational level English was never going to be reached. The respondents were forced to interact with townspeople for day-to-day life, survival, and social interaction. The townspeople were reported as polite but tentative. Hence, the respondents were tolerated, resulting in minimal social inclusion.

Discrimination and racism, while overall not intentional or malevolent, consisted mainly of misinformation and stereotypes. Because of limited hours of English language tuition and

discrimination and racism, respondents were forced into casual, part-time, unskilled employment. An outcome of these factors of contributing to settlement was belongingness, and it was not to Coffs Harbour, but to Australia and the country of origin, and, in some cases, not to Australia.

People who are different from mainstream Australian culture are allowed into Australia because they suit Australia's purposes in some way, but yet it is ensured, often subtly, that they remain in a position of social inequality. This was the case and even more so in the regional centre of Coffs Harbour because structural factors and additional barriers to which they had to face and adapt rendered the respondents in a position of social inequality. This research has given voice to their experience of being still minimally socially included or tolerated and adapting to their position of social inequality.

AREAS WHERE FURTHER RESEARCH IS REQUIRED

The first part of this section relates to further research that could be undertaken that follows on from this research and in Coffs Harbour. The second part of this section relates to research that could be undertaken in other regional centres or more broadly.

Coffs Harbour

Firstly, the picture of settlement of Asian immigrant and humanitarian entrant people in a regional centre is by no means complete. Only the people who have stayed in Coffs Harbour have been interviewed. Asian immigrant and humanitarian entrant people who have moved to Coffs Harbour and who have left could

be interviewed about their settlement experience, which might be different.

Secondly, other Asian immigrant and humanitarian entrant people (other than the respondents) could be interviewed to determine how they saw themselves as compatriots and how they saw the compatriot community, but not to be interviewed about their own settlement experience.

Thirdly, the respondents' perception of the townspeople was unexpected. The townspeople's perception of Asian immigrant and humanitarian entrant people and the townspeople's perception of the discrimination and racism and social inequality towards Asian immigrant and humanitarian entrant people in Coffs Harbour could be researched.

Fourthly, another unexpected factor of settlement was belongingness, which requires more research from the Asian immigrant and humanitarian entrant respondents, compatriots, townspeople, and key informants in Coffs Harbour. This is especially so because belongingness did not have its own body of literature and was not found in the migration, regionality, settlement, or social work literature.

Asian Immigrant and Humanitarian Entrant People and Regional Centres

Firstly, regional centres are portrayed as conservative and friendly. People can have a history together and know each other through close proximity. If these traits of regional centres are correct, they might account for the minimal social inclusion of Asian immigrant and humanitarian entrant people. This needs more exploration.

Secondly, Australians might be discriminatory and racist on a macro level but tolerant or even accepting on a personal level with Asian immigrant and humanitarian entrant people.

Thirdly, the findings might have to do with the personalities of Asian immigrant and humanitarian entrant people who settle in regional centres. They could be risk takers or have other personality traits that enabled this type of settlement to occur.

Fourthly, the same or similar research could be undertaken in other Australian regional centres.

Fifthly, there is literature about the use of interpreters in social work and other human services, but little about their use in qualitative research.

Sixthly, settlement needs to be considered and incorporated as part of regionality.

Seventhly, social work needs to incorporate more research, theory, and knowledge about settlement and especially regional settlement.

Eighthly, the emotional journey Asian immigrant and humanitarian entrant people travel during their settlement needs to be incorporated into settlement.

IMPLICATIONS FOR SOCIAL WORK POLICY AND PRACTICE

Armed with what the research has found and voice has been given to the constructed and lived experiences of settlement of this group of people. This will, in turn, help reconceptualise the settlement of

Asian immigrant and humanitarian entrant people who have settled in regional centres.

Social work is about making change for the better, for individuals and society. Social work has paid little attention to settlement especially to the social and emotional side of settlement such as belongingness. There is cross-cultural social work, but this usually refers to social work service delivery with clients from another culture or who speak another language.

Settlement theory needs reconceptualising because it is often oversimplified as the adjustment a new arrival immigrant and humanitarian entrant person needs to make or as an interplay between the host society and the immigrant and humanitarian entrant person. Settlement also involves the institutions of Australia and the multicultural population in Australia. Settlement theory needs to be more contextual because the conditions and circumstances in an immigrant and humanitarian entrant person's country of origin or other premigration events, for example marriage, have a bearing on how settlement occurs. Settlement in metropolitan centres is not the same as settlement in regional centres. Therefore, because of this research, more is known about regional settlement for it to be reconceptualised as its own entity of theory and knowledge. The settlement of Asian immigrant and humanitarian entrant people in the Australian regional centre of Coffs Harbour as a case study uncovered several major findings that were not previously known:

Firstly, compatriots and settlement services did not play much of a role in settlement.

Secondly, occupational level English could not be reached because of minimal English language tuition.

Thirdly, the townspeople were polite and tolerant.

Fourthly, discrimination and racism were generally not overt and intentional, but stereotypes and misinformation.

Fifthly, employment was disappointing because of insufficient English and opportunities to upgrade training and qualifications.

Sixthly, belongingness was a significant and unforeseen outcome of settlement.

Seventhly, social inclusion was minimal within a position of social inequality.

From this reconceptualisation of regional settlement, the following implications can lead to changes in social work policy and practice.

Social workers will become more knowledgeable and informed in their settlement practice with Asian immigrant and humanitarian entrant people in regional centres. Social workers, especially regional social workers, can now give voice to the settlement needs and settlement experiences of Asian immigrant and humanitarian entrant people. These needs can be included in broader social issues such as domestic violence, public transport, etc. that affect Asian immigrant and humanitarian entrant people as well. Social workers can involve or even facilitate Asian immigrant and humanitarian entrant people in their own community development and social action. New services that are needed and responsive to Asian immigrant and humanitarian entrant people's settlement and

cultural needs can be developed, services that are immigrant person or humanitarian entrant person specific. Existing services can be adapted to be more than mainstreaming, removing the discriminatory barriers that stop Asian immigrant and humanitarian entrant people from using the services. More accurate and specific information (from finding work to the health system to superannuation to social customs in Australia) that new arrivals need for settlement can be written in the appropriate languages and dialects and better distributed.

More social workers might take on employment in settlement in regional centres because settlement is more multifaceted than it has traditionally been viewed as social welfare services provision to specific language or cultural groups of new arrival immigrant and humanitarian entrant people. Community-based management committees who receive a DIMIA grant usually hire social welfare or human services workers. The workers usually come from the particular language or cultural background of the main clientele. DIMIA does not have a tradition of hiring social workers because DIMIA had not traditionally been a social work service provider, but DIMIA does have responsibility for settlement for the first several years of arrival in Australia for immigrant and humanitarian entrant people from NESCs. New arrivals also use mainstream services such as Centrelink, health, and housing. These departments often have social workers, but these services provide a partial service towards settlement, not an overall service.

Social workers can advocate against the Centrelink policy that new arrivals are not eligible for income maintenance benefits during their first two years in Australia. The first two years are when new arrivals are most likely to need assistance. This is when people learn the most English, try to find accommodation and work, and

are finding their way. Social workers can work towards reducing discrimination in looking for work, that qualifications obtained overseas are often not recognised as equal to Australian qualifications and that the recognition process is bureaucratic and time consuming. Social workers can work towards creating services for intervention with traumatised arrivals; humanitarian entrant people who have spent a long time in refugee camps or in detention centres. Social workers can work towards changing the narrow UN definition of refugee. Social workers can work towards the abolition of the detention of onshore asylum seekers, significantly shortening the stay in detention, or advocating and arranging for community detention. Social workers in agencies and services must work towards change in the organisations so that organisations are more anti-racist in their structure and service delivery.

Where social workers can have a significant impact on the regional settlement of Asian immigrant and humanitarian entrant people is the provision of English language tuition, so that there are more funded hours available. English is the single most important and necessary factor in settlement, such as finding work, interaction with the townspeople, and day-to-day life. With only functional English, a lot of the job market is not accessible to Asian immigrant and humanitarian entrant people. More hours of government funded English classes per week (available in the evenings) and a longer period in which to use these hours are necessary. The government's approach has been to save money by cutting back the hours available and the period of time in which the hours can be used. The government has responded by making English language skills worth more points on the entry criteria and by shifting more of the immigration program to the Skilled and Business components for which more than functional English is required. The logic is that fewer hours of English language tuition

are needed because better English speakers will be arriving in Australia. This has not largely been the case with the respondents in Coffs Harbour. There were few skilled or business Asian immigrant people with very good English who lived in Coffs Harbour, at least not among the respondents. More government funded English language tuition made available in Coffs Harbour would result in economic and social benefits.

The next area is employment. Occupational level English would give Asian immigrant and humanitarian entrant people more access to better jobs. Social workers could also advocate for change in the area of subtle discrimination against hiring Asian immigrant and humanitarian entrant people. However, there is another area into which social work should venture. The regionality literature makes the point that economic development policy is piecemeal and uncritical. There is a paucity of settlement or social work literature in the regionality literature. Social work could play a hand-in-hand role with regional economic development to ensure that social work is planned with it and that settlement needs are considered. Social work could also ensure that economic development is not the only focus of regional development.

DIMIA has introduced some mechanisms within the immigration program to encourage immigrant and humanitarian entrant people to move to and settle in the regional centres of Australia, or rather away from certain metropolitan centres. These mechanisms have met with limited success. Here is an opportunity to encourage more Asian immigrant and humanitarian entrant people to move to and settle in regional centres. This is not about forced location or relocation. Additionally, the purpose is not to satisfy DIMIA's objectives, but rather to make regional centres more cosmopolitan, vibrant, and accepting of those people who are different from the

mainstream population: increasing social inclusion to replace tolerance and to redress social inequality. With the right mix of policies and incentives, more Asian immigrant and humanitarian entrant people could be attracted to live in regional centres.

The plan would be for small increases in the numbers of Asian immigrant and humanitarian entrant people, and/or other immigrant and humanitarian entrant people from other NESCs, over time to settle in regional centres. English language tuition hours would have to be significantly increased. More settlement services would have to be created or changed, and mainstream services forced to be more coordinated and responsive. Social work could help with intergroup relations: to increase the interaction among compatriots because they could play a significant role in settlement, and to increase interaction between Asian immigrant and humanitarian entrant people and the townspeople. Social workers could work with Asian immigrant and humanitarian entrant people to effect these changes. Social workers and Asian immigrant and humanitarian entrant people could work with key townspeople to prepare for small increases in numbers to calm any apprehension. The key is not to increase the numbers of Asian immigrant and humanitarian entrant people too dramatically through policy and service delivery because the townspeople may feel threatened, increase discrimination, withdraw their tolerance, and not interact as often. However, this is very different from discouraging or stopping Asian immigrant and humanitarian entrant people from moving to regional centres because that would be racism. There could be a strategic small-to-medium increase in the numbers of Asian immigrant and humanitarian entrant people in a regional centre, and if strategically planned social inclusion would increase and social inequality would decrease.

The social work view, in which this social inequality and in particular this case study of settlement are framed, is dialectical. The opposites of this case study: the macro and the micro or the structural and the personal are brought together for the purpose of viewing social inequality through a social work lens to analyse it critically and to advocate for change and reform. This means making change by individualising the societal by giving voice to a marginalised group and then using this collectivised voice to advocate for change on the societal level. The purpose of change and reform is to increase the social inclusion of Asian immigrant and humanitarian entrant people and to reduce their social inequality.

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ABBREVIATIONS

AASW - Australian Association of Social Workers
ABS - Australian Bureau of Statistics
AEC – Australian Electoral Commission
AIHE - Asian Immigrant and Humanitarian Entrant
AMEP – Adult Migrant English Program
CCAEC – Coffs Coast Adult Education
CES - Commonwealth Employment Service
CHA – Coffs Harbour Advocate
CHCC - Coffs Harbour City Council
CRC - Community Relations Commission
CRSS – Community Refugee Settlement Scheme
CSS - Community Settlement Services
DHS&H - Department of Human Services and Health
DIMA - Department of Immigration and Multicultural Affairs
DIMIA - Department of Immigration and Multicultural Affairs and Indigenous Affairs
ELC - English Language Centre
ETC - Enterprise and Training Centre
HREOC - Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission
IFSW - International Federation of Social Workers
IHE - Immigrant and Humanitarian Entrant
KM - Kilometres
LAMN Look-At- Me-Now
LGA - Local Government Area
MARS - Multicultural Access and Resource Service
MESCs - Main English Speaking Countries
MNC - Mid North Coast
MRC - Migrant Resource Centre
NAATI - National Accrediting Authority of Translators and Interpreters
NESB - Non-English Speaking Background
NESCAs - Non-English Speaking Countries
NICOMS - NSW Interdepartmental Committee on Migrant Settlement
NISS - National Integrated Settlement Strategy.
NMAC - National Multicultural Advisory Council
NSW - New South Wales
ONP – One Nation Party
PNG – Papua New Guinea
PRC - People’s Republic of China
QSR N4 - QSR NUDIST 4
QSR NUDIST 4 - Non-Numerical Unstructured Data Indexing Searching and Theory Building
RDC - Race Discrimination Commissioner
SD - Statistical Division
SMH - Sydney Morning Herald

SSMMs - State Specific Migration Mechanisms
SEO – State Electoral Office
TAFE - Technical and Further Education
TIS - Translating and Interpreting Service
UK - United Kingdom
UNHCR – United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
USA - United States of America
WAP – White Australia Policy
WW I - World War One
WW II - World War Two

APPENDIX ONE

Letter of Consent

Hello, my name is Roger Van Der Veen. I am a student from James Cook University (Townsville North Queensland), preparing a thesis for a post-graduate degree in Social Work.

The purpose of this study is to discover the settlement experiences of Asian immigrant and humanitarian entrant people living in Coffs Harbour.

If you agree to participate, the information that you tell me will go into the written study (my thesis). The thesis will not have people's names, addresses, or other identifying information. The information will come from face-to-face interviews that are confidential.

I will interview approximately 15-40 men and women individually. I would like to audiotape record the interviews. The tape recorder can be turned off for sections of the interview if you wish or not used at all, if you wish. You will receive the interview schedule before the interview. You may have a copy of the audiotape if you like and a copy of the notes I write during the interview. You can refuse to answer or discuss any section of the interview schedule. You can stop being interviewed or involved whenever you wish.

If you agree to participate in this research, please fill out and sign below.

I, _____ of _____

consent to participate in an interview with Roger Van Der Veen.

I understand that the information that I give is confidential. It will not contain names, addresses, telephone numbers, or any other information that identifies me.

I understand that I will be fully informed of each stage by being given written copies of information relevant to me and a copy of the audiotape if I request it. This also means that I have the right to make changes or to have sections removed.

I understand that I can stop at any time.

I understand this study will NOT cost me any money.

Signature

Date

APPENDIX TWO

Trigger/Discussion Points for Respondents and Demographic Information

Settlement and migration in Australia and Coffs Harbour

1. Life in country of origin before migrating. For example, standard of living.
2. Making the decision: how, who, why, and to where.
3. Planning how the migration would happen once the decision was made, for example possessions, flight/ship, immigration visas.
4. Leaving.
5. Arrival impressions.
6. Employment, qualifications, skills, and education.
7. Settlement services especially language.
8. Spouse (especially if a new marriage), family, friends, kin, and expatriate community, community of Coffs Harbour.
9. Issues, discrimination/racism.
10. Feelings, thoughts, losses, regrets, gains, quality of life.
11. Belongingness and belongingness in Australia/Coffs Harbour. View of self as Australian, from own country or other.
12. Other areas to comment on or to add to. Questions to ask.

Demographic Information

1. Which country were you born in?
2. Where did you live in that country - city/town and population?
3. When did you arrive in Australia - Month and Year?
4. When did you arrive in Coffs Harbour? How many years ago?
5. Did you live somewhere else in Australia before coming to Coffs Harbour? If so, where? For how many years?
6. What language other than English do you usually speak at home?
7. What age bracket are you in? 18-25_____ 25-29_____ 30-34_____ 35-39_____ 40-44_____ 45-49_____ 50-55_____ 55+_____
8. How many children do you support?
9. What language do your children speak?
10. Under what category did you come to Australia?
 - Family
 - Skilled and Independent
 - Business
 - Refugee and Humanitarian Entrant

The rest of the demographic information was not asked of the respondents, but was documented.

11. Ethnicity

12. Gender

13. Original Spouse

14. Interpreter

15. Tape Recorder

16. Been to Australia before migrating?

17. Children on arrival.

18. Husband Significantly Older

APPENDIX THREE

Trigger/Discussion Points for Key Informants

Settlement and migration in Australia and Coffs Harbour

1. Arrival impressions and issues such as settlement, services, employment, skills recognition, transport, English, interpreters, isolation, emotions, etc.
2. Issues such as discrimination/racism and family/kin and community of Coffs Harbour.
3. Other areas to comment on or to add to.

APPENDIX FOUR

Coding for Respondents

1) Demographics

2) Premigration, Migration, Arrival

2 1) Circumstances and Life in Country of Origin before Migrating

2 2) Family in Country of Origin or Overseas

2 3) Idea of Migrating

2 4) The Decision

2 5) Planning the Migration

2 6) Leaving

2 6 1) Leaving/Going and Staying in Refugee Camp

2 7) Impressions and Events on Arrival

2 8) Location and Reasons of Where Moved if not Coffs Harbour

3) Government Services

3 1) Information

3 2) Settlement Services

3 3) Migration Program and DIMA

3 4) Multiculturalism

3 5) Citizenship

3 6) Other Government Services

4) Personal

4 1) Marriage

4 2) Work

5) **Personal 2**

5 1) Food

5 2) Country of Origin versus Australia after Migrating - also culture, customs, and traditions

5 3) Religion

5 4) Keeping in Touch

5 5) Children

5 6) Divorce

5 7) Domestic Violence

5 8) Activities and Pastimes

5 9) Learning English

5 10) Education

5 11) Transport

6) **Treatment in Coffs Harbour and Australia**

6 1) Friends and People

6 2) Discrimination and Racism

6 3) People from own Background

7) **Reflective**

7 1) Looking Back - Regrets, Emotions, Thoughts, Belongingness, Coping, Isolation, Quality of Life

7 2) What would Change if Could Do Over Again

8) **Impressions**

APPENDIX FIVE

Coding for Key Informants

- 1 1) Respondents' Impressions
- 2) **Policy and Government Services**
 - 2 1) Information
 - 2 2) Settlement Services and Service Delivery
 - 2 3) DIMIA and Migration Program
 - 2 4) Multiculturalism
 - 2 5) Interpreting and Translating
- 3) **Personal**
 - 3 1) Marriage
 - 3 2) Marriage - Punjabi Sikhs
 - 3 3) Work
 - 3 4) Work - Punjabi Sikhs
 - 3 5) Culture, Customs, and Traditions
 - 3 6) Culture, Customs, and Traditions - Punjabi Sikhs
 - 3 7) Religion
 - 3 8) Religion - Punjabi Sikhs
 - 3 9) Domestic Violence
 - 3 10) Domestic Violence - Punjabi Sikhs
 - 3 11) Learning English - Migrants
 - 3 12) Learning English - Humanitarian Entrants
 - 3 13) Transport
 - 3 14) Family in Country of Origin

3 15) Settlement

3 16) Children

4) Treatment in Coffs Harbour and Australia

4 1) Friends and People of Coffs Harbour - Migrants

4 2) Friends and People of Coffs Harbour - Humanitarian Entrants

4 3) Friends and People of Coffs Harbour - Punjabi Sikhs

4 4) Discrimination and Racism - Migrants

4 5) Discrimination and Racism - Humanitarian Entrants

4 6) Discrimination and Racism - Punjabi Sikhs

4 7) Kin and People from Own Background - Migrants

4 8) Kin and People from Own Background - Humanitarian Entrants

4 9) Kin and People from Own Background - Punjabi Sikhs

5) Reflective

5 1) Regrets, Coping, Quality of Life, Belongingness, Sense of Place

5 2) Isolation - Migrants

5 3) Isolation - Humanitarian Entrants

5 4) Isolation - Punjabi Sikhs

6) Impressions

APPENDIX SIX

Demographics and Statistics of Respondents

The researcher interviewed 31 respondents who met the criteria of the population. The following is a profile of their demographics. For privacy reasons, country of birth and other statistics cannot be linked to each other. For example, the data will not reveal the gender of the Chinese people or the ages of the Indonesian people.

Age Bracket of Respondents

| | |
|---------|----|
| 18 - 24 | 3 |
| 25 - 29 | 3 |
| 30 - 34 | 5 |
| 35 - 39 | 4 |
| 40 - 44 | 5 |
| 45 - 49 | 7 |
| 50 - 55 | 3 |
| 55+ | 1 |
| Total | 31 |

Sex

| | |
|--------|------------|
| Female | 20 (64.5%) |
| Male | 11 (35.5%) |
| Total | 31 |

Original Spouse Upon Arrival

| | |
|-----------------------------|-------------------|
| None | 8 (25.8%) |
| Of Same Culture | 4 (12.9%) |
| Australian man of Same Age | 2 (6.5%) |
| Punjabi Sikh | 4 (12.9%) |
| Australian Woman | 2 (6.5%) |
| <u>Older Australian man</u> | <u>11 (35.5%)</u> |
| Total | 31 |

Been to Australia Before

| | |
|-----------|-------------------|
| Yes | 7 (22.6%) |
| <u>No</u> | <u>24 (77.4%)</u> |
| Total | 31 |

Entry Category

| | |
|----------------------------|-----------------|
| Family | 22 (70.1%) |
| Humanitarian entrant | 5 (16.1%) |
| Independent | 2 (6.5%) |
| Business | 1 (3.2%) |
| <u>Illegal (now legal)</u> | <u>1 (3.2%)</u> |
| Total | 31 |

Interviews Requiring Interpreters

No 27 (87.1%)

Face-to-Face 2 (6.5%)

Telephone 2 (6.5%)

Total 31

Interviews Tape Recorded

Yes 27 (87.1%)

No 4 (12.9%)

Total 31

APPENDIX SEVEN

Glossary

'Asia' includes the following countries according to the Department of Immigration and Multicultural Affairs (DIMA December 2000, p. 112):

Southeast Asia - Brunei, Burma (Myanmar), Cambodia, Indonesia, Laos, Malaysia, Philippines, Singapore, Thailand, and Viet Nam.

Northeast Asia - Hong Kong, Japan, Korea (North and South), Macau, Mongolia, People's Republic of China (PRC), and Taiwan.

Southern Asia - Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, Maldives, Nepal, Pakistan, and Sri Lanka.

The words Asia and Asians are demographic classifications for the purpose of this research. Not all people from this part of the world see themselves as Asian. Note: Tibet is not part of this DIMA definition.

Asian Immigrant and Humanitarian Entrant (AIHE) people is a specific term for this research. AIHE refers to the population that was born in Asia living in Coffs Harbour, has lived there until at least 18 years of age, have migrated to Australia, and are Australian permanent residents or citizens. There are four groups for this research: Independents, Partners, Punjabi Sikhs, and Humanitarian Entrants.

Asylum seeker is a person applying onshore or offshore for recognition as a humanitarian entrant person and thus lawful entry to Australia and permanent residence.

Australian Punjabi Sikhs refers to Punjabi Sikhs to the community of Punjabi Sikhs born in Australia and resident in Coffs Harbour. They were the partners of the Punjabi Sikhs, a specific term in this research.

Australian resident population includes all the residents of Australia (except visitors and tourists), regardless if they are born Australia or overseas or if they are Australian citizens or not.

Belongingness means a feeling of attachment to a community, country, culture, family, oneself, place or several places, religion, or town.

Case study is a research method used in this research: Robson (1993, p. 146) describes a case study as 'a strategy for doing research which involves an empirical investigation of a particular contemporary occurrence with its real-life context using multiple sources of evidence'.

Coffs Harbour means the rural and urban areas and communities of the Coffs Harbour Local Government Area.

Compatriots refer to people from the same country of origin and cultural and linguistic background, living in Coffs Harbour.

Constructionism is the epistemology for this research. Crotty (1998, p. 42) describes constructionism:

It is the view that all knowledge, and therefore all meaningful reality as such, is contingent upon human practices, being constructed in and out of interaction between human beings and their world, and developed and transmitted within an essentially social context.

Critical Social Science (CSS) is the theoretical perspective for this research that incorporates background, common assumptions and values, context, history, illusions, oppression, power, settings, and structures into the construction of reality, beyond just someone's interpretation. CSS also advocates for change and reform.

Discrimination is contested and socially constructed. It is the wielding of power by the dominant group to essentialise or hierarchicalise certain people or groups of people on arbitrary and variable grounds so that such people are not socially included, resulting in social inequality. Discrimination is not only perpetuated by individuals but also by institutions, organisations, and structures.

Dominant group refers to people or segments of society who have the power to influence what happens, such as ensuring that employment is not equally available or that resources are equally distributed.

Humanitarian Entrants are one of the four groups of respondents from the AIHE population in Coffs Harbour. The Humanitarian Entrants fled their country of origin because of persecution and violation of human rights.

Immigrant people are people born overseas who have migrated to Australia to settle.

Immigrant and humanitarian entrant (IHE) people (still overseas born) is a term specific to this research to distinguish them from AIHE people.

Key informants were people chosen because they were individuals knowledgeable and well experienced in settlement work with AIHE people residing in Coffs Harbour, but they were not respondents and not part of the population from which respondents were drawn. Main English Speaking Countries (MESCs) are the countries where English is the main language spoken: Australia, Canada, Ireland, New Zealand, South Africa, United Kingdom (UK), and the United States.

Metropolitan means a population centre of over 100,000 people:

Metropolitan - The metropolitan areas are the state and capital city statistical divisions (SDs) plus other statistical subdivisions (SSDs) or groups of SSDs which include urban centres of population 100 000 or more in size. (Department of Primary Industries and Energy - DPI&E and Department of Human Services and Health - DHS&H, 1994 p. 3-4).

This means a populous urban centre can be metropolitan but not necessarily a capital city. For example, Newcastle is a metropolitan centre but not a capital city, and Darwin is a capital city but not a metropolitan centre.

The Mid North Coast (MNC) of NSW refers to 380 kilometres (km) of coastline, extending from Woolgoolga in the north to Port Stephens in the south (Department of Transport 1995 p. viii, 11).

Migration, which precedes settlement, is the leaving of the country of origin, travel from country to country, and the immediate arrival.

Multiculturalism is about the inclusion and participation of all people in society, but multiculturalism is supposedly underpinned by social inclusion based on tolerance. However, tolerance is variable and arbitrary in its definition and has been essentialised by the

dominant group. Again, the wielding of power by the dominant group is present.

The term Non-English Speaking Countries (NESC) means the countries where English is not the main language spoken, other than the MESC. The former term for NESC was NESB – non-English Speaking Background.

Other, othered, and othering refer to the hierarchicalised and essentialised people, constructed as biologically different and culturally different from the dominant group, resulting in social inequality and exclusion.

Premigration is the life and circumstances in the country of origin and includes how the decision to migrate was made and the preparation and planning for the migration.

Qualitative research 'is an umbrella concept covering several forms of inquiry that help us understand and explain the meaning of social phenomena with as little disruption of the natural setting as possible' (Merriam 1998, p. 5).

Racism is a form of discrimination based on behaviour, biology, culture, ethnicity, first language, nationality, or place of birth.

Refugee is a person outside his/her country of origin and is seeking protection against persecution based on race, religion, etc. This persecution could have happened or could be threatened. Essentially, a refugee is fleeing a gross violation of his/her human rights.

Regional centres and regional, for the purpose of this research, refer to any area that is not defined as metropolitan. Regional then includes rural and remote.

Respondents are persons drawn from the AIHE population of Coffs Harbour who have agreed to be interviewed and participate in this research.

Settlement is the post-arrival process an immigrant or humanitarian entrant person undergoes, with the host society, to exist and live in a new country.

Settlement services according to Cox (1996, p. 1) means 'the range of services which are designed or perceived to be of benefit to immigrants in the settlement process'.

Social inclusion occurs when all people and segments of society are accepted and included, are part of the dominant group, and have equal access to the power and resources of society to influence what happens. Social inequality is the result of not being socially included.

Social inequality is also the unequal and uninclusive position of certain groups in society because of institutional, organisational, and structural disadvantage caused by the dominant group.

Social work - The International Federation of Social Workers (IFSW) definition:

The social work profession promotes social change, problem solving in human relationships and the empowerment and liberation of people to enhance well-being. Utilising theories of human behaviour and social systems, social work intervenes at the points where people interact with their environments. Principles of human rights and social justice are fundamental to social work (AASW 2000, p. 1).