Need to know: information literacy, refugee resettlement and the return from the state of exception

A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment

of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Wendy Richards

BA (Hons First) UQ, MEd UNSW

Faculty of Business, Education, Law and Arts

University of Southern Queensland

2015

Certification of thesis

I confirm that:

- the ideas, results, analyses and conclusions set out in this thesis are entirely the work of the candidate, Wendy Richards, except where otherwise indicated and acknowledged
- the work is original and has not been previously submitted for assessment in any other course or institution, except where specifically stated
- to the best of the candidate's knowledge and belief, the thesis contains no material previously published or written by another person except where due acknowledgement and reference are made in the thesis to that work.

Candidate: Wendy Richards

Signature .....

Date .....

Principal supervisor: Dr Robert Mason

Signature .....

Date .....

Associate supervisor: Dr Anna Hayes

Signature .....

Date .....

Abstract

Academic research has developed a considered understanding of displaced communities undergoing resettlement within a refugee receiving country, in areas such as language, literacy, education, employment and housing, gendered identities and past trauma. However, little attention has been paid to the role of information literacy, defined here as those practices, attributes and skills which enable social subjects to obtain the knowledge needed for effective social agency.

The questions guiding the research discussed here concern the effects of information literacy upon newly-arrived communities. How do refugee entrants from differing cultural, language and literacy backgrounds engage with the digitally mediated, text-dense and English language-based information environments of the Global North? What are the risks for new communities of information poverty and social exclusion through information practices that are less able to satisfy the demands of present-day information capitalism?

This research draws on a qualitative, multifocal case study of interviews with resettled members of the South Sudanese community in south-east Queensland and with workers from government and non-government settlement agencies conducted in 2013. The aim of the research is to contribute findings on information literacy in resettlement to academic debates on refugee displacement, resettlement and belonging, as well to enhance the policies and practices which guide Australia's approach to humanitarian protection.

The research draws upon the theorising of Giorgio Agamben on sovereign authority and the excluded Other. The research develops the concept of 'information relationship' to show how information, as a relational practice, is the means through which new knowledge becomes manifest, via liminal intersections of power, race and gender, in refugee lives. The research argues that information, in this relational form, enables the return of the refugee from Agambenian exclusion to the subject position of citizen. However, while information relationships within settlement lead to re-incorporation for the exile within the sovereign state, this re-integration remains partial, contingent and a paradoxical production of both connection and exclusion.

Acknowledgements

Many people have contributed to this project and to each of them I owe much in the way of thanks.

I am deeply grateful to the South Sudanese community members in south-east Queensland who took part in this project for the generosity with which they shared with me their experiences of displacement and resettlement. Their stories, insights and reflections were a great gift which enabled this project to take place. Thank you also to the community members in South Sudan who gave me their time during my visit there. I hope I have done their generosity justice.

My particular thanks go to Paul Mabior Garang and Ajak Deng Biar for supporting the project at its inception and to Paul for the many hours and ways in which he facilitated its progress in the community. We travelled a long road and learnt a great deal together.

I am also indebted to the many settlement agency workers in the region who responded so wholeheartedly to the research and spent time discussing their experiences and concerns with me. Their understanding of settlement and generosity in sharing this with me made the project possible. I hope the research findings can contribute to the ways in which settlement is undertaken and go some way to repaying their kindness.

I enjoyed greatly the support of my principal academic supervisor, Dr Robert Mason, and my associate supervisor, Dr Anna Hayes, in the Faculty of Arts at USQ. My sincere thanks to them both for the clear guidance and unfailing encouragement they offered me, as well as the many engaging conversations we had as the project unfolded. Their input was truly invaluable. Thank you also to Dr Celmara Pocock at USQ for the many valuable insights and personal encouragement along the way.

My colleagues among the postgraduate students at USQ shared the highs of doctoral research as well as those moments when perspective is overtaken by moments of late-night doubt. I wish them all every success.

My personal thanks go to Jo Smith and Margaret Irwin, who rescued me at pivotal moments with cups of tea that only old and cherished friends can rustle up. David and Tess Minogue provided many much-appreciated reminders of real life: thank you both.

Finally, my deepest gratitude to David, my partner in all undertakings, who was first reader, wise counsel and mainstay throughout. Now we can talk of other things.

Contents

Acronyms

AMEP	Adult Migrant English Program
DIAC	Department of Immigration and Citizenship
DIBP	Department of Immigration and Border Protection
DIMIA	Department of Immigration and Multicultural and Indigenous Affairs
DOI	Department of Industry
HSS	Humanitarian Settlement Services
SGP	Settlement Grants Program
TIS	Translating and Interpreting Service
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees

List of illustrations

1 Overview of the research and Australia's role in refugee settlement

1.1 Introduction

Within refugee settlement research internationally, little attention has been paid to the role of information literacy. As a medium for social agency, information literacy constitutes those practices, beliefs and skills which enable social subjects to engage with the information worlds around them and obtain the knowledge needed for productive social life. Yet, despite this inattention, the effects of information literacy pose questions for the methods international refugee protection regimes use in resettling those who have been displaced and for whom there is no other durable solution to their circumstances. In this context, the research discussed in this dissertation attempts to answer three questions generally not considered in contemporary discussions of statelessness:

- What part does information literacy play in how refugee receiving states of the Global North resettle those who have sought protection outside their country of origin?
- How do refugee entrants from differing socio-cultural and historical backgrounds engage with the digitally mediated and text-dense information environments of Northern states, which are also based in unfamiliar languages and literacies?
- What risks are posed for newly emerging refugee communities of information poverty and social exclusion, through lack of information practices that meet the demands of contemporary globalised information production?

The research discussed in this dissertation explores these questions by considering South Sudanese resettlement within the Australian state of Queensland from the point of view of information literacy, as well its implications within the interconnections of the South Sudanese diaspora. Its aim is to contribute new concepts and findings relating to information literacy within refugee resettlement to two fields of scholarship, refugee studies and information studies, but also to enhance policies and practices within Australia's approach to humanitarian protection.

The research is set within Agamben's theorising on the excluded Other, who is exiled by sovereign decree into a liminal state of exception beyond the law, such as the refugee camp, and whose abandonment is simultaneously essential to the law's definition. The research findings draw on interviews with South Sudanese community members and settlement agencies conducted in Australia, as well as on personal communication with community members living in East Africa. It develops the concept of 'information relationship' to show how information, as a relational practice, plays a pivotal role in refugee resettlement. The research argues that information, in this relational form, provides the means for the return of the refugee from Agambenian exclusion to the subject position of citizen. However, as the research findings demonstrate, while participation in the information relationships necessary for settlement does lead to a re-incorporation for the displaced Other within the status of citizen, this is experienced as partial, contingent and a paradoxical production of both connection and exclusion.

The discussion which follows in this chapter will contextualise the research and this dissertation by providing an overview of modern-day undocumented movement and statelessness and the international treaties and protection regimes that support displaced

populations. Australia's participation in refugee resettlement will be outlined, as well as the federal government's programs for meeting its international humanitarian obligations. The chapter will then set out the disciplinary areas of the research, as well as the definitions of key terms that will be used in the dissertation, in preparation for a more detailed literature review and methodology discussion in later sections. The chapter will conclude by outlining the structure of the dissertation itself.

1.2 Global population displacement and refugee protection

While the history of movement by displaced peoples recognised as refugees stretches back to the late seventeenth century with the flight of Huguenot Protestants from France, the modern day development of an international refugee protection regime began with the creation of the League of Nations at the close of World War I. The mechanisms for responding to populations in flight also evolved along with the history of the nation-state and the global power relations and ideologies associated with this historically new form of sovereignty over territory and mobility. Following the displacement of over 30 million people as a result of World War II, the international community acknowledged the need for a framework for protection and resettlement of uprooted communities under the aegis of the United Nations. This led to the establishment of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) at the onset of the Cold War in the early 1950s.

The legal concept of 'refugee' drafted under the 1951 Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees and its 1967 Protocol sits at the centre of the protocols, legislative acts and states' policies concerning displaced people that, since then, have contributed to this framework. The state-centred thinking behind emerging international refugee law during this post-war period predicated Convention refugee status on asylum claimants being outside their country of origin and unable to avail themselves of their state's protection. 'Protection' in this context was not related to a state's failure to provide its citizens with material assistance but to the loss for the displaced of the status of 'citizen'. Citizenship permits residence within a state's boundaries and participation in the rights, privileges and obligations of its laws. Thus, the relationship between state territory, state sovereignty and membership of the state's body politic underpinned conceptualisations of the category 'refugee' during the latter half of the twentieth century and the international community's response to mass displacement.

This response developed a 'vast and complex network of institutionalized assistance' (Harrell-Bond 1992, p. 7) made up of host governments, the UNHCR and those UN agencies and non-government entities charged with providing support. This network of assistance is funded internationally by donor governments and philanthropic institutions. The role of the UNHCR has been to establish and oversee international treaties relating to displaced populations, as well as implement measures to improve the conditions of refugees and support governments in repatriation or resettlement. The UNHCR's role relates directly to the purposes of the 1951 Convention, which recognises the refugee's 'right to remain and right to return, the principle of non-refoulement, and the right of first asylum', as well as sets the 'minimum standards of treatment for refugees and … determination procedures and eligibility criteria' for attaining refugee status (Barnett 2002, p. 247).

Under international refugee law, people fleeing their country of origin for fear of persecution or to escape conflict are able to approach the authorities of another country

and/or the UNHCR for protection. The UNHCR will register asylum seekers (partly to prevent involuntary repatriation, or 'refoulement'), who thereby acquire the status of refugee. However, while refugee status is based on the idea of loss of membership of the body politic within the country of origin, refugee law 'does not guarantee attainment of membership elsewhere' (Aleinikoff 1992, p. 124). The Convention cannot direct how signatory states adjudicate refugee status determinations and has no mechanisms for monitoring their compliance with its principles. The Convention relies on non-refoulement as its central instrument for protection, resulting in adjudication of who is a refugee, 'upon which all the protections of the Convention turn', being left to the interpretations of state authorities (Aleinikoff 1992, p. 124).

In the decades following the drafting of the 1951 Convention, refugee flows into Europe and North America emerged primarily from regions within the Communist Bloc, while asylum determinations during this period reflected the geopolitics of the Cold War. In South America, for example, asylum claims from communist Cuba and Nicaragua were more likely to be accepted in the United States than those from non-communist regimes, such as El Salvador, as flight from a communist country was valued as an endorsement of the tenets of liberal democracy (Ashutosh & Mountz 2012). However, by the mid-1970s, large scale refugee movements began emerging from countries within the Global South, in Africa, South-East Asia and South America, with the collapse of colonial regimes and the effects of their legacies, as well as neo-colonial interventions by external powers and internal struggles for control over newly independent nation-states. The economic interests of Northern states, which dominated international 'trade, investment and intellectual property regimes', contributed to the South's conflict over resources and populations and to the forced migrations which followed (Castles 2003, p. 18). During this period, global refugee numbers began to rise as the number of countries with refugee outflows increased (Hugo 2001).

This increase marked a shift in the paradigmatic refugee figure from 'white, male and anti-communist' (Chimni 1998, p. 351) to a racialised and mendicant Other which threatened national stability, drained public resources and posed 'a problem for development' (Malkki 1995, p. 506). Asylum claims were increasingly deemed a spurious camouflage for economic migration, while the category 'refugee' fragmented to also mean 'asylum seekers, spontaneous arrivals, quota refugees [and] people in refugee like situations' (Chimni 2000, p. 254). Refugees were seen as an exception to the 'normal state-citizen-territory trinity' and were therefore a 'source of instability' that only reterritorialisation would remove (Haddad 2003, p. 11). Northern responses to the growing numbers of refugees in countries marked as the 'developing world' have since become increasingly punitive and restrictive and operationalised within a discourse of threat and national security (Voutira & Dona 2007). Northern states' interests are prioritised within these responses through a combination of 'entry restrictions in the North and "containment" measures in the South' (Castles 2003, p. 18).

1.3 What is resettlement?

'Resettlement' is the term used by the UNHCR for 'the transfer of refugees from the country in which they have sought refuge to another State that has agreed to admit them' (UNHCR 2006, p. 19). Displaced people do not have a right to resettlement elsewhere that follows automatically from their designation as a refugee and not all refugees are

eligible for resettlement. Signatories to the 1951 Convention and associated protocols are not legally bound to accept refugees for resettlement within their territories. Refugee resettlement is a voluntary process overseen by the UNHCR, with the aim of sharing responsibility among signatory states. In 2012, 27 of the 145 states who are Convention signatories took part in UNHCR-coordinated resettlement and accepted a quota of refugees (UNHCR 2013, p. 18). The UNHCR selects and recommends refugees for resettlement within signatory states, employing criteria such as security conditions in the country of first asylum, trauma following torture and violence, medical needs, the risk of sexual or gender-based violence, the well-being of children and the elderly and family reunification. Resettlement is recommended where voluntary repatriation or local integration is not possible (Karlsen 2011). The UNHCR does not give reasons for a determination that a refugee does not qualify for resettlement and there is no right of appeal against this decision.

The means for reterritorialising those who have been forced into the liminal state of between-borders was built into the UNHCR's mandate, which in the post-war period of mass European displacement meant a 'permanent' solution through facilitated resettlement in countries such as the United Kingdom, the United States, Canada and Australia. However, with the shift to refugee flows from source countries within the Global South, a discourse of 'durable' solutions emerged. Voluntary return to the country of origin became the most desirable solution, followed by absorption within the country of first asylum. Under this reconfiguration of agreed solutions to large-scale displacement, resettlement within a third country (usually a Northern state) became the least desirable aim (Harrell-Bond & Voutira 1992).

As a consequence, resettlement occurs relatively rarely when compared with the numbers who are displaced. It is estimated that less than 1 per cent of the world's refugees are resettled 'in any given year' (Karlsen et al. 2011, p. 8). In 2012, 45.2 million people worldwide were considered forcibly displaced, the highest number since 1994, of whom 15.4 million were designated refugees. Most refugees flee to neighbouring countries in their region of origin. Thus, the majority of refugees are hosted in countries of asylum within the major refugee generating regions. The burden of hosting refugees is carried largely by developing countries, which in 2012 hosted 81 per cent of the world's displaced peoples. In that year, Pakistan, Ethiopia and Kenya ranked as the top three refugee host countries relative to economic capacity, while more than half of all refugees came from five countries: Afghanistan, Somalia, Iraq, Syria and Sudan. Of the total population of refugees globally in 2012, 88,600 were resettled within 22 countries, the majority of whom (66,300) were accepted by the United States. The UNHCR defines a 'protracted refugee situation' as one in which 25,000 or more refugees of the same nationality have been resident outside their country of origin for at least five years in an asylum country. In 2012, around 6.4 million refugees living in 25 countries were estimated to be in a total of 30 protracted situations (UNHCR 2013, pp. 3–13).

1.4 Australia's role in international refugee resettlement

Australia's role in refugee protection began in a limited way prior to World War II with the resettlement of groups such as Jewish refugees fleeing Nazi Germany. Following World War II, this role expanded significantly with the establishment of the country's first federal immigration agency, along with its ratification of the 1951 Refugee

Convention. This greater role also marked a change in Australia's migration policy more broadly, by extending migration categories to include groups beyond those from Northern European countries. The ethnic, cultural and religious discrimination that had formed the foundation of earlier immigration policies and practices gradually began to reduce (Hugo 2001).

By the mid-1970s, Australia had begun accepting annual quotas of Convention refugees under the UNHCR resettlement program. Government and immigration authorities also formulated a more comprehensive response to the nation's part in the international protection regime. Resettlement moved beyond the offshore processing of UNHCR-designated refugees to include onshore processing of asylum claims received from those fleeing conflict in Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos and arriving on Australian territory largely by boat. Between 1976 and 2000, 309,780 refugee and humanitarian settlers were accepted into Australia, with annual totals peaking in the early 1980s at the height of the Indochinese exodus (Hugo 2001). Overall, more than 750,000 displaced people have received assistance under the Australian Humanitarian Program since World War II, via its offshore (resettlement) and onshore (asylum and protection) program components (DIAC 2011b).

In the decades since it began experiencing refugee flows within its immediate region, Australia has adapted its settlement policies as humanitarian crises have emerged locally and globally. Its administrations added the capacity to respond to asylum seekers who did not fit the Convention definitions of 'refugee' with the Fraser government's Special Humanitarian Program in 1981, which recognised those who were 'subject to human rights abuses and had family or community ties with Australia' (Karlsen et al. 2011, p. 3). This capacity to respond to both Convention refugees and those in a refugee-like situation is the basis of the annual refugee resettlement program overseen by the federal government today. The Woman at Risk and Emergency Rescue visa subclasses were also introduced in this period, while, for the first time, onshore protection visa grants were included under the Humanitarian Program (DIAC 2011b).

By the 1990s, a 'comprehensive refugee system was in place within the immigration portfolio' (Karlsen et al. 2011, p. 3). Under the Keating government, the program for responding to humanitarian crises was set apart from the main migration program. The later Howard government brought offshore and onshore protection under the one program area and introduced the practice of allocating annual quotas for onshore places. During this period, the onshore and offshore humanitarian programs were numerically linked, such that each granting of a protection visa onshore deducted a place from a component of the offshore resettlement program, a practice which is unique to Australia (RCOA 2011(a)). This linking effectively blurred the distinction between Australia's 'legal obligations as a [Convention] signatory', which are met through processing asylum claims made onshore, and its 'voluntary contribution to the sharing of international responsibility for refugees for whom no other durable solution is available', which is addressed through resettlement of refugees living offshore in countries of first asylum (RCOA 2011(a), n.p.). This linkage also contributed to the developing 'myth of two classes of refugees', which contrasts those who wait to enter legitimately via a refugee camp with those who arrive illegitimately by 'jumping the queue' (RCOA 2008, p. 10).

In recent decades, the federal government responded to global resettlement needs during the Balkans crisis of the early 1990s, as well as wars in Iraq and Afghanistan, and

developed a temporary safe haven category for displaced Kosovars and East Timorese. Australia currently accepts approximately 13,000 humanitarian entrants annually (Harte et al. 2011, p. 326), of which around 6,000 are Convention refugees, and is among the 'top three resettlement countries' globally (Karlsen 2011, pp. 2, 4). In 2007, of the main refugee receiving countries, the United States accounted for 64 per cent, Canada 15 per cent and Australia 13 per cent (Spinks 2009, p. 4). However, when asylum applications are considered on a per capita basis, Australia's share of the total number of asylum applications received internationally is small, making its overall contribution to the international refugee protection regime relatively 'modest' (Karlsen et al. 2011, p. 7).

In the late 1990s, Australia began focusing on resettling refugees from countries on the African continent, with over 70 per cent of resettlement places allocated to Africa in 2003–04 (Karlsen et al. 2011, p. 5). Intakes from African source countries peaked between 2001 and 2007 (DIAC 2007 in Harte et al. 2011, p. 326). More recently, the focus of Australia's resettlement program has been spread relatively evenly between Asia, the Middle East and Africa, with a third of the offshore program allocated in 2008–09 to each region (Karlsen et al. 2011).

Australia's earlier refugee resettlement program focused on placing new humanitarian arrivals in major cities located on the continent's coastal fringe. The 2003 review on settlement programs by the federal immigration agency argued that 'Australian governments should also be paying more attention to strategies for dispersing new arrivals more evenly throughout Australia, and especially to promote settlement in rural and regional Australia' (DIMIA 2003, p. 322). In recent years, however, and in particular following the 2003 government review, increasing support has been given to resettling unlinked humanitarian entrants in these areas 'in order to address the demand for less skilled labour in regional economies and to assist humanitarian entrants to achieve early employment' (DIMIA 2003, p. 9). Apart from the employment potential for new humanitarian arrivals and the labour force this provides for local employers, regional settlement is believed to build local economic capacity while also increasing 'cultural diversity and vitality' (DIAC 2009). In 2009, 'around 20 per cent' of humanitarian arrivals had been directly settled in regional locations, with priority given to those with no pre-existing links with family or community in Australia (DIAC 2009).

Australia's role in refugee resettlement has varied according to the geopolitics of the last century and the shifts in flows of refugees from global regions of conflict. The history of Australia's response to refugees has been both 'welcoming and hostile', with an increasingly punitive and exclusionary regime implemented over the last decade following the arrival of boats carrying asylum seekers from Asia and the Middle East (Every 2008, p. 217). In the early 2000s, a range of legislative and operational changes were introduced in response to these movements, including the excision of some Australian territory from the national migration zone, offshore processing of asylum claims made in these places and penalties for people smuggling (DIAC 2011b). Policies for managing onshore asylum seekers now include mandatory detention and temporary rather than permanent protection. Measures such as these have become more oppressive and controversial since the events of 9/11 in 2001.

1.5 Australia's refugee resettlement process

The Australian resettlement process offshore begins when a displaced person applies for resettlement to an overseas post of the federal immigration authority (in 2014, the Department of Immigration and Border Protection). The majority of applicants are initially referred to these posts by the UNHCR, who has already deemed them to be suitable for resettlement. The immigration authorities assess the application for resettlement and include in this review health and character criteria, the need for resettlement, capacity to adjust to life in Australia, existing linkages with community here, the settlement policy priorities of the day and places available under the Humanitarian Program at the time an application is assessed (DIAC 2011b; Hugo 2001). Although the UNHCR recommends refugees for resettlement, the decision to grant a visa under this program rests with Australia.

The offshore program currently has two components: the Refugee Program and the Special Humanitarian Program. Five offshore visa sub-classes are available to refugee applicants under the Refugee and Humanitarian visa class (Class XB): 200 Refugee; 201 In-country special humanitarian; 202 Special Humanitarian Program; 203 Emergency rescue and 204 Woman at risk. Visa sub class 202 enables the entry of immediate family members under the Special Humanitarian Program, through sponsorship by relatives already resident here. Australia has one of the few women at risk programs within international protection and resettlement, in recognition of the threats women and girls face in countries of first asylum (Karlsen et al. 2011; RCOA 2008).

The support that is provided to refugees on arrival in Australia has evolved in the decades since World War II from the provision of basic accommodation and assistance to a broader and more targeted range of services. This increasing specialisation of services has been shaped by the greater diversity of arriving populations from the 1970s and framed within policies that moved from 'assimilation, through integration, to multiculturalism' (Spinks 2009, p. 1). The assimilation policies of the post-war period required new arrivals to 'learn English, adopt Australian cultural practices and become indistinguishable from the Australian- born population' (Koleth 2010, p. 2). By the early 1970s, with the ending of the White Australia Policy in 1973 and as diversity within the community increased, government policy moved towards integration, in which migrants could settle in Australian society without losing their national identities. By the late 1970s, the term 'multiculturalism' had come to refer to the 'demographic reality of cultural diversity, a set of policies and policy orientations, as well as a concept which articulates a normative ideal or ideals about society' which supported the appreciation of cultural diversity as part of Australia's nation building and social cohesion (Koleth 2010, p. 2).

The Galbally Report of 1978 marked a turning point in settlement policy thinking by outlining a series of principles for service delivery that included equal access to programs, maintenance of culture, specialist as well as generalist service provision and the encouragement of self-help and self-reliance. The report's 'rights-based focus' also helped align settlement policy with Australia's international refugee protection obligations (RCOA 2008, p. 22).

While the policy focus on cultural diversity continues to the present, integration and social cohesion and the promotion of 'Australian values' have recently received renewed attention in response to incidents such as attacks on Indian international students, the Cronulla riots of 2005 and community perceptions of African refugee

entrants' capacity to adapt culturally. In 2007, Kevin Andrews, the then Minister for Immigration and Citizenship, announced his decision to reduce the African refugee intake because of 'high levels of community concern' about their 'difficulty in successfully settling in Australia' (Spinks 2009, p. 12).

This period also saw the introduction of competitive tendering for funded settlement contracts, which replaced the earlier grants-based funding offered to non-government organisations and community groups and allocated on the basis of the federal government's assessments of community needs. This move to a purchaser-provider model enabled commercial as well as not-for-profit participation in settlement service delivery, which changed the settlement environment through the introduction of new players into the sector. Competitive tendering was linked by refugee advocates to negative pressures on agency collaboration, an 'emphasis on lowest cost-per-unit service provision [and] oscillations between excess and inadequate capacity' (RCOA 2008, p. 23). The new tendering regime was also linked to failures in addressing service needs that fell outside the terms of contracts

Assessments of resettlement applications, visa granting and delivery of settlement services to humanitarian entrants previously came under the one national agency (formerly the Department of Immigration and Citizenship). Under the recently-elected Abbott federal government, these responsibilities have been separated. Applications for a refugee protection visa and a place in the Humanitarian Program are administered by the new Department of Immigration and Border Protection, while the new Department of Social Services provides settlement services to humanitarian arrivals.

1.6 Australia's settlement services framework

Migrants to Australia can access many of the services available to Australian citizens and permanent residents provided by the government, non-government and private sectors, as part of their efforts in building a new life here. However, the majority of government-funded settlement programs come within a framework of services designated for refugees and humanitarian entrants only. The aim of these programs is to assist new humanitarian arrivals to 'participate in Australian society as quickly as possible… [and] … to integrate as peacefully and harmoniously as possible' (Spinks 2009, p. 4). Eligibility for these services is limited to those humanitarian entrants who are within the first five years of settlement.

Australia's resettlement framework contains programs that focus on particular aspects of the process refugees undergo in building new lives in an unfamiliar world and are designed to support individuals, families and emerging communities from the point of arrival. Holders of four of the five refugee and humanitarian visa sub classes are eligible to receive all of these services. However, the Special Humanitarian Program visa sub class provides more limited access. Humanitarian entrants under this visa class are proposed (or 'sponsored') by individuals already living in Australia, who have undertaken to provide these types of services themselves as part of their sponsorship.

The three key programs currently operating under this framework are the Humanitarian Settlement Services, the Adult Migrant English Program and the Settlement Grants Program.

1.6.1 Humanitarian Settlement Services

The primary vehicle for delivering settlement support to humanitarian entrants is the Humanitarian Settlement Services (HSS), set up in 2011 following a national review and stakeholder consultation to revise and expand its predecessor settlement program. The HSS provides intensive, casework-based support (also known as 'primary settlement') to new humanitarian entrants on arrival and during the initial settlement period of six months. Under certain circumstances, this support can be extended to one year. The program's aim is to 'equip clients with the skills and knowledge they need to commence their settlement journey, participate in the economic and social life of Australia and chart their future pathways' (DIAC 2011a, p. 7).

HSS services are tailored to refugee clients' knowledge and support needs and include on-arrival reception and induction, support with finding accommodation, information and referrals to specialist and mainstream service providers and an onshore orientation program. Caseworkers help new arrivals find accommodation and provide them with an initial food and household goods package. New arrivals are supported in registering with Medicare, Centrelink, health services and English language training providers, setting up a bank account, undertaking an initial health assessment and enrolling their children in school. New arrivals are also given referrals to local employment agencies to begin the process of entering the labour market.

As part of settlement, HSS clients may also take part in the Onshore Orientation Program, a nationally standardised model for providing new arrivals with skills and understanding 'across a range of core competencies [needed to] successfully continue their settlement journey beyond the initial period' of six months (DIAC 2011a, p. 7). Orientation and information sessions, delivered to groups and individuals, begin within the first six weeks of arrival and focus on topics such as personal safety, child protection laws, household budgeting, maintaining a home, the role of the tenant, the private rental market and Australian workplace culture. Participation in the Onshore Orientation Program is voluntary and is available to all humanitarian entrants fifteen years and over. The program operates under the National Orientation Framework, which sets out the principles for the design and delivery of orientation by service providers across the country. Clients are deemed to have completed the program once they demonstrate proficiency in each of the program's core competencies, which include finding information and accessing services, as well as managing appointments, transport, money and a tenancy and engaging with employment, education and Australian law (DIAC 2011a).

The Onshore Orientation Program builds on the five-day Australian Cultural Orientation (AUSCO) Program delivered offshore to refugee visa holders under the Humanitarian Program who are preparing to move to Australia. The AUSCO Program is available to visa holders over the age of five years and aims to 'enhance settlement prospects [and] create realistic expectations' of life in Australia (DIAC 2011a, p. 28). The AUSCO program is delivered in-country by the International Organization for Migration on behalf of the Australian immigration authorities.

1.6.2 Complex Case Support Program

The Complex Case Support Program began nationally in 2008 to support refugee arrivals in 'difficult and unique circumstances' whose needs could not be met by current services and extended beyond the scope of the HSS and the Settlement Grants Program (Spinks

2009, p. 7). Program clients can have critical needs that require access to services such as mental health (including torture and trauma services), physical health, family violence intervention and grief or family relationship counselling. Support is also given in managing accommodation, financial and legal problems. Referrals of refugee clients for complex case support can be made by settlement service providers, government agencies and community organisations, as well as doctors, teachers, police officers and school counsellors. Individuals who have entered under the Humanitarian Program and are in need of complex case support may also refer themselves to the program (DIBP 2014a).

1.6.3 Adult Migrant English Program

The broader orientation strategy of Australian settlement services also includes the Adult Migrant English Program (AMEP). AMEP has been providing English-language classes to eligible adult migrants and refugees since 1948 and is one of the longest continual programs in migrant settlement. It provides free functional-English language tuition and basic language skills needed to deal with everyday social and work environments. Eligible refugee entrants have a legislated entitlement to English language training for up to 510 hours, which can be extended to 700 hours. The pattern of study under AMEP is at the discretion of the client. Students may undertake classes on a full-time or part-time basis and may stop and re-start their attendance, depending on their circumstances. Delivery is by face-to-face classroom tuition, distance learning, a home-based tutor scheme and self-paced e-learning. AMEP also includes a two week settlement course, 200 hours of vocational English and an orientation with Australian workplace culture and practices. AMEP is currently delivered at over 250 locations across Australia in major city centres and regional and rural areas.

1.6.4 Settlement Grants Program

The Settlement Grants Program (SGP) has a 'broader target' than the HSS program, which concentrates on the period of immediate arrival (DIAC 2012, p. 1). Established by the federal government in 2006, SGP provides generalist services in orientation and participation to eligible clients from the humanitarian entrant stream in their first five years of arrival, as well as to ethno-specific communities and family migrants with low English language proficiency, including those in rural and regional areas (DIAC 2012). The program's focus is on increasing eligible clients' capacity to become 'self reliant and participate equitably in Australian society as soon as possible after arrival' (DIBP 2013, n. p.). The program builds on the orientation provided in the first six months under HSS and can take both a casework and a broader community-development perspective on the needs of settling humanitarian entrants. SGP implements projects in three areas: 'assisting new arrivals to orient themselves to the new community; helping new communities to develop; and promoting social participation and integration' (Spinks 2009, p. 7).

Refugee entrants can take part in HSS, AMEP and SGP services simultaneously, providing this is within the timeframes for eligibility of the individual programs. For example, AMEP participation must commence within the first twelve months of arrival and eligibility ceases after the first five years. The cultural orientation provided under these three programs, as well as the AUSCO program, is designed to establish and reinforce a comprehensive and consistent foundation of 'information about Australian society, culture, laws, services and practices' during the early settlement years (DIAC 2011a, p. 31).

1.6.5 Translating and interpreting services

The Translating and Interpreting Service (TIS) National is a federally-funded service set up to enable communication between speakers and non-speakers of English within Australia. TIS National has access to over 2,400 contracted interpreters throughout Australia, speaking more than 160 languages and dialects (RCOA 2013). TIS National interpreter services are available twenty-four hours a day, seven days a week. TIS National services are free of charge to non-English speaking refugee entrants for communicating with private medical practitioners and their staff, pharmacies, agencies providing casework and emergency services, Members of Parliament, local government authorities and trade unions (RCOA 2013). The federal immigration agency also provides a free personal document translating service for new settlers within the first two years of arriving in Australia (DIBP 2014b). The Oncall translation and interpreting service is used by agencies, such as health services, as an internal mechanism within their programs when engaging with new arrivals.

1.6.6 Implications of these services for this research

The framework of settlement services provided for refugee entrants by the Australian government outlined above is designed to help new arrivals establish themselves with housing, employment, education, access to health facilities and an understanding of cultural and legal norms. These services also ensure that newly-arrived communities are provided with income support prior to employment, as well as support in gaining paid work. Settlement services aim to increase English language proficiency among newly-arrived refugee non-English speakers, as well as help families negotiate the cultural changes in gender roles and intergenerational relationships that can follow resettlement.

These programs of support for humanitarian entrants are also the context for the research discussed within this dissertation. This study seeks to understand how the information environments within which these services are located and operate affect the settlement process, from the perspective of new refugee arrivals but also of workers within settlement agencies.

1.7 Settlement service provision

The Australian federal government's range of settlement services under the programs outlined above is provided by government and non-government agencies and community organisations on a competitive tender basis, following the move in recent years by federal governments to apply competition policies to the settlement sector. Contracts for settlement services operate generally for between one and three years. Contracts are awarded on the basis of service providers' specialist knowledge of the needs of humanitarian arrivals and ability to provide case management, orientation support and advice and referrals to related services. The tendering process also assesses providers' capacity to form partnerships with local organisations such as fire and rescue services, police services, legal aid centres, child protection agencies, tenancy advocacy groups and local councils. Providers of settlement services may use community support workers, who come from communities into which new arrivals are being settled, as well as local volunteers to help build links with the surrounding community. Funding and programming priorities are made on the basis of community need, as well as the patterns of refugee intakes and settlement under the federal Humanitarian Program (DIAC 2011).

Contracted settlement service providers operate in most Australian states and territories. In 2011, 18 Humanitarian Settlement Services providers were at work in 24 contract regions across Australia. These providers supported approximately 8,200 clients, for an expenditure of $75 million through contracts and a further $4 million on program support and administration (Richmond 2011, p. 6). In the federal budget of 2013–14, funding allocations for the Settlement Grants Program were $45.5 million, while the Adult Migrant English Program was to receive $264.5 million (RCOA n. d., pp. 1, 2). The Humanitarian Program was to provide 20,000 places, an increase in commitment from the 13,000 places of earlier years (RCOA n. d., p. 1).

Refugee settlement is also supported by refugee advocacy groups, such as the Refugee Council of Australia (RCOA), which acts as the national peak body for refugees and their supporters. RCOA promotes the adoption of 'flexible, humane and practical policies towards refugees and asylum seekers', with research, advocacy, policy analysis and community education, and has 'more than 180 organisational and 700 individual members' (RCOA 2014, n. p.). The Settlement Council of Australia (SCOA) acts as the peak body for settlement agencies working with migrants and refugees across the country, via a network of providers, to 'create cohesion' within the settlement process and improve collaboration and planning within the sector (SCOA 2014, n. p.).

1.8 Recent reviews of settlement services

A number of reviews of the settlement process and its programs and outcomes have been conducted over the last decade on behalf of the federal government. A review in 2003 found that refugee entrants' support needs were being met effectively, with few gaps in service provision and a high level of satisfaction among clients (Urbis Keys Young 2003). However, the review findings also identified a lack of common understanding within the settlement sector of what constitutes initial settlement needs, divisions between agencies that prevented integrated service delivery, some duplication of services and a lack of continuity between initial settlement services and those provided in the longer term. The review noted systemic difficulties for agencies in delivering services caused by inadequate or incorrect information on resettlement movements provided by overseas immigration posts, the short notice often given to providers about new arrivals and the uneven flow of humanitarian entrants. These had placed pressure on settlement areas such as accommodation and prevented effective long term planning.

The RCOA submission to the federal government in 2008 described Australia's resettlement program as 'among the most sophisticated and comprehensive in the world', with highly-regarded service delivery, coordination across providers and responsiveness to refugee communities' needs (RCOA 2008, p. 21). The review also raised concerns about the use of competitive tendering for funding, the underestimation of costs for service provision, poor linkages between primary and longer term settlement services in some contract regions and tensions between cyclical funding, which produces short term projects, and the length of the settlement process itself (RCOA 2008).

A review conducted in 2011 on behalf of the then Department of Immigration and Citizenship into settlement outcomes found that issues such as English language competence, education, employment, accommodation and community connections influence the success of the settlement process (Australian Survey Research Group 2011). The review also found that settlement outcomes could not be predicted using

indicators such as migration category, income, employment, education, communication skills and health and wellbeing (pp. 1, 5). Successful settlement outcomes were defined by the Department in terms of 'social participation, economic well-being, independence, personal well-being and community connectedness' (DIAC 2012, p. 6). The review noted that this definition was framed in terms of 'systemic outcomes', which contrasted with the views of humanitarian entrants participating in the review, who defined settlement in terms of 'life outcomes', such as personal happiness and community connectedness (Australian Survey Research Group 2011, p. 64).

The Richmond review in 2011 of the primary settlement service, the HSS Program, found a number of systemic problems in delivery but that the program generally was 'well managed and delivered effectively by professional and committed' service providers (Richmond 2011, p. 7). The review noted the evolution in philosophy and objectives of settlement services over recent decades from a largely welfare to a wellbeing model. Currently, the philosophy for HSS services includes 'individual skills enhancement, understanding and acceptance of rights and responsibilities and an overall settlement services goal of client self-sufficiency' (p. 7). However, the significant changes in government policies, operational practices and business models over recent years have meant that there are now 'many different values and philosophies' at work in the settlement sector (p. 7).

1.9 Situating the research

1.9.1 Situating the research within scholarly disciplines

The question of information literacy's role within newly-arrived refugee communities and across their global diasporas sits between the interdisciplinary research areas of refugee studies and information science. Within refugee studies, research into refugee settlement has examined numerous aspects of the settlement experience for a variety of new populations in areas such as education, employment, health, literacy and language, seeking to document the many structural and cultural pressures placed upon humanitarian arrivals. Information science has explored the socio-economic history and politics of information, as well as global developments in information technology and inequities in information access. Scholars within this field have also focused on educational and cognitive issues associated with information seeking in settings such as classrooms and libraries, along with everyday information practices in the home, workplace and community.

While there are relevant conceptual and methodological approaches in both fields, there is limited research focused directly on the question at the core of the research undertaken here: how do Sub-Saharan African refugee men and women, in particular those from a primarily oral culture such as the Dinka of South Sudan, obtain the information they deem necessary for settlement within the daunting and foreign information landscape of a new country? Equally as importantly, how do these new settlers access and act upon the information they need to maintain familial, cultural and socio-economic relationships with their home country and across the diaspora? In refugee studies here and overseas, the role that information plays in settlement is implied in much of the settlement research literature, rather than explicitly articulated as a phenomenon in its own right. In mirror opposition, information science has paid scant

attention to refugee settlers' encounters with alien systems of information exchange. Further, while questions of class, race and gender have been considered in some areas of both disciplines, a body of work focusing on how information access for refugees is filtered intersectionally through these differences is yet to emerge. The review of relevant literature within these two fields, discussed later in this dissertation, highlights the interdisciplinarity of the research questions set out at the beginning of this chapter and thus the challenges of finding an established ground upon which to develop conceptual answers.

1.9.2 The genesis of the research

The genesis for this study lies in my role in community development with the South Sudanese community which has been settling in south-east Queensland since the late 1990s. My work in resource development and publication with marginalised communities and as a training facilitator and grant writer led to my becoming involved in a series of community development projects initiated from within the South Sudanese community. Over time, I was contracted for projects which produced a collection of memoirs of displacement and resettlement written by community members (Richards forthcoming (a), (b), 2011, 2010), a speakers bureau through which community members engaged with high schools and community groups with narratives of displacement and a website and online forum to increase connectedness across the diaspora. I was also engaged to design and deliver training in organisational governance suitable for African-Australian community organisations, as well as resource development for a project on mentoring for African-Australian youth (Richards 2012). These projects were completed over a four-year period between 2009 and 2012.

As I worked with community members on these projects and also helped with a number of organisational and institutional difficulties they encountered along the way, I began to see patterns in the community's engagement with systems and practices around them. I initially understood these to be related to literacy and the tensions between this and their culture of orality. However, over time I began to see that engaging with information was at the heart of many of these problems, even while this was influenced by questions such as literacy and language. From my experience in an earlier career in government policy and programming, I could see that some of these difficulties relating to information were not being directly addressed explicitly within the settlement sector. This led me to consider a formal research project in the form of a doctoral dissertation, with the support of the South Sudanese community, which could contribute both to scholarly understanding of the role of information in the rebuilding of life after overwhelming displacement and to incorporation of these issues within the support provided to new arrivals by settlement agencies.

1.10 Definitions of terms used in the dissertation

1.10.1 Information literacy

'Information literacy' was defined at the opening of this chapter as those practices, beliefs and skills which enable engagement with information needed for productive social agency. Information literacy can also be defined as the constellation of socio-cultural practices that people use to construct the 'know-how' of everyday life. The

focus of this research is on ‘everyday information’ and not on technical or specialist information associated with settings such as education or the workplace.

By making ‘information practice’ the initial unit of analysis and tracing how these practices operate within and across the private and public spheres of settlement, we can begin to uncover the complexities of refugee arrivals’ information literacy in their immediate sociocultural contexts and from their perspectives.

Information practice can be viewed as textual, involving reading and writing which is mediated via print and screen-based modalities. Oral information practice involves speaking face-to-face or via technology (in particular, the mobile phone), while embodied information practice engages with cultural and physical environments using sensory experience. The meaning-making and affective dimensions of information practice can include trust, legitimacy and authority, notions of truth and misinformation and ideologies surrounding knowledge formation.

The term ‘information relationship’ will be developed as a new concept within this area of research and will be explored more fully in Chapter 2, as part of the review of relevant scholarly literature.

1.10.2 Refugee settlement

Terms such as ‘refugee’, ‘refugee arrivals’, ‘refugee entrants’, ‘humanitarian entrants’ and ‘newly-arrived refugees’ are used to denote people who have arrived in Australia via the offshore component of the Humanitarian Program under the visa class XB, outlined under section 1.5 above. These arrivals are included in these terms as they entitled to some or all of the settlement services discussed earlier in this in this chapter. These terms do not include those who have sought asylum onshore within Australian territory.

‘Settlement’ and ‘settlement period’ are defined as the first six months to five years following arrival, in line with the Australian federal government’s humanitarian entrant settlement support programs.

‘Settlement agency’ and ‘settlement sector’ are used to describe those government, non-government and community organisations that provide federally-funded settlement programs, such as the HSS, SGP and AMEP services discussed earlier, to humanitarian entrants. These terms also include those agencies, such as Centrelink and health and education services, which do not provide direct settlement support under these programs but engage with refugee entrants from the point of arrival. Although the settlement sector, as a federally-funded sphere of targeted service delivery, does not include entities such as banks, finance institutions and real estate agents, these organisations provide important resources needed during settlement. Distinctions between federally-funded direct settlement services, those not directly funded but crucial to settlement and those provided in the normal course of commercial business are made, where necessary, in the discussion.

Humanitarian refugees resettled in Australia become permanent residents as part of the resettlement process. Their status as permanent residents entitles them to receive ‘most of the rights and entitlements’ of a citizen (DIBP 2014 (c)), except in the arrangements regarding travel to and from the country and in voting in elections. As permanent residents, they may seek to obtain citizenship after a government-designated waiting period. In this discussion, the term ‘citizen’ will be used to denote the relationship of both permanent resident and citizen with the state. Distinctions between permanent residency and citizenship will be made where these are required.

1.10.3 Research participants

The terms ‘South Sudan’ and ‘South Sudanese’ are used to denote the country of South Sudan and its peoples after the establishment of the Republic of South Sudan in July 2011. The terms ‘south Sudan’, ‘south Sudanese’ and ‘Sudan’ are used to describe the period, people and events before its declaration as a sovereign state.

The terms ‘clan’, ‘clan members’ and ‘community’ denote those members of the South Sudanese community who took part in the study. The terms ‘agency worker(s)’ and ‘agency’ and agencies’ describe the settlement service workers who also took part in the study.

1.11 Structure of the dissertation

The dissertation which follows is structured in three parts. Part 1 includes a review in Chapter 2 of scholarship within refugee studies and information studies. This chapter goes on to situate the research within Agamben’s theorising on the state of exception and from there to develop the concept of ‘information relationship’. Chapter 3 provides a discussion of the qualitative case study methodology used in the study, followed by a description of those members of the South Sudanese community and settlement sector agencies who were interviewed during the research.

Part 2 contains four chapters which discuss in detail the findings of the research. The first chapter in this part, Chapter 4, outlines the information environments of protracted civil war, refugee protection and the nascent South Sudan which community participants reflected on as the context for their responses to information practices they encountered following arrival. These information environments continued to play a part in their lives as a constitutive component of the South Sudanese diaspora. Chapter 5 explores the information environments of refugee settlement within the Northern governmentality of contemporary Australian life. The chapter focuses on community participants’ experiences of information as they engaged in settling here while connecting across the diaspora, in the context of language, literacy and orality. Chapter 6 explores how agencies developed practices which enabled them to build information relationships which connected new arrivals with the state, as part of their contracted service delivery. This chapter also considers the role of technologies such as paper, telephony and digital media in the construction of these relationships. Part 2 concludes with Chapter 7, which discusses how culture, trust and emotion filter and form refugee arrivals’ experiences with information during settlement.

The dissertation concludes with Part 3, which discusses how information relationships provide the means by which refugees, as the exiled Other, engage with the services of the state and reconnect with the subject position of citizen in a country of resettlement within the Global North.

2 Refugee studies, information science and the 'state of exception'

2.1 Introduction

The question at the heart of the research conducted here concerns the role that information literacy plays in the settlement experiences of refugee entrants into Australia under the federal government's refugee resettlement programs and in the context of services provided by agencies and enterprises across the community. As outlined in the previous chapter, this question sits within the interdisciplinary areas of research undertaken by scholars of refugee displacement and information science.

This chapter reviews research findings and conceptual developments within these fields of investigation that are relevant to this question. The discussion explores how refugee studies and information science have included information literacy as a factor affecting refugee resettlement and thus an issue for academic research. It then moves to consider the theoretical possibilities offered by Giorgio Agamben's work on the constitution of the 'state of exception' for developing a conceptual framework for answers to the research question under investigation here. The chapter concludes by proposing the concept of 'information relationship' as a means of understanding how information literacy plays a role in re-establishing the displaced refugee, exiled and exceptionalised by sovereign decree, within the protections provided by the state.

2.2 Refugee studies

The field of refugee studies has expanded in recent decades as displacement and forced migration have increased globally, resulting in an extensive cross-disciplinary body of academic and public policy work (Black 2001). This work has examined the role of refugee law within the development of protection regimes, as well as the relationship between refugee and human rights law, humanitarianism as implemented by international agencies and refugee protection solutions. Questions at the global scale, such as discourses shaping the 'refugee' label and the geopolitics of shifts in refugee flows and states' responses, are also considered within this field of inquiry.

A significant research strand within refugee studies has explored refugee resettlement within signatory receiving states facilitated by the UNHCR. Considerable research in Australia (Neumann 2013) and internationally, generally in the form of case studies, has examined refugees' experience of this process across the major areas of settlement. These areas include employment, housing, education, social support payments, health, family life and the law. Research in Australia has also reviewed settlement in the context of regional development, following the federal government's channelling of new arrivals to non-metropolitan areas (Broadbent et al. 2007; Carrington & Marshall 2008; McDonald et al. 2008; McDonald-Wilmsen et al. 2009). Scholars have also considered issues beyond the major state-administered settlement domains, such as constructions of 'refugee' identities and anti-refugee sentiment (Ndhlovu 2009; RCOA 2011(b)), the development of belonging and connectedness within a landscape of misrecognition (Fozdar 2012) and the social and economic contributions of refugee communities (Hugo 2011). Work within social geography has begun tracking the secondary migration within Australia of communities from African refugee source

countries, in response to the federal government's focus in the early 2000s on African humanitarian resettlement (Harte et al. 2011).

2.2.1 Employment and the labour market

Case studies of refugee employment in Australia have found higher rates of unemployment and under-employment, longer periods of joblessness (Colic-Peisker 2009; Tilbury & Colic-Peisker 2006) and overrepresentation in the secondary labour market's low paid and low status occupations (Colic-Peisker & Tilbury 2006; Dunlop 2005). These employment conditions render refugee arrivals vulnerable to labour market fluctuations (RCOA 2010), a situation that is compounded by their lack of understanding of Australian systems of industrial rights and entitlements (Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission 1999). Labour market participation is shaped by employers' attitudes to visible difference and the mediation of these attitudes by employment agencies contracted to support refugee job seekers (Colic-Peisker & Tilbury 2007; Ho & Alcorso 2004). Employment access is also affected by lack of recognition of overseas qualifications, language barriers and under-servicing of refugee clients by job networks (Abdelkerim & Grace 2011; RCOA 2012; Torezani et al. 2008).

2.2.2 Education participation

Research into education following arrival has highlighted the impact of interrupted schooling on refugee students' capacity to engage with the learning cultures of student-centred, problem-based pedagogies within the Global North (Brown et al. 2006; Naidoo 2009; Turner 2009). Students and teachers are grappling with missed cognitive development, lack of age-appropriate literacy and numeracy, inexperience with print and multi-modal texts and limited general knowledge (Cranitch 2010). Gendered expectations of education are intersecting with cultural differences in teaching and learning to inhibit the access of women and girls at all educational levels (Harris 2009, 2011; Hewagodage & O'Neill 2010). Families are reporting difficulties in establishing connectedness to schooling (Department of Education and Early Childhood Development 2011) and confusion about educational pathways and their role in institutional learning (Gifford et al. 2009). Studies have outlined the problems facing refugee young people transitioning into high school (Cassity & Gow 2005) and the lack of knowledge about refugee students' responses to tertiary education (Earnest et al. 2010).

2.2.3 Health and wellbeing

Case studies of refugees and Australia's health services have examined emotional wellbeing, depression and mental health in the context of past torture and trauma (Daud et al. 2008; Fozdar 2009; Ryan et al. 2008; Tilbury & Rapley 2004). Studies have also examined the 'coping strategies' refugee entrants have adopted following arrival (Goodman 2004; Khawaja et al. 2008), with a particular focus on resilience as a form of agency (Pulvirenti & Mason 2011). Access to health services for refugee communities is affected by language and literacy skills, poor transport links, low income levels and cultural unfamiliarity (Cooke et al. 2004; Neale et al. 2007; Sheikh-Mohammed et al. 2006). Traditional cultural practices around food and nutrition have been disrupted by education and employment timetables (Burns et al. 2000), along with potentially negative dietary changes introduced by the consumption of industrialised food products. Differing

health outcomes for groups within refugee communities, such as older people (Atwell et al. 2007), women (Palmer et al. 2009; Hashimoto-Govindasamy & Rose 2011) and young people (Gifford et al. 2007; McMichael & Gifford 2009) have also been highlighted.

2.2.4 Gender and family life

Research has documented the gendered nature of settlement and its effects within family life. Family separation caused by men resettling before their wives and children compounds bereavement and loss and increases depression (McMichael & Ahmed 2003). Parenting practices are culturally and legally redefined following arrival, placing stress on intergenerational relationships (Ochocka & Janzen 2008; Renzaho & Vignjevic 2011). The discursive practice of labelling refugee women as resilient can justify reducing support, since refugee women thus defined are capable of 'fending for themselves' (Pulvirenti & Mason 2011, p. 44). Changing family roles and gender identities pose particular problems for women, as Australian laws and norms around domestic violence offer protection within the family but can generate new cultural tensions in relationships (Marlowe 2012; Ndungi wa Mungai & Pease 2009; Pittaway et al. 2009). Rape in war, survival sex and responsibilities for children born of rape as elements within women's identities 'reverberate through communities', posing 'major challenges' for settlement (Pittaway et al. 2009, p. 143). Women's occupational security is limited by large families and lack of extended kin to support childcare (Manderson et al. 1998), as well as lower education, language and literacy levels than men, whose work identities are culturally prioritised.

2.2.5 Refugee diasporas

With over 42 million people currently forcibly displaced worldwide (UNHCR 2013), scholars have argued for the importance of a translocal lens in research into forced migration to foreground the growing mobilities of people, objects, documents and money across borders (Gill et al. 2011; Levitt & Schiller 2004). A translocal lens also brings into view disparities in the relationship between mobility, power and gender (Boyle 2002; Urry 2000). Migration is experienced at multiple scales of body, home, neighbourhood and distant homeland (Dyck & Mclaren 2004), leading to polycentricity in identity and practice (Blommaert et al. 2005(a), (b); Vertovec 2004(a)).

Research into migrant diasporas has examined the hybrid association between place, culture and identity (Gehrmann 2012; Tazreiter 2012), the construction of community as co-presence in virtual space (Aly 2012; Zhao & Elesh 2008) and the enactment of simultaneous attachment to multiple homelands (Urban 2008). Diasporic life has been shown to generate a form of virtual intimacy, as well as pressures in managing family-work balance across global distances (Wilding 2009; Wilding & Baldassar 2009). Much attention has been focused on the role of technology, which provides a creative emotional and informational 'third space' for constructing diasporic community (Bernal 2006; Hafkin 2006; Kvasny & Hales 2009; Leong & Gong 2012; Panagakos & Horst 2006; Parham 2004; Vertovec 2004(b)). Digital and communications technologies connect residents post-displacement and in refugee camps (Leung 2010, 2011) and enable them to maintain but also resist family and community obligations (Horst 2006).

Remitting across all migration categories has generated an economic transformation in the Global South through the development of remittance-based local

and national economies (Vertovec 2004(a)). The role of 'global breadwinner' has emerged as an empowering yet ambivalent identity for resettled refugees struggling to meet translocal kinship obligations (Akuei 2004, 2005; Johnson & Stoll 2008). Diasporic relationships have altered traditional marriage practices and, in the case of the South Sudanese Dinka, the socio-political economy of dowries (Grabska 2010).

Aspects of the African diaspora have become iconised in the Global North, a notable example being the Lost Boys of Sudan, a refugee subjectivity that strategically communicates displacement while exoticising the experience of it (McKinnon 2008; Richards forthcoming (a), (b)). Iconised refugee subjectivities such as these also heighten diaspora/homeland tensions around gender, family and kinship obligations and constructions of identity (Erickson & Faria 2011).

2.2.6 Theoretical frameworks within refugee settlement studies

These case studies of refugee settlement in Australia and internationally have extensively documented the complex struggles of humanitarian arrivals for a life that is secure and meaningful. Lacking a single, agreed definition of 'settlement', scholars have used a variety of middle-range theoretical starting points for framing this research. In some studies, settlement has been conceptualised as a linear sequence of time-based stages, a before-during-after arrival model with no clear end point either in time or outcome. Settlement has also been conceptualised as a process of transition, although again without considering where this transition is heading or that the binary 'unsettled/settled' might be underpinning the research frame. Other work has taken the end point of settlement to be 'integration', a variously conceived intention of state policy, and then applied a range of indicators to measure settlement against this aim (Ager & Strang 2008). Case studies have also developed typologies of the settlement experience, such as behavioural 'settlement styles', affective 'adjustment strategies' or structural 'facilitators' of settlement (Colic-Peisker & Tilbury 2003; Markovic & Manderson 2000). Visible and cultural difference has been analysed as the operator of 'new racism' (Augoustinos & Every 2007), while human and social capital approaches have been employed to investigate community networks, access to employment and social inclusion (Carrington & Marshall 2008; Torezani, Colic-Peisker & Fozdar 2008; Wun Fung Chan 2010).

Scholars have also explored settlement within more elaborated theoretical frames. Bourdieu's notion of exoticising that which is 'domestic' and Fraser's political theory of (mis)recognition have been employed to counter the dominant, essentialising narrative of refugee trauma (Marlowe 2010). Giddens' idea of ontological security and Levinas' conceptualisation of moral responsibility have been used to explore community acceptance of refugees (Fozdar 2012). A Foucauldian framework has been applied to the normative discourse of 'integrationism' in refugee women's construction of education (McPherson 2010) and the neoliberal state's retreat from refugee services (Sidhu & Taylor 2007). The many binaries operating within forced migration discourses, such as 'victim/survivor', 'vulnerable/resilient' and 'unsettled/settled', have also been acknowledged within this research.

2.2.7 Summary of review of refugee settlement studies

This review of research within refugee settlement studies has outlined the wide range of concerns that these studies have examined. Research into settlement has highlighted

issues such as the high rates of unemployment and underemployment within refugee communities, the effects of language, literacy and missed schooling for participation in education and the health concerns refugees bring that are often framed within differing notions of physical and mental wellbeing. Studies have documented the gendered nature of the settlement process and how new cultural expectations of family and intergenerational relationships can arise following arrival. The many pressures placed on families in maintaining their extended kinship networks across the diaspora have also been studied in this research. These concerns have largely been examined within theoretical frameworks which enable a critical analysis of the interconnections between agency and power. These theoretical frames bring into view the effects of disempowerment through displacement on communities as they resettle.

A number of features of refugee settlement studies are salient to the research discussed further in this dissertation. Firstly, while investigations within Australia on refugee resettlement have broadened beyond the earlier medicalised views of this process and the narrative of loss and trauma, the categories of subjectivity used in settlement research remain largely totalising, as in 'African' (whole-of-continent) or 'Eritrean' or 'Iraqi' (whole-of-country) refugees. These categories are then applied globally to represent an entire refugee community or, at a local scale, the family or the individual. The effect of traditional intermediary structures, such as the section or the clan, has rarely been considered. Significant specificities of culture and practice that are brought to bear on settlement are thereby potentially overlooked.

Secondly, while migration and mobility studies have developed substantial insight into diaspora as transnational identity and practice, within settlement research the diaspora is rarely made a conceptual starting point for research. Dispersion is seldom considered conceptually and methodologically alongside settlement, as a constitutive, interdependent and ongoing element of this process. Case studies of refugee lives post-arrival have tended to adopt an asymmetrically localised perspective on settlement, which locates the vantage point of research in the country of settlement rather than in a dynamic in which identity and collectivity move between 'here' and 'there'. Thus, within research into refugee resettlement, the diaspora can materialise as a shadowy presence rather than as a constitutive force affecting local engagement and belonging.

Finally, within migration studies overall, the roles that information production and consumption may play in settlement, and how communities and agencies mutually engage in this process, have received little explicit and considered attention. Information literacy is either conflated within notions such as 'language and literacy barriers' or implied in concerns about 'access to services'. The question, how does a refugee community engage with information during settlement and within the diaspora, is rarely asked.

2.3 Information science

For humanitarian entrants arriving in Australia, the process of settlement is set within an information landscape that is dense, overwhelming and dominated by English language and literacy. Across this landscape, information vital to settlement is provided by a complex and often networked array of institutions, generally via print-based materials and with few clear means of navigation. New arrivals must engage with these organisations in an exchange of information necessary for obtaining those resources which provide the material and cultural foundations for a new life.

Information is the subject of inquiry across disciplines as diverse as history, political economy, cultural studies, information technology, philosophy and library science. Information science can be loosely divided into research into information as a socio-economic phenomenon of unfolding history and more immediate investigations into the information practices of various groups. When we consider information literacy within refugee resettlement, both levels of inquiry are germane, as refugee communities engage globally with information environments within their home countries as well as with those that connect their communities across the diaspora, while responding locally to the information systems operating in their country of settlement.

2.3.1 Definitions of 'information' and 'information literacy'

Definitions of 'information' have varied according to the discipline, historical period and epistemological view in which the term has been deployed (Capurro & Hjorland 2003; Fallis 2007). This has resulted in 'an enduring dialectic' (Black 2006, p. 442) between information conceptualised as the intersubjective communication of difference, experienced internally within the individual, and as an externally observable 'thing' (Andersen & Skouvig 2006). An early and influential positivist model of information proposed the 'conduit metaphor', in which information that which is transmitted via communication (the conduit) between sender and receiver (Day 2000). Under this model, misinformation is deemed to be an inadequacy of the conduit which communication provides.

The later term 'information literacy' moved away from notions of exchange to focus on information sourcing, a cognitive skill necessary for the emerging 'knowledge economy' in an historical period characterised as the 'information age' (Breivik & Jones 1993; Bruce 2000). Information literacy was defined by such terms as 'learning how to learn', 'critical analysis' and 'critical thinking' (Bawden 2001). These capacities to find, evaluate and use information could be developed through education and measured by observing the behaviour of information users (Andersen 2006; Sundin 2008).

Critics have argued that these instrumentalist, individualist and ahistorical views of the components of information literacy obscure the commodification of information within contemporary global capitalism. Under post-industrial conditions of knowledge production, these processes of commodification control information's access and distribution and lead to the marginalisation of groups who are situated outside knowledge elites (Pawley 2003). While 'learning how to learn' underpins modern-day pedagogies that encourage lifelong learning by the independent learner, it also operates as the medium through which informational labour is created. This labour is embodied in the autonomous, flexible and self-managing 'knowledge worker' necessary for contemporary production systems based on constant product innovation and occupational redesign and redundancy (Kapitzke 2003(a); Luke 2003; Webster 2000).

Recognising that information literacy is a fluid concept with 'limited agreement as to quite what it means, and where its boundaries lie' (Bawden 2006, n.p.), scholars have argued for a more constructionist approach in which knowledge is understood as 'localised, partial and intrinsically tied to relations of power and capital' (Kapitzke 2003(b), p. 59). Thus, critical theory perspectives view information literacy as a socio-political practice enacted within the dynamics of information capitalism (Chan & Garrick 2003; Day 2001, 2005). These perspectives define information literacy as 'the

ability to read society and its textually and genre-mediated structures' (Andersen 2006, p. 226), which is the approach that is being taken here.

2.3.2 The context of globalised information capitalism

From the latter half of last century, the growth of information capitalism within globalising economies has built upon the reconfiguration of knowledge into standardised and commodified 'bits' of information. Knowledge in these forms is rendered suitable for rapid circulation through digitalised and frictionless economies of globalised exchange (Castells 2000; Gane 2003; Garnham 2000). Scholars have traced the socio-historical forces structuring the information environments of these economies across the Global North and South, in particular the techno-legal machinery facilitating the transnational reach of information capitalism and the information divides between North and South that have opened up as a result. These environmental differences shape refugee diasporas and responses to settlement and are a central consideration of this research.

Modern forms of knowledge production structure and restrict collective and individual access to information and ensure the protection of globalised information wealth. Knowledge production and control operate via computerised systems that replace human intellectual labour with machine expertise (Fuchs 2009, 2010). Studies have identified how commodified knowledge is confined and controlled within proprietary licensing of computer operating systems and software (Butcher 2009; Fuller 1998; Webster 2000, 2005). Juridico-legal devices, such as copyright, patents, trademarks and trade secrets, are employed to privatise intellectual property (Lipinski & Britz 2000). These legislated regimes of information production are enforced internationally by organisations such as the World Trade Organization and the World Intellectual Property Organization, as well as locally by states through a mesh of policies on freedom of information, privacy, data security and official secrets (Duff 2005). Knowledge classification systems that underpin large scale data capture, such as national censuses, organise information on global economies and shape the biopolitical directions of states' public policies (Malone & Elichirigoity 2003). These systems of knowledge production also facilitate the regimes of governmentality under which resettlement of refugee entrants within Northern receiving states is devised and implemented.

2.3.3 Information economies within the Global North and South

Recent research has examined the socio-economic consequences of contemporary information capitalism for countries in the Global South, many of which are also refugee source countries, such as in Sub-Saharan Africa. These countries purchase information infrastructure from global multinationals, in the process importing technologically embedded cultural values and systems that displace indigenous norms and set up digital and informational inequities (Mansell 2006). Within the Global South, information capitalism creates a new middle class of information and communication consumers in economies opened up by lowered tariff barriers and pro-investment policies, a neo-colonial project in which the South has been both complicit and resistant (Bhuiyan 2008). The globalised infosphere and its regimes of control have resulted in 'an ever-widening gap between information owners (information rich) and information users (information poor)' (Lipinski & Britz 2000, p. 63; Lievrouw & Farb 2003). The globalisation of knowledge production has also produced an information oligarchy of

multinational conglomerates (Butcher 2009) and a deepening digital divide (Robinson 2009; Wyatt et al. 2005).

These effects are found in Africa's information infrastructure across large parts of the continent, including emerging states such as the new South Sudan (Fuchs & Horak 2008). To varying degrees, African states experience poor Internet connectivity, ICT development and information systems (Polikanov & Abramova 2003). Professional information services such as libraries, booksellers, education facilities and government websites are proving inadequate when compared with the need for information access (De Jager 2002; Sturges & Neill 2004). Indigenous publishing industries struggle to flourish within an environment of government apathy about information production and a lack of recognition of the value of institutional knowledge (Schmidt 1993; Uhegbu 2004).

These macro-level structures of technology, legislation and socio-economic policy shape the differing information environments that refugee communities encounter across the diaspora. New arrivals must manage work, education, health and housing for themselves and their families, as well as their extended kinship obligations, across contrasting information regimes that operate within the context of globalised information capitalism. Thus, a component of the question guiding this research concerns the means by which refugee communities engage with these disparate, translocal environments and mobilise the information resources they need to settle effectively.

2.3.4 Research into 'everyday information'

Information literacy has also been examined via micro-level research which brings the investigatory lens closer to the scale of the group and individual. While a large portion of this more fine-grained research focuses on information practices in libraries, classrooms and online, producing models of cognition involved in information search and retrieval, of greater relevance to refugee settlement is research into information in everyday life. In this context, studies have considered information literacy in settings such as the workplace and within the community (Kuhlthau & Tama 2001; Muggleton & Ruthven 2012; Xie 2012), as well as the effects of gender differences on information practices (McKenzie 2003; Urquhart & Yeoman 2010). The rise of new Web 2.0 information spaces, such as social media, blogs and Wikipedia, and their relevance for information literacy have received particular attention (Spiranec & Zorica 2009).

Research into 'everyday' or 'social' information, defined as information that helps users in daily life, has proposed a multidimensional model of information use. This model includes elements such as the function and form of information, how information clusters around life events, the agency of information users and the mechanisms for managing it (Moore 2002; Williamson & Roberts 2010). Studies using the concept of 'information grounds', defined as spaces such as markets and medical clinics where people gather to perform a task, have explored how information sharing is produced as a by-product of sociality. An Australian study of information in the workplace has investigated 'textual information' specifying work requirements, 'social information' formed via a shared view of practice and 'physical information' accessed through the body and via observation (Lloyd 2006). Research has also demonstrated how social information plays a role in developing a sense of place and memory necessary for

belonging (Savolainen 2009), a vital dimension of transformation within the refugee settlement experience.

Case studies have referenced Granovetter's (1973) seminal theory of the 'strength of weak ties', in which weak ties among acquaintances are more valuable in information acquisition than the strong ties of family. Within this model, the former provide information that is new while the latter act as information scrutineers and validators (Bathelt et al. 2004). This brings to the fore the role of African kinship networks and whether the strong ties of family support or delimit the acquisition of knowledge in the labyrinthine and alien information landscapes encountered during settlement.

2.3.5 Information science and resettling communities

Although research into information practice has expanded into everyday settings, few studies have considered the perspectives of migrants and refugees. Case studies of South Asian women in Canada and business migrants in New Zealand and Israel concluded that information was a priority before and after arrival, family and informal networks were instrumental in acquiring it and information contributed to a developing self-concept as citizen (Benson-Rea & Rawlinson 2003; George & Chaze 2009; Shoham & Strauss 2008). Similarly, studies of Hispanic-American newcomers found that personal networks helped users navigate opaque government systems, such as health care, and provided the social presence lacking in less trusted institutional sources (Courtright 2005). Information was obtained through 'berry picking', a process of picking up information from individuals over many years rather than from an official documentary source at a single point in time (Fisher et al. 2004). A Canadian study of South Sudanese young people found a preference for informal information delivered in concise formats and a need for advice on education, employment, political participation, health and how to counter racism (Silvio 2006). An Australian review of information use by migrant and refugee settlers across a range of visa categories proposed a two-tier schema of information characteristic of settlement. This schema was made up of 'compliance information', which is shared between settlers and service providers, and 'everyday information' available within the community (Kennan et al. 2011). Caseworkers and volunteers act as mediators and navigators during the immediate post-arrival period (Lloyd et al. 2010).

This limited amount of information science research into migrant communities can be supplemented by work from other fields. An Australian education study into the classroom practices of South Sudanese students found that learning was inhibited by difficulties with printed text and writing, mother-tongue illiteracy, the spatial literacy needed to read maps, graphs and tables and the concept of codifying the sounds of speech as written script. Information organising skills that were elementary or absent among South Sudanese students included sourcing print and online resources, categorising content into taxonomies for storage and navigating the printed page via information markers such as pagination and headings (Burgoyne & Hull 2007). An evaluation of refugee family support in Victoria noted confusion around pathways into services, the procedures for accessing them and the complexities of multiple form-filling. New refugee arrivals experienced a loss of privacy through the need for community support to complete forms. The review found a lack of awareness of the implications of letters from agencies, as well as an inability to comprehend maps and directions.

Refugee arrivals also reported anxieties around appointment making and negotiating spaces such as reception counters (Department of Education and Early Childhood Development 2011). These practices of navigation, organisation and interpretation are at the heart of information literacy within the contemporary Global North.

Research into information in the everyday life of migrant communities has been criticised for framing this work within spatial and socio-political boundaries that ignore modern globalised realities and the role of the imagination in constructing identity and community. Using the concept of 'diasporic information environments' to 'dually consider local and global units of analysis', a recent study investigated how these communities access information to mobilise for their rights and develop social movements (Srinivasan & Pyati 2007, pp. 1734, 1735). It has also been argued that information and communication practices converge when immigrants, operating from within culturally alien information worlds, create web-based 'glocal' networks that connect 'the "global" and "local" dimensions in their everyday lives' (Mehra & Papajohn 2007, p. 12). This opens up to review the concept of 'community', as diasporic communities could be conceptualised as virtual or place-based practices of collectivity, or a combination of both (Srinivasan 2007).

2.3.6 Information literacy and communication practices

Information literacy for migrant and refugee groups is further complicated by differing cultural practices in communication. The 2005 international colloquium on global information literacy argued that, with the 'majority of the 800,000,000 global illiterates' located in Sub-Saharan Africa (Garner 2005, p. 42), a notion of information literacy confined to reading and writing, as well as indifference to oral peoples' practices of learning how to learn without writing, are compounding global information inequities. Information research must ask how people become informed and competent when they are not educated in the knowledge production systems of the Global North (Garner 2005).

A rare study into orally-based information (Turner 2010), using the constructionist approach in which information emerges through writing, actions or talking (Talja et al. 2005), found that oral information is persistently preferred across groups and settings as it reduces uncertainty, enables immediate feedback, derives from a personal source and uses natural language. Oral information is also flexible, adaptable and sensitive to context and time, building social memory that individuals can access for collectively endorsed ideas. The role of orality is a central but little understood element of information literacy practices, with particular implications for the settlement of oral culture groups from countries such as South Sudan.

2.3.7 Summary of review of information science

This examination of research within information science has revealed the lack of a substantive and nuanced body of work on the information practices of refugee communities within which to situate the question of information literacy, either within Australia or internationally. On the one hand, the information needs of refugees are rarely the focus of research. When these needs are included, they are generally subsumed under the category 'immigrant communities', leaving the specificities of information practices within forced migration largely unexamined or occluded. On the other hand, with rare exception, the small body of research that does focus on the relationship between

information and refugee populations fails to take into account the scattered nature of their communities. Research objectives and questions are generally framed within the information landscapes of the Global North, thereby artificially narrowing the concerns and agency that refugees bring to this engagement.

2.4 Implications of existing research for this study

Despite the inattention paid to refugee and migrant communities' engagement with information during settlement, a number of themes can be drawn from the research reviewed here that are relevant to this study. While refugee studies and information science do not yet share a conceptual and methodological debate, thematics common to these fields that are applicable here are the significance of family, community and networks for research, a concern with the mechanisms of social exclusion, the relationship between risk and trust in accessing information (Davenport & Snyder 2005; Sligo & Massey 2007) and the factors contributing to information poverty.

Settlement research has documented the multiple sources of structural and cultural disadvantage that refugee communities grapple with following arrival in their host country. Information science has shown how information poverty and social exclusion can follow from a failure to grasp how information is constructed within the differing information environments of the North and South and the conditions for knowledge production within globalised information capitalism (Haider & Bawden 2007; Jaeger & Thompson 2004; Yu 2010). Settlement case studies have tracked refugee communities' over-representation in the secondary labour market and occupational downward mobility, attributing some of this effect to lack of information about labour market structures, ideologies and recruitment practices, as well as the part played by social networks. Social inclusion for new settlers has been framed as an 'information problem' (Caidi & Allard 2005), implicated in communities' capacity to form these networks beyond their communities. Once established, social networks mediate access to information, often via 'information gatekeepers', defined as community members whose actions can enhance or inhibit information flows within and across social groupings (Caidi et al. 2010; Jeong 2004).

Three aspects of these interdisciplinary studies are of particular importance to this project: information poverty, the role of context and the interaction between agency and structure. Information poverty is multi-factorial, resulting from a 'lack of access to information and when it is available, an inability to assign appropriate meaning to it' (Britz 2004, p. 195; Burnett & Jaeger 2008). Chatman's (1996) seminal studies on information poverty explored how an insider/outsider dynamic within social networks can play into the social and economic construction of a sub-class, the 'information poor'. Through secrecy and deception, members of social networks protect themselves from outside intrusion. Filtering and deflecting the penetration of information enable network members to construct and manage their identities as insiders and maintain belonging within the group. For Chatman, 'information is … a performance' (1999, p. 208) in which practices, such as avoiding information that disturbs a world view or not risking an exchange of information for fear of repercussions, simultaneously construct group membership and control access to information. Chatman's conceptualisation of the interplay of information agency and social networks is relevant for examining how

family and clan relationships within the oral culture of a visibly different minority can affect information equity.

Context, which can be understood as the daily situatedness of practice, has been central within everyday life information research. However, inattention within research to scale and to the interactions of agency and structure has dehistoricised it somewhat as a concept, making it difficult for studies to articulate how social, political and economic power works with and upon information agency across space and time. The information environments of Australia and Sub-Saharan Africa, the source region of Australia's recent African refugee intakes and homeland of this study's participants, operate within the globalised economy of information capitalism. However, these environments differ markedly in terms of power over technology and access, located as they are within the divisions of the Global North and South. These structural differences are felt in the everyday lives of settling African refugees. Context also includes the lives that refugee entrants have had before arriving in the country which has agreed to resettle them. The experiences of displacement, loss and protection as refugees and, for this research, of information as a resource for agency provide the preconditions within which humanitarian entrants engage with the socio-political structures of the settlement process.

2.5 Power, space and juridical exception

To address the question of context, the interrelationship of agency and structure and the implications of these for information poverty and this research, I would like to draw here on Agamben's work on power, juridical space and subjectivity. This body of work on how sovereign decree produces the excluded and abandoned Other, found paradigmatically in the figure of the refugee, provides a larger theoretical frame within which to consider these concerns.

2.5.1 Agamben, sovereign power and the citizen's exclusion

The theorising of power, juridical subjectivity and exception in recent years by political philosopher Giorgio Agamben enables us to explore whether and how information literacy plays a part in the return for refugees from the position of displaced Other. Agamben has engaged with the writings of Schmitt, Arendt and Foucault on law, bio-political control and displacement to develop conceptualisations that challenge political theorists and scholars of globalised mobility to extend their thinking about how sovereign power creates the de-territorialised outsider (Agamben 1995, 1998, 2005). In Agamben's view, the refugee Other is the 'sole category' and 'only imaginable figure' with which to envision the political community of the future (Agamben 1995, p. 114). The refugee camp—a zone of containment administered on behalf of distant states—and not the contemporary post-industrial, digitally-networked city denotes the 'hidden paradigm of the political space of modernity' (Agamben 1998, p. 73). The act of displacement, in which populations are forced to flee the conditions within their place of origin, is foundational for the modern nation-state.

Agamben is concerned with how the sovereign, by declaring a state of emergency, or 'exception', and thereby suspending the rule of law, is able to place 'entire categories of citizens who … cannot be integrated into the political system' outside the protections of the juridical order (Agamben 2005, p. 2). Central to Agamben's theorising are the interrelations of sovereign decree as an exercise of the law, space as a 'state of

exception' and a body, *homo sacer*, as a displaced being. The philosophical origins of these interrelations can be found in classical thinking concerning what it means to be collectively human and how political life is to be conceived. Agamben's formulations also extend Foucault's earlier theorising of biopower, defined as power over life itself. In his seminal work, Foucault has traced the disciplinary mechanisms of governmentality through which compliant, self-ordering bodies are produced within sites such as the prison, hospital and school (Foucault 1975, 1990).

In Agamben's theorising, the topological quality of the rearrangement of the citizen's relationship to the law derives from how this exclusion simultaneously functions to affirm the legitimacy of the law itself and thus the sovereign power invoking it. The law as 'inside' is dependent on the defining power of that which it has placed 'outside' itself. These topological effects make it difficult to separate out in theory the component parts of legitimising law and its obverse, delegitimising lawlessness, and how these interpenetrate in real life. For Agamben, the sovereign power to declare a state of exception in times of crisis is fundamental to the contemporary political order but has also produced an 'unprecedented generalization of the paradigm of security' as a normative technique of government (Agamben 2005, p. 14). Thus, the separations of exception and rule, law and nature, inside and outside collapse into an emergent and inimical exercise of sovereignty that is 'never completely hidden, nor … purely manifested', but is increasingly institutionalised as a governmental standard (Belcher et al. 2008, p. 501).

The state of exception, materialised paradigmatically as the refugee camp, is occupied by *homo sacer*, a set-aside being excluded from the law and its protections by sovereign decree and reduced to mere existence or 'bare life'. The figure of *homo sacer* derives from Roman antiquity, where a citizen's rights could be revoked via banishment from the city, producing an exiled, threshold figure who could be killed with impunity, having no rights under the law. However, within this banished state *homo sacer* could not be ritually sacrificed, as an act of sacrifice was only possible with a life valued by the law. This juridical ambiguity, in which the law both applies and does not apply to the exiled figure, structures *homo sacer's* interstitial existence as an exceptionalised being simultaneously unprotected and protected against killing.

Agamben returns to the Aristotelian separation of biological or natural life (*zoe*) from political life (*bios*) to trace how biological life 'first became politicised; how … it became the object of a controlling and delimiting politics' (Downey 2009, p. 112). In classical philosophical thinking, biological life was confined to the privacy of the domestic realm. By contrast, political life was the form of life that was enacted by individuals and groups beyond domestic privacy in the public sphere of citizenship. This conceptual separation enabled *bios* to act as the entry point into the 'good' life of citizenship and its attendant rights but also enabled the sovereign to decide who qualified as a member of the body politic, the *polis*, and who could be set aside.

For Agamben, however, this separation is a fiction, as the enactment of one state, the domestically confined reproductive sphere of *zoe*, necessarily brings into being its concomitant, the public life of the *polis*, and vice versa. By decree, the sovereign may insert a 'zone of indistinction' between natural and political life, from which emerges the figure of *homo sacer*. This threshold being is devoid of legal rights because it is excluded *from* the law, yet is enduringly defined in relation *to* the law. In this interstitial

state, bare life, 'wounded, expendable and endangered', is not reducible to natural life or the private sphere but is the residue of the demolished political life once realised in the public realm of the *polis* (Ziarek 2008, p. 90). Thus, bare life in the form of *homo sacer* is both 'the counterpart to and the target of sovereign violence' (p. 90).

Agamben moves on to argue that bare life in the form of the modern-day refugee, placed within the 'state of exception' or camp, is not a momentary break within the unfolding of Northern progressive democracy but its philosophical origin and institutional blueprint. The totalitarian camps of last century, as biopolitical spaces of extermination in which power acted upon mere life with unmediated impunity, mark the inevitable outcome of modern political sovereignty in the form of genocide. Agamben concludes that bare life is immanent in us all as human beings. We are vulnerable at any time to expulsion by decree from our subjectivity as legal citizens and our membership of the nation-state.

2.5.2 Critiques of Agamben's theorising

The paradoxes embedded in contemporary political philosophy and the citizen's inclusion within the state uncovered by Agamben offer important and powerful ways to rethink the strategies of states' domination and control found in recent history. However, various critiques of his 'dense and enigmatic claims' have also emerged (Mills 2004, p. 43), many of which circle around three questions: the abstracted nature of 'bare life' and 'state of exception' as concepts, the part that differentiations such as gender, race, sexuality and neo-colonialism play in the experience of sovereign violence and the degree of agency possible within an exceptionalised life.

Commentators have suggested that the limit-case generalisations of capture and subjectivity found in Agamben's frameworks miss the detail that comes from attending to specifics of time, place and person, rendering all struggles for citizen-belonging the same and all spaces and experiences of exile equal (Mountz 2011; Ramadan 2012). Research into protracted refugee populations has demonstrated how power and governance, in the absence of sovereign state control, are exercised instead by institutions and organisations with 'state-like bio-political functions' which can also contribute to the law's suspension (Ramadan 2012, p. 5). Critics also question the proposition that constitutional democracies and totalitarian regimes are conceptually affiliated and thus similar in their practice of reducing whole populations to bare life excluded in camps. Agamben passes over the political and historical disjunctures between managing people as refugees interned 'on the grounds of nationality', or lack of it, and exterminating people 'on the grounds of race' (Owens 2009, p. 574). Agamben's lack of empirical specificity also risks romanticising the refugee figure within a liberal narrative of 'sameness'. By posing that we are all similarly excluded and thereby endangered, this narrative appropriates the extreme plight of those who are already outside sovereign law and ignores the ontological and experiential differences between holding citizenship rights and seeking asylum (Zembylas 2010). From a different perspective, scholars working within a Marxian tradition argue that Agamben fails to show how and why a 'state of exception' emerges under a given political and economic moment of history. The abstraction and ahistoricism of Agamben's analytical frame mean the experiences of groups such as first-nation peoples, the enslaved or the colonised, whose

resources have been alienated through large scale catastrophic events supporting the spread of modern capitalism, cannot be adequately explored (Colatrella 2011).

Secondly, feminist scholars have long investigated the boundaries separating yet joining public and private spheres and the hetero-gendering of life across these spaces. In this context, feminists extend Agamben's return to the Aristotelian distinction between privately lived natural life and life beyond in the *polis* to argue that gender hierarchies, overlooked in Agamben's ideas, 'support and relay the split between biological and political life, which is both cause and effect' of juridical abandonment (Pratt 2005, p. 1057; Mitchell 2006). Once gender is taken into account, biopolitical theorising by scholars such as Agamben is unavoidably compelled to make the female body central to framing human life as 'an undefined essence both protected and unprotected' by sovereign law (Cerwonka & Loutfi 2011, n.p.; Deutscher 2008; Pratt 2005). Research into the intersections of gender, race and sexuality, set against Agamben's propositions, argues that it is women as sex workers, not Agamben's paradigmatic male outlaw *homo sacer*, who are fully excluded beings and provide the 'a priori subject of exile' with which the notion of bare life must be developed (Mitchell 2006, p. 99; Sanchez 2004). Against this, it has been suggested that the gender indifference of Agamben's work derives in part from a biological rather than political concept of citizenship, which opens up the possibility of foregrounding the female reproductive body, in its biology, as the universal subject of law and starting point for analysis (Cerwonka & Loutfi 2011, n.p.).

Thirdly, by arguing that sovereignty works through the biopolitical capture and suspension of reduced life in a state of exception, Agamben leads us to the conclusion that life is 'irreparably exposed to the force of death', which is the true source of sovereignty's power (Mills 2004, p. 42). However, this conclusion leaves little theoretical and pragmatic room for acts of refusal. Our response to the perils of biopolitical capture requires for Agamben the development of a new 'form-of-life' or 'happy life', which involves 'the total overturning of the condition of abandonment' (Mills 2004, p. 42). This form of life thereby provides the preconditions for the return from the state of capture. It also involves considering the threshold between life and death and the 'political agency in death itself' as implements for creating an ethics for human communality (Murray 2008, p. 206). Scholars have pointed to the difficulty within Agamben's theorising of formulating a politics of resistance and the resultant risk of discounting the many larger and smaller scale struggles people engage in to combat exclusion and secure legal rights (Colatrella 2011; Diken 2004; Zembylas 2010; Ziarek 2008, 2010). The denial of the right to seek asylum also begets resistance that constrains the exercise of state power (Ellerman 2009). Studies of asylum seeking and refugee camp life have documented the many innovative and strategic ways in which those who have been set aside create new identities of culture and place and confound the state's capacity to exercise power over belonging and movement (Downey 2009; Ramadan 2012). As Ellerman demonstrates in an analysis of 'identity stripping', defined as asylum seekers' practice of destroying identity documents to evade control, the state relies on compliance with its norms even as it endeavours to restrict individuals to zones outside these norms' jurisdiction. Agamben's depiction of the process of 'exceptionalising' the abject Other via state decree has also been criticised for failing to recognise the role of the separation of the state's legislative and executive powers, as well as of the judiciary

itself. Both have contributed to defining the limits to sovereign law and 'cordoning off its domain' (Humphreys 2006, p. 684).

Finally, it has been suggested that the limitations in Agamben's arguments lie in an 'apocalyptic depiction of the colonizing forces of globalization and the control mechanisms of the state' (Papastergiadis 2006, p. 437). The absolutism of Agamben's analytic categories—the sovereign, the camp and bare life—have exaggerated the state's power to exclude the displaced being and to seal off engagement with the outside. Whether in the form of the totalitarian state, the refugee camp or a 'black site' of extraordinary rendition, the state of exception 'produces its own counter responses. It inspires resistance and it leaks' (Papastergiadis 2006, p. 438).

The absolutism of Agamben's categories may contain a further series of contradictions, which can be seen in the history of South Sudanese displacement during protracted civil war. The keystone of Agamben's argument lies in an act of sovereign power, in which the law establishing the mutually dependent status of the citizen and the state is suspended. This act produces the refugee, the category of being in which subjectivity no longer derives from life situated within the law but in the bare life of the abject Other set beyond it. Thus, refugeeness, the state of displacement outside sovereign protection, originates in the act of declaring an exception. However, historically not all displaced peoples have entered the category 'refugee' through sovereign decree. In the case of the South Sudanese, insurrection by military forces, supported by a political wing and with the aim of gaining either a unified but equitable Sudan or an independent South Sudan, was the genesis of widespread civilian displacement internally and refugee status externally. The motivations for military insurrection were grounded in Sudan's failure to act upon southerners' concerns regarding their region's development in the decades following post-war independence from colonial rule. In light of these experiences, can the refugee condition produced by civil war and not by sovereign banishment fit within Agamben's category of *homo sacer*, the juridically exceptionalised being? Conversely, can we preserve Agamben's notions of 'state of exception' and 'bare life' if we extend his starting point, the act in which the sovereign excludes the Other, to include those sources of displacement other than sovereign decree?

Recognising that displaced exception can be produced by more than the act of banishment may produce a conundrum for Agamben's formulations. As the historical emergence of the Republic of South Sudan demonstrates, the failure of the state to ensure the conditions for citizen wellbeing and productive life can also produce the excluded being. Citizens who cannot avail themselves of these protective conditions, or for whom the state refuses to equitably or reasonably provide them, can resort to the remedy of armed conflict and civil insurrection. These conditions formed part of the impetus for civil war between Sudan's north and south. However, extending Agamben's central concept of the state's 'sovereign power' to banish to include its responsibilities for its citizens may imperil the reasoning he uses to underpin the conceptual construction of this power. This underpinning derives from the distinction within classical political philosophy between *bios*, natural life lived privately, and *polis*, the 'good' life lived publicly. For Agamben, the figure of the 'refugee' as displaced Other emerges from an interstitial space between these two states of being, which only the sovereign can bring forth through a decree of exception. The juridical authority of the state, or sovereign law, provides the power to determine the circumstances under which the would-be citizen

cannot reach, or the once-was citizen has been expelled from, the public life of the *polis*. In the case of civil war, however, citizens can have refused the sovereign's power to make this distinction and may have been forced to flee as a result.

A further conundrum emerges when we consider Agamben's reliance on classical political philosophy for a definition of the enabling conditions of the state itself. Asking to include refugees de-territorialised because of conditions of civil war and not of sovereign banishment may cause this definition to move to another theoretical frame. The classical formulation of the state as the distinction between natural and political life employed by Agamben loses its explanatory power in favour of the interpretation provided by the historically later model of the state as social contract. Under this model of political life, the state acts as protector against unbridled force and thereby gains the citizen's compliance with its authority, in return for the guarantee of the rule of law. The refugee condition produced by civil war could be said to be the consequence of a breakdown in this contract. This then raises the question of the definition of the state most apposite for considering displacement within Agamben's terms. Is this definition of the state's enabling conditions the distinction between the 'domestic' life of reproduction and the 'good' life available in the public realm or, alternatively, the state-citizen contract mutually ensuring protection and compliance? However, employing the latter model produces a final conundrum, in losing the 'zone of indistinction' between natural and political life that Agamben relies on as the interstitial space within which forms the excluded condition.

Despite these critiques of Agamben's formulation of the origins of 'exception' and the conditions under which exile emerges that historical examples of displacement may raise, refugees by definition are forced to live beyond the state and without the rights of the citizen. Displacement via flight from civil conflict breaks the connection between state and citizen and places the refugee outside the law, as does banishment by sovereign decree and the juridico-legal machinery of state authority. Both conditions produce the reduced form of life and access to rights that Agamben's theorising of exception intends to foreground. Statelessness generated by the state's abandonment of its obligations to its citizens also qualifies for inclusion within Agamben's theoretical concerns. By foregrounding the relationship between the state, its laws and the power to exclude, Agamben provides a powerful conceptual schema with which to explore how the reverse effects of re-incorporation within the state's law can occur.

2.6 Return from abandoned exception

This discussion has examined Agamben's work on how the interrelationships between power, legal subjectivity and sovereign decree can produce an exceptionalised being in the form of the refugee. I would like to consider here the possibility of the return for those who are exiled from this state of displaced exception, which is the immediate theoretical ground for this research. Under what circumstances and with what kinds of agency can the abject Other return from within the threshold between inside and outside the law to regain the position of the citizen subject? If bare life entails the loss of legal subjectivity and removal to a physical or metaphysical state of exception outside the normative engagements of community, how does re-entry into the political order and the position of included subject occur? While considerable discussion has explored ways in which the sovereign decree removes individuals from juridical belonging and places

them outside the human fold, little research has directly examined the question of the return from this state, that is, the reverse or recuperative process by which abandoned subjects are brought back from bare life.

The focus of empirical investigations into juridical abandonment has largely centred on the mechanisms and discourses which beget Agambenian exclusion in the first place. However, fragments of the theoretical components for understanding the return to subjectivity are beginning to emerge. In her research on women engaged in the globalised sex industry, who she argues are the originary subject of exile and thus truly excluded bare life, Sanchez notes that control and management of the right to return 'keeps alive the power of the sovereign' (Mitchell 2006, p. 99; Sanchez 2004). This suggests that state power is as invested in determining who can be re-included and the conditions for re-engagement as it is in the prior act of expulsion, which points us towards sites of research and investigation. Pratt's exploration of Filipina domestic workers resident in Canada shows how attempts to return abandoned subjects to a fully realised life in law can be limited by the constraints of gender and class. Legislative inadequacies in protecting the rights of women domestic workers from outside the country are related to their legal exclusion as Canadian non-citizens. Pratt suggests that Agamben's theories offer the possibility of bringing bare life back from a state of exception beyond the 'production of similarity' available within discourses of conventional liberalism (Pratt 2005, p. 1069). Within these discourses, 'they are just like us' operates as the central maxim and justification for inclusion. Thus, discursive and material practices of gender, class and race are implicated in the possibilities of reinstatement as a subject of sovereign law.

Public narratives positioning people in search of the state's protection as a threat to civic order and control of national boundaries conflate personal identities and histories of movement within totalising categories such as 'refugee' and 'asylum seeker' and redefine the individual as simply the member of a homogenous group (Mountz 2011). Re-entering subjecthood for stateless peoples therefore requires losing the collectively larger label of refugee and asylum seeker by grounding regained inclusion in an unimpeachable expression of the legal self as an individual citizen. In accepting Agamben's proposition that power emerges not as an expression of social bonding but of unbonding, Diken suggests that wherever the refugee figure is excluded 'we should be looking for the inclusive gesture that follows', as part of the social bonds that unite us (Diken 2004, p. 85). This raises the question of where and in what form this bonding gesture would be found and how acts of participation and recognition create re-subjectifying moments of inclusion.

Finally, Langley's exploration of how the work of Palestinian poet Mahmoud Darwish 'depicts a people apparently without the possibility of a qualified life, a *bios*' draws on the emancipatory possibilities in Agamben's thinking (Langley 2012, p. 74). Against a background in which the Palestinian in the occupied territories has become the embodiment of *homo sacer*, Darwish's writings connect the tasks of creativity, resistance to siege and witnessing in the 'opposition of poetry to military occupation'. Langley suggests that imagining a new politics of resistance and reincorporation under law via the figure of *homo sacer* might profit, following Agamben, from considering bare life itself as '*the* source of agency'. Langley counters the tendency in commentary on Agamben's *homo sacer* to view it as life fully reduced and agentless to suggest 'the

radically different idea that the space of exception, the space of the sacred … is also the space in which love operates'. Thus, Darwish's line from his poem, *A State of Siege*, 'how do we bring it back to life!', invokes a space beyond the reach of law created from a conscious appropriation of the condition of exception itself (Langley 2012, pp. 76–81).

2.7 'Information relationship' and the return from the state of exception

The discussion within this review of research within refugee studies and information science has traced the diverse and productive lines of inquiry which are relevant to the questions framing this study. This review has also acknowledged the limited attention paid to this issue and the conceptual shortcomings that have followed. While information provision is a policy aim of government-funded settlement services and part of their contractual arrangements, as outlined in Chapter 1, settlement research has generally only alluded to the effects of information literacy upon the capacity to settle. Information science has provided a macro-level analysis of the conditions of information capitalism under which knowledge is produced and controlled and the divisions in the information environments of the North and South that these conditions create. Refugee resettlement and diaspora function within these contrasting landscapes of knowledge. Information science has also proposed more micro-level concepts, such as 'everyday information', which are relevant here.

Agamben's theorising of the emergence of the condition of exile from the interstices within the state's legitimising of itself as law provides the ground upon which to examine how those captured within this exceptionalised space can reconstitute their subjectivity as citizens reconnected with the state. It is proposed here that the process of refugee resettlement, in which displaced communities are emplaced within the sovereign territory of a refugee receiving country and incorporated within its body politic, exemplifies the return from excluded exception. Settlement programs introduce refugee arrivals to an array of state systems and services and in the process establish for them new identities as recognised members of civil society who are entitled once again to receive state protection, support and inclusion. This proposition provides the larger framework within which to consider how information literacy and subjective re-incorporation interpenetrate within this process.

I would like to build upon this proposition by suggesting the concept of 'information relationship' as a means by which this reconstitution of citizen subjectivity occurs. A unit of analysis often used in information science research is 'information practice', defined as those sociocultural acts that social agents engage in to obtain the information know-how necessary for daily life. However, taken by themselves, information practices can be viewed as decontextualized micro-units of behaviour observable at the scale of the individual social agent. This unit of analysis can show *what* social actors do in order to obtain and manage information and *how* they do it but, without the capacity to theoretically account for the context of practice, can sometimes fail to show *why* they do it. The needs and intentions and, from there, the consequences of information agency can be difficult to theorise. Significantly, the implications of gendered and racialised biopolitics for agency are also difficult to situate and explore.

I would like to move here to a larger scale of analysis to focus on relationality as a productive dimension within information literacy. By exploring the relationship that is constituted via information practices, we can anchor the workings of information literacy

within a wider socio-political context and thereby expand the analytical frame within which to understand it. From here, we may be able to view the return from abandoned exception as it is exercised, in this case for resettling refugees, through the relationality of information exchanged with the state and within the communality of its people.

'Information relationship' is defined here as a relationship between social actors, or between a social actor and a larger entity such as a group or an organisation, which is constituted through the agency provided by information and in which information itself is the focus. An information relationship can be realised and expressed multidimensionally, through verbal communication, by visual imagery, encoded bodily in ornament and dress and experienced spatially through movement. It can be mediated through language competence, communication styles, cultural beliefs and contexts, as well as media and digital technologies.

An information relationship is exemplified in that moment in which a traveller approaches passport control to present documentation enabling movement from one sovereign state into another. The traveller enters into a brief but determining information relationship with the immigration official of the next state, to whom personal information must be provided in a codified, regulated and prescribed format. In that momentary information relationship, if those details are not provided as required, the person travelling may fail to negotiate the apparatuses of border surveillance that control movement across territorialised space. In this instance, a temporary yet regimented information relationship has immediate consequences for the transaction of daily life and personal security.

An information relationship can have affective power, as in an adopted child's search through birth and genealogical records, held by institutions, for the details of a biological parent. As a response to Agambenian exclusion, information relationships help form identity and belonging, as in new arrivals' participation in an act of citizenship by formally changing the details of their country of allegiance and thus reframing their national identity. Information relationships can also be viewed through the structuring positionalities of class, race and gender, which affect access to and control over information implicated in the daily construction and presentation of the self.

In conclusion, it is argued that the processes of refugee resettlement provide the means and thus the possibility for the return for the displaced from Agambenian exclusion and reduced life beyond sovereign protection. Following this, it is also argued that information relationships are essential to forging a re-connection between the displaced Other, once occupying the space of stateless exception, with the state materialised as juridical order and within its body politic. These relationships, in which information provides the means for restoring citizen-subjectivity, are produced within the process of settlement but also bring about its outcomes. The research findings discussed later in this dissertation attempt to show how these relationships come into being and are experienced by the refugee entrants and settlement agency workers who engage in their production.

3 Research methodology

3.1 Introduction

Research into forced migration is a relatively recent area of formal academic inquiry which places its beginnings in the early 1980s. As the discipline has expanded, debate on research within it has begun to canvas questions of methodology (the epistemological and ontological underpinnings of research) and methods (the techniques used by researchers to gather and analyse data).

This chapter considers some of these debates to situate the research approach used in the study being discussed in this dissertation. The major contextual and methodological challenges for research into displacement are outlined, as well as the principles for research with refugee communities developed by experienced practitioners in response to these challenges. The chapter goes on to discuss qualitative case study research and critical inquiry as the approach which informed this project. It outlines how community engagement, participant sampling and data collection, management and analysis occurred and how these processes attempted to address the concerns raised in these debates. It discusses the approach used to situate the research process within an ethical engagement with participants. The chapter concludes with a description of the study's participants.

3.2 Conducting research with refugees

3.2.1 Contextual challenges for research into displaced populations

Like research across all academic disciplines, studies of forced migration operate within socio-political and historical contexts. The research into displaced people following the mass movements produced by World War II concentrated on the processes of displacement and refugee communities' responses to new environments. These studies of refugee displacement followed the conceptual and methodological traditions current within social sciences of the time, such as sociology, psychology and anthropology, which had built upon earlier research into migration generally. By the 1980s, disparate inquiries into refugee groups had begun to coalesce into a recognised discipline which formed the institutional basis for more formalised research programs (Black 2001; Harrell-Bond & Voutira 2007).

Despite being a relatively recent field of research, refugee studies has consistently used a broad range of methodological approaches, with their associated epistemologies concerning the development of knowledge, and a diversity of investigative methods. This diversity reflects the varying academic disciplines, policy concerns and institutional interests within the field. The commonality within this breadth of approaches derives from the central referent of 'that abstract persona, the refugee', produced by a century of conflict and the international networks of border zones that define and delimit nation-states (Colson 2007, p. 321). These methodological considerations are also linked to those in related fields, such as mobility scholarship, globalisation studies and research into transnationalised community and identity. Like refugee studies, these concerns have emerged within academia in response to the global transformations of de-colonisation, de-industrialisation and international economic restructuring which ensued with the end of the Cold War (Castells & Cardoso 2005; Castles 2003; D'Andrea et al. 2011).

The complexity of research with refugees is produced partly by the ontological complexity of the category 'refugee' itself, which is used to designate various forms of movement, displacement and loss of status as a citizen. Research is also complicated by the fact that refugees are found in a variety of situations beyond the regulated spaces of refugee camps, detention centres and transit zones. Refugees are geographically dispersed, internally within their own country as displaced people, in self-settled communities within neighbouring regions and further afield through relocation facilitated by the UNHCR. Whether resettled elsewhere or confined within the administrations of a camp, refugees live diasporically in communities no longer tied to a place of birth. Refugees also live at both ends of the citizenship spectrum, as asylum seekers temporarily located within transit countries, as well as in emerging communities permanently settled by the governments of refugee receiving states. Refugee lives are insecure and this insecurity poses concerns for personal safety, privacy and confidentiality, both for researchers and for the communities they study.

Across these differing circumstances, refugees as individuals and groups can be 'subsumed under elaborate bureaucratic structures that "control" them', which present particular challenges for research (Harrell-Bond & Voutira 2007, p. 283). Investigations can be restricted by political and administrative regulations constraining refugee lives, as well as a reluctance by agencies servicing refugees to support independent inquiry. Research programs must attract funding to continue their work, which is often allocated according to the policy aims of institutions engaged in protection and settlement. Logistical access to sites of inquiry such as camps, detention centres and resettled communities, as well as language and cultural differences and the difficulty of engaging with those living in legal limbo, are also significant considerations affecting research design.

Dona (2007) has noted that scholars of forced migration implicitly or explicitly serve an ideal of partisan support for those they are researching. The aim of much investigation in this field is to contribute to improving the circumstances of those who have fled their place of origin. This has operated as a form of moral imprimatur, based on the view that research into the suffering of others can only be justified if reducing that suffering is its aim (Turton 1996 in Dona 2007). When compared with non-humanitarian fields, research into refugees generates a considerable amount of advice and recommendations for government and other agencies (Castles 2003; Jacobsen & Landau 2003). Refugee studies also has a relatively high level of institutional research by organisations and advocacy groups outside academia.

The partisan intent to support and advocate for refugee communities places pressure on the research agenda. Jacobsen and Landau (2003) have argued that research into forced migration operates under a 'dual imperative', set by academic rigour on the one hand and the requirements of policy on the other (p. 186). Imperatives such as these can create a tension for research and how it will be designed and received. Meeting academic standards for research helps studies into the refugee condition establish their place within academia and also secure future research funding. At the same time, the academic style and techniques of this work may render it less relevant to policy makers, whose concerns in turn influence funding bodies and their research priorities (Bosworth et al. 2011).

3.2.2 Challenges relating to research design and methods

The contextual complexities of refugee studies flow into the design and methods used by investigations into refugee populations and the epistemological approaches underpinning these. Contrasting methodological vantage points for deciphering social reality, as well as related questions of methods, such as access to the research field, participant sampling, data validity and reliability, inform research design across all situations within which the refugee condition can be found. Research ethics have a particular part to play in the effort to understand disempowered and displaced lives.

In her analysis of how refugee research lives up to its claims to advocacy, Dona asks how forced migrants, as research participants, are given a role in creating, codifying and reproducing knowledge 'of which they are ultimately meant to be the beneficiaries' (2007, p. 211). 'Participant' can be opened up as a subject category to consider how this occurs. Dona typifies refugee involvement in research as a spectrum of 'objects, subjects, social actors, and participants and co-researchers' (p. 212). As 'objects' of study, refugee participants have little control over the processes of knowledge production, whereas co-research enables them to be actively involved in its creation.

Feminist scholarship has identified the power imbalances and distanced relationships that can arise when a 'value-free and conquering gaze from nowhere' separates researcher from researched in the interests of objectivity (Miraftab 2004, p. 596; Szczepanikova 2010). These critiques have challenged researchers to develop investigative processes that recognise the politics of research relationships in the field (Ellis et al. 2007; Mackenzie et al. 2007; Turner & Fozdar 2010). The distance between researcher and researched is further illuminated when we consider the motives that can contribute to this methodological spatialisation of power. Rajaram (2002) argues that depictions of refugees as 'speechless' (Malkki 1996), helpless and precariously situated result when the author of such depictions remains invisible within the text. The distance between researcher and researched can provide the conditions under which the refugee experience is commodified for a politicised consumption elsewhere.

The commodification of experience is partly related to a search for the 'authentic' voice which, once found, can speak on behalf of all those deemed to belong to a universal category (Beverley 2003; Tierney 2003). Narrative analysis, based on the phenomenological view that meaning arises from experience, has been used as a method of research to explore how those displaced make sense of this catastrophic event and create meaning that enables new ways of being. However, as Eastmond (2007) demonstrates, this method also presents researchers with difficult problematics: how to respond to partial and selective renderings of history, how to avoid invoking trauma through re-remembered violence and where to find the criteria for establishing a collectively agreed-to 'truth'.

Engaging with trauma and its incommunicability can place researchers themselves within an unsettling methodological paradox. Drawing on Geertz's dictum regarding 'close-in contact with far-out lives', Gemignani (2011) argues that closeness to the condition being researched brings about understanding but also renders the researcher vulnerable to the emotions this condition generates. In his work with refugees from the war in the former Yugoslavia, Gemignani encountered his own emotional responses to the accounts of suffering he was hearing and the challenge of what this meant for himself and for the research. A tension emerged within Gemignani, as the researcher, between

the empathic urge to care for and protect those re-experiencing trauma as they spoke and the potential for vicarious trauma that empathy's closeness produced. In this counter-transference of suffering, the epistemological distinction between the observer and the observed, between 'objective' data and 'subjective' emotion, which underpins notions of scientific rigour, began to dissolve. This raises complex questions about the possibilities and limits for emotion and intersubjectivity within research involving traumatic loss, such as that found in refugee lives.

Gaining access to spaces of inquiry are fundamental considerations within research with refugee communities, as it is in other areas of social science. However, as Miller (2004) maintains, refugee communities can have a 'self-protective insularity' developed in response to systemic marginalisation, which complicates the question of how to enter the research field (p. 217). Marlowe (2009) notes how refugee communities' experiences of exploitation by research have contributed to this protectiveness. Employing Goffman's analogies of 'front stage' and 'back stage' presentations of the self that social actors engage in to protect themselves from outside intrusion, both authors argue that front stage accounts provide researchers with important yet limited understandings. These limitations can only be overcome with access to more 'authentic' or back stage accounts. Despite the troubling dichotomy between 'authenticity' and 'inauthenticity' that the front stage/back stage schema produces, the relationship between access, trust and validity of findings is an important consideration in undertaking research with refugee communities. Marlowe argues that trust emerges from 'being' with refugee community members, as opposed to only 'doing' research with them as subjects. Trust is a prerequisite for entering refugee communities that takes time, conversation and development of mutual respect, making entry into the field a complicated process of negotiation (Colson 2003; Hynes 2009).

Bias within research findings can emanate from a number of sources, including the degree to which the study's participants represent the population of which they are members, the methods used to recruit participants and the researcher's philosophical positions. Representativeness contributes to the generalisability and replicability of findings, enabling these to be applied to 'similar phenomena in different contexts' (Gray 2003, p. 73). However, representativeness can prove problematic for research within hard-to-reach populations such as refugee communities (Harte et al. 2011). In their mixed methods study of Afghan and Kurdish communities in Australia and New Zealand, Sulaiman-Hill and Thompson (2011) found that a lack of robust sampling frames and limitations with national census data impeded their attempts to build a representative research design. This led to the development of a 'tentative map' (Faugier & Sargeant 1997) of community demographics through consultation with members of the community itself. The authors also noted the risk of bias being introduced through engaging community leaders' support in recruiting research participants. Community leaders and interpreters can facilitate access to participants but can also constrain their inclusion through gatekeeping practices or the positioning effects of status, gender, age, religion and ethnic affiliation.

Bias also arises from the potential for reflexivity, in which the position of the researcher acts upon the research process and affects and is affected by its outcomes (Porter 2000). How are the role, points of view and subjective responses of the researcher taken into account in interpreting data? This includes my own subject position as a white, English-speaking, tertiary-educated female Australian. Further, how does the

researcher avoid speaking on behalf of the researched? Turner and Fozdar (2010) argued that viewing participants as 'active agents co-constructing meaning', constantly comparing findings across research sites and building directly on participants' own words and interpretations of events helped their study of adult South Sudanese learners to avoid speaking on participants' behalf and from a position of bias (p. 191).

Dona (2007) claims that the propensity within forced migration research to speak on behalf of refugee communities in 'essentialist ways', with a hegemonic use of the tropes of trauma and vulnerability, derives from such Cartesian dualisms as victim/survivor and resilient/vulnerable, which dominate how refugee lives are described and theorised (p. 221). Following writers such as Said, Bhabha and Grossberg, Dona argues that focusing on practices of transformation provides a conceptual means of challenging these many binaries.

3.2.3 Ethical considerations in research with refugee communities

Research ethics have an 'interdependent relationship' with research methods (Ellis et al. 2007, p. 462; Dyregrov et al. 2000) and complex issues for research ethics arise when conducting studies with displaced populations. These include differences in power between the researcher, the researcher's institution and the refugee community and the effects of any dependency on the researcher or the project (Hynes 2009; Turner & Fozdar 2010). Refugee communities can be over-researched and imposed upon in terms of the time, effort and energy required of them to re-engage with personal stories and experiences (Bailes et al. 2006). The question of informed consent is problematised by language, literacy and cultural differences and the collectivist values and practices of many refugee groups (Ellis et al. 2007). Confidentiality, trust and cultural safety are difficult to establish within these differences but are essential for a transparent process in which participants can exercise the agency of choice and engagement (Hugman et al. 2011; Mackenzie et al. 2007). 'Vulnerability' can be interpreted by institutional ethics protocols in ways which ignore culturally appropriate means of engaging community members in research, in particular those from oral culture communities (Perry 2011).

The capacity within refugee communities for giving informed consent to participate in research is at the heart of much of these ethical considerations. Mackenzie et al. (2007) have argued that informed consent is dependent on researchers recognising refugee participants' agency and self-determination, as well as the effects of abuse, exploitation and uncertainty that undermine these capacities. They argue further that research must move beyond the principle of 'do no harm' to engage in a reciprocity that, as much as possible, is concrete and immediate. Iterative models of consent move the ethical principle from 'harm minimisation to reciprocal benefit; from informed consent to the promotion of autonomy', to construct research based on community negotiation (p. 311).

For Hugman et al. (2011), informed consent is an ongoing and dynamic process that continues throughout the research. The ethical model for inquiry developed by the Centre for Refugee Research at the University of New South Wales emphasises the relationality between refugee communities and researchers. Participation and consent are negotiated at multiple stages in conducting research and reciprocity is based on the belief that 'all partners in the relationship can be actors in the process' (p. 661). These practices of relational ethics apply to both quantitative and qualitative research, as both paradigms

are equally capable of ignoring, misconstruing or responding positively to human agency within the research setting.

3.2.4 Summary of research considerations for this study

The discussion thus far has outlined the many concerns of methodology and methods for research with refugee groups that have shaped the study being discussed in this dissertation. These have included contextual issues such as the dispersed nature of refugee populations, the administrative regimes that shape and contain refugee lives, the imperative to conduct research that meets standards of rigour and utility and the need to secure institutional support and funding. Issues relating to research methods include difficulties in gaining access to hidden populations who are wary of outside engagement, the power differentials within field relationships, the role of partisanship within research, differences of language, literacy and culture and how to ensure that the research purpose and conduct are meaningful and ethically sound.

The approach taken to the design of this study aimed to take account of these concerns as much as possible and build strategies for responding to them throughout the research. An early methodological decision within the study was to situate it within the qualitative approach to social inquiry. The nature, benefits and limitations of qualitative inquiry within refugee communities are outlined below, followed by a description of the design of this study.

3.3 Situating this study methodologically

3.3.1 Using qualitative research with refugee communities

It has been argued that refugee research has been weakened by an inattention to the requirements of 'good social science' (Jacobsen & Landau 2003, p. 187). In their critique of the use of qualitative approaches to research within the discipline, Jacobsen and Landau point to 'a lack of rigorous conceptualisation and research design' as well as 'weak methods' in research with marginalised populations (p. 187). Despite the intention to document refugees' experiences in an effort to advocate on their behalf, the qualitative research gaze can also objectify the participant and create an exploited and exoticised Other. The claims of advocacy and utility can be overstated and rich descriptions of everyday reality, while illuminative, can have little purchase on mechanisms of power and disadvantage.

These methodological failures Jacobsen and Landau ascribe partly to a tendency towards 'advocacy research', in which the researcher is motivated by establishing a pre-given claim on behalf of the research subject. In their view, studies based on small sample sizes characteristic of more qualitative research are less able to meet the demands of scientific rigour and fail the test of representativeness necessary for academic and institutional credibility. The widespread use of in-depth interviews within the ethnographic approach common in refugee studies leaves research open to problems with construct validity. Poor construct validity renders the operationalisation of research variables unsound. Participant observation within ethnographic research also leads to observer bias, which cannot be fully controlled when researchers 'become deeply involved and familiar with their informants' (p. 192). These criticisms raise important questions about the need to include a broader picture of what is at stake within refugee

lives that can be obtained through more quantitative methods, such as large scale censuses, structured surveys and longitudinal data collection across whole populations. At the same time, Jacobsen and Landau acknowledge the logistical difficulties in conducting these forms of research and the lack of reliable databases needed to draw statistically representative sampling frames, which contribute to the prevalence of qualitative methods within refugee research.

These criticisms of qualitative approaches are based on a positivist view of social reality which frames Jacobsen and Landau's epistemological standpoint regarding how this reality can be known. The positivist scientific method contends that reality is an external, observable world of facts and behaviours that can be objectively analysed and understood by the independent, neutral observer. A variety of techniques, such as checks for construct validity and reliability and statistically-derived representative samples, are used to remove the possibility of subjectivity and bias and develop theories based on verifiable and replicable data (Gray 2003).

Rodgers (2004) has countered Jacobsen and Landau's claims for the primacy of quantitative research within refugee studies by arguing that small scale, locally-focused research, using exploratory and descriptive approaches within the qualitative tradition, provides insights into the refugee experience not possible with methods which claim to use the 'authoritative voice of hard science' (p. 48). The objectivity and neutrality claimed by 'true' science do not resolve the 'problematic critical distance … between "us" and "them" … [nor] the link between knowledge and power' that necessarily forms part of research with people, whatever the setting (Rodgers 2004, p. 49).

3.3.2 The methodological framework for this study

The epistemological frame that is used in the research discussed in this dissertation draws on the non-positivist, or constructionist, view of reality that informs a more qualitative approach to inquiry. The aim here is to lessen the distance between researcher and researched and to operationalise the study's questions and methods in a way that foregrounds the links between knowledge, power, agency and structure. Social reality emerges from the practices, interactions and beliefs that people engage in within the dynamic construction and experience of daily life. This engagement is set within larger circulations of power that shape, constrain but also enable the ongoing production of social worlds.

Thus, qualitative research is a 'situated activity that locates the observer in the world' and takes this locatedness into account (Denzin & Lincoln 2003, p. 4; Berger 2001; Czarniawska 2004; Harris 2010; Tierney 2003; Woon 2013). Its diverse techniques and information sources are used to describe everyday yet paradoxical transactions in a constantly changing social landscape. The aim of this form of research is to bring differing perspectives, voices and visions to bear on the questions under investigation to reconfigure an accepted world (Gray 2003).

The design of this study into information literacy within refugee resettlement is set within a critical theorising of power which draws on the work of the political philosopher Giorgio Agamben, as discussed earlier in Chapter 2. Its epistemological frame is the constructionist view of social reality in which research seeks representations of social life through engaging with the words and actions of social agents. It recognises that the researcher is situated within the research and reflexivity is a constituent component of the research enterprise. This study is an interdisciplinary project located within the

interstices of refugee studies and information science. The study's design also recognises the many concerns regarding research with refugees outlined in the discussion above.

3.4 Design and conduct of the research

3.4.1 Case study research

Research design has been described as a 'strategy of inquiry' drawing on the 'bundle of skills, assumptions, and practices' employed by the researcher in moving from a theoretical paradigm to 'the empirical world' (Denzin & Lincoln 2003, p. 36). A study's design provides the guidelines for making such a move and includes how the research will be situated in this empirical world and how connections will be made with the people, places and materials within it. The research design will also guide how the researcher makes claims about the practices, beliefs and events that emerge from engaging with that world through the process of inquiry.

The research of this project was designed as a case study using a combination of interviews and document analysis as the principal techniques of investigation. A case study design is often applied in refugee research to explore specific aspects of the experience of settlement and can use a range of methods such as focus groups (Bailes et al. 2006; Burns et al. 2000), interviews and participant observation (Colic-Peisker & Walker 2003; Khawaja et al. 2008; Schweitzer et al. 2004; Valtonen 2004; Williams 2009), as well as a mixed methods approach employing both quantitative and qualitative techniques (Carrington & Marshall 2008; Sulaiman-Hill & Thompson 2011).

A case study can focus on a single case within a single process or 'multiple instances of a process as that process is displayed in a variety of different cases' (Denzin & Lincoln 1998, p. xiv). As Denzin and Lincoln argue, every instance of a case displays the effects of the universal category of being to which it belongs, while at the same time evidencing characteristics and behaviours that are individual and unique. A case study is focused on a 'bounded system' or instance of a phenomenon to examine the complexity and particularity at work within it (Gray 2003, p. 68). However, while the case may be singular in its focus, it can contain a range of subsections, 'a concatenation of domains', which must be elucidated through the design of the research (Stake 1998, p. 91). Cases are also situational and a holistic approach recognises this by including historical, environmental and biographical factors in the research design.

Case studies are valuable in situations where there is little prior knowledge or information about how social actors construct reality and are shaped by larger social forces. They provide an opportunity for a 'preliminary, exploratory' investigation of a concern which can generate knowledge for use in theoretical development (Gray 2003, p. 68). This is achieved by revealing the 'multi-layered complexity of a given case' (p. 68). As Gray notes, case studies are particularly valuable in contexts where the phenomenon under investigation can be viewed best from an interdisciplinary perspective.

These considerations are characteristic of the questions at the centre of this study. As outlined in the review of literature in refugee studies and information science in Chapter 2, little is known about the responses of displaced groups to the differing information environments they encounter during settlement and across the diaspora. At the same time, developing an understanding of these questions necessarily requires drawing on theory and research from across a variety of fields.

3.4.2 An intersectional case study design

The case study developed here is intersectional in its design. It focused on the processes, behaviours and beliefs about information practice employed by members of a refugee community and by staff within a range of government and non-government agencies engaged in their support.

The study was situated within a Dinka Bor clan of the Dinka community who were resettled in Australia as humanitarian or sponsored entrants. This narrower location of the research within the refugee community differs from most case studies in refugee settlement, which generally locate themselves more broadly across a range of settling communities from a variety of source countries or among entrants arriving from a specific origin. Framing the research within the socio-economic and cultural structure of the 'clan' would draw out the implications of clan relationships, during settlement and across the diaspora, for information literacy and how these relationships contributed to the development of new knowledge within the community.

The study was also situated within a community of agencies who work with settling refugees, including the Dinka people, and operate within south-east Queensland. The term 'community' is used here to foreground how agencies and their workers have both structured and informal methods of working together, as well as a common overarching discourse about refugee resettlement that informs their operations, even while practices of 'siloing' and disconnectedness occur, as discussed earlier in Chapter 1. Thus, as is the case with clan members, agency workers within a region or sector often know each other and can have established collegial and community relationships which, in part, create the context for their experiences.

In addition, the study was located in a range of settings in regional and peri-urban Australia, which broadened for the research the environments of information within which participants lived and worked. Thus, while intersectional in its design, the case study was also multi-scalar and multi-focal. Its design took into account the micro-level of individual experience, the intermediary scales of the clan and a sector of public programming, as well as exploring these experiences at and across the larger regional, peri-urban and translocal levels.

This multi-scalar and multi-focal design enabled the unit of analysis, 'information practice', to be studied across multiple contexts and perspectives. It also allowed for the development of the concept of 'information relationship', discussed earlier in Chapter 2, from an iterative process of data analysis. (The process of data analysis is outlined below under section 3.4.9) The study's intersectional design also helped with questions of bias, validity and reliability in providing a form of triangulation, defined here as the 'display of multiple, refracted realities simultaneously' (Denzin & Lincoln 2003, p. 8). Drawing out differing perspectives from a range of vantage points also enabled insights emerging from the data to be compared and checked across field sites, research groups and investigative methods.

3.4.3 Research stages, cohorts and fieldwork

The study was conducted from January 2012 to February 2015 and was carried out over three stages:

- Stage 1 (January to November 2012) focused on community engagement, a review of relevant literature, the development of interview guides and the arrangements for fieldwork.
- Stage 2 (February to December 2013) focused on interview data collection, interview transcription and iterative data analysis.
- Stage 3 (January 2014 to February 2015) involved final data analysis and write-up of findings.

The study was based on two cohorts of participants (details of the participants within these cohorts are given below in section 3.5):

- Cohort 1 comprised clan members living in south-east Queensland
- Cohort 2 was made up of staff from settlement agencies and major government and non-government organisations based in the region.

Fieldwork with clan members and agency workers in Australia began in February 2013. This work was located within the Toowoomba, Logan and Redbank Plains regions of south-east Queensland and continued throughout the year as people became available for interview.

3.4.4 Community and agency engagement and support

The study grew out of my experiences in working with clan members on development projects initiated by their community association, as described earlier in Chapter 1. My intention was to gain a greater understanding of the factors behind the difficulties the people I was working with encountered in undertaking aspects of the settlement process. In helping community members and their association deal with some of these difficulties, I began to see patterns of culturally situated agency, but also disadvantage, in engaging with these issues that the settlement process did not seem to take into account. I also believed that understanding these issues required speaking with those workers who directly support refugee communities. I was particularly concerned that the study would have value from the point of view of the community but also of agencies.

In preparation for the study, I held a series of informal discussions with a clan leader and an agency worker, before approaching the University of Southern Queensland (USQ) for institutional support, to determine if the questions I was hoping to investigate were directly relevant to their experiences and if answers that emerged would add value to the settlement process. This process of discussion and negotiation helped to scope the study in a draft form. Having received initial support for the project, I then met with members of the clan's community association executive to discuss the project in more detail and seek their wider input and endorsement. The association held further discussions within the community itself about the purpose and focus of the study and about taking part. After these discussions were completed, the association executive formally gave their support for the study, based on our collective experience of working on previous projects. A clan elder I had worked with during these projects agreed to act as a cultural advisor to the study, while elders acted as interpreters on two occasions during the fieldwork.

The study was also informed by a self-funded background visit I made to East Africa in December 2012 while on leave from USQ. I accompanied two regional community development workers, one of whom was a clan member, who were visiting community development projects in East Africa. My aim was to gain an understanding

of the information environments there and the practices associated with information that clan members in Australia engaged with in maintaining their diasporic links. During this visit, I met informally with clan members in Juba, South Sudan, and in Nairobi, Kenya.

This community input helped me ensure that the research scope remained meaningful and relevant and increased its capacity to ultimately be of benefit. It also helped me to ensure that its processes and activities were appropriate for an oral culture people with little experience of research but considerable wariness about engaging with formalised systems of authority and bureaucracy. It also enabled the community to contribute to the study's aims and concerns as it unfolded. These conversations about the research and questions of method, communication and culture continued throughout the fieldwork stage and into the data analysis and writing phases. Early drafts of two book chapters and a journal article related to the study were given to the study's cultural advisor for feedback on the discussion and analysis they contained.

I also spent time in the early stages of the project engaging with the community of agencies that support refugee arrivals. I gave two presentations to agency workers and the wider refugee and migrant community about the project, to share with them the issues that I was hoping to explore. I had numerous informal conversations with agency workers about the project at local events supporting the settlement of new arrivals. Academic feedback on initial findings was obtained through papers presented at two conferences: the African Studies Association of Australasia and the Pacific conference in Perth, Western Australia, in 2013 and the Georgia International Conference on Information Literacy in Savannah, Georgia, in the United States, in 2014 (Richards 2013, 2014).

While a few of the relationships that I had with the study's participants from the South Sudanese community and from agencies were well established before I began, the majority were less developed and in most cases began during the course of the research. I was given significant and invaluable support in recruitment of study participants within the clan by its community association and elders. I approached the majority of agency workers via a local directory of multicultural services and, in one case, was referred by a participant to a fellow worker.

In view of my longer term aim of having information literacy incorporated within the policy and contractual frameworks of settlement, I held an initial informal discussion with the Department of Social Services, which manages the federally-funded settlement programs described in Chapter 1, about the possibility of developing resources based on the study's findings that would support the settlement process. A copy of the dissertation has also been given to the Department for their use in developing settlement programs.

3.4.5 Sampling of research participants

Sampling for the study was purposive, which is a non-probability technique often used within qualitative inquiry, enabling the research to focus on those cases which offer rich insight into the questions being investigated (Barbour 2001; Stehlick 2004). In the case of this research, purposive sampling reflected its aim of understanding how, from their differing perspectives, resettling refugee communities and agency workers engage with and experience information processes and contexts. Thus, 'the clan', defined from within the community itself, operated as the sampling frame for the refugee community and

‘worker engaged with servicing and supporting humanitarian arrivals’ defined the starting point for identifying agency participants.

Within the clan, the sample was designed to include adult men and women and a range of ages and to take into account differences in English language and literacy, formal education experience, employment status, time since arrival, marital status and family structure. Two South Sudanese community members from related Dinka clans were also included in the research because of their experience as resettled refugees and as community settlement workers. The criteria when sampling agency workers included the directness of contact and engagement with refugee communities, length of time in this work and breadth of experience with refugee communities and the settlement process. The sample also included agencies working in the settlement programs described in Chapter 1, such as primary settlement under the HSS program, secondary settlement programs such as SGP and English language training under AMEP, as well as the major state and federal agencies that new arrivals engage with during this process.

3.4.6 Participant interviews and document analysis

Two interview guides of semi-structured open-ended questions were developed to facilitate my conversations with interviewees in south-east Queensland. This development drew on my observations while working with the community prior to undertaking the research, discussions with the study’s cultural advisor from within the clan and from my visit to East Africa, as well as an agency colleague I had worked with on community projects. The interview guides were also developed in light of the concerns identified during the review of literature outlined in Chapter 2. The questions in the interview guides revolved around the central unit of analysis across all groups, which was ‘information practice’ enacted and reflected upon in context. The guides were modified for the two study cohorts to take into account the contexts of their engagement with information, their cultural and physical locations and their place within regimes of settlement. The interviews took between an hour and an hour and a half each and were held in participants’ homes or offices or in my home. No financial inducements were offered for taking part.

A semi-structured open-ended interview format is suitable for circumstances where interviewees have low levels of English language and literacy or where interpreters are being used. It provides flexibility within the interview that allows themes and insights to emerge from the conversation between researcher and researched and a space within which participants can reflect on their answers and the experiences they are discussing. It also enables questions to be modified as the research unfolds. The relevant interview guide was given to participants beforehand wherever possible. (Copies of the guides for interviews are at Appendix A.)

Documentary material was sourced and analysed during the fieldwork to gain an understanding of the text and web-based context of information within settlement in Australia and of life in South Sudan. This material included newspapers (such as *The Citizen* in South Sudan and the *Sudan Tribune* online), a range of agency and community websites, forms used by organisations and businesses, fact sheets, signs, promotional materials such as posters, brochures and flyers, as well as programs distributed at events.

3.4.7 Ethics and informed consent

The question of informed consent is fundamental to the development of an ethical approach to social research, especially within communities with differing vantage points of power and agency. This study drew from the work by Mackenzie et al. (2007) and more recently by Hugman et al. (2011) on the challenges of building ethical relationships within refugee research and the meaning of informed consent in this context. The 'consent form' approach, in which participants are given written details of a project before taking part and are asked to sign a formal consent form evidencing their willingness to be involved, is commonly used in the social sciences. This process was used here as part of the ethics protocols employed by the University of Southern Queensland to ensure that consent is given transparently and in ways that render research accountable. The project received University of Southern Queensland ethics approval on 3 October 2012 (H12REA167).

However, as Hugman et al. note, this process depends on potential participants being able to exercise the agency of informed decision making about what research participation might mean for them. For refugee communities, this means transcending cultural, language, knowledge and power differentials to assess what is at stake in engaging with those who wish to inquire into their lives. It also poses particular difficulties for an oral culture people, for whom consent lies more in collective discussion than in written descriptions and forms (Perry 2011). In developing a model for research ethics, Hugman et al. have proposed that multiple levels of consent must be obtained, by scoping the research with potential participants beforehand, addressing the responsibilities and accountabilities of the researchers in these negotiations and enabling consent to be given and withdrawn throughout the research process. This study has attempted to include this layered and iterative approach to individual and collective consent through the processes of discussion, scoping and negotiation that went on prior to and during the project, as outlined above in section 3.4.4.

3.4.8 Ethics and reciprocity

Ethics within research is a relational practice that is closely connected with the conventions and values of reciprocity (Bailes et al. 2006; Hugman et al. 2011; Mackenize et al. 2007; NHMRC 2003). Reciprocity, which is the question of how and when something is 'given back' to communities being researched, has been implicated in the concerns about subjectivity, researcher dependence, bias and 'weak research methods' within refugee research discussed earlier. It is also caught up in questions of inducement and of the moral responsibility of the researcher. 'Giving something back' is often framed as providing a benefit for the wider refugee community, such as government policies based on greater knowledge or programs developed with input from research, which then justifies seeking community support. However, these research benefits can seem abstract and remote to community members and of little immediate value. While research can feed into policy and programming, it is questionable the extent to which this will be felt in the daily lives of those who contributed their time, insights and, most importantly, their stories to this effort.

To attempt to address the interconnectedness of ethics and responsibility during this study, I grounded the give and take of mutuality in what I termed 'everyday reciprocity', to bring the ethics of engagement via research closer to the needs and

perspectives of the community. To help with this, I drew on my previous experience in working with the community and the challenges I encountered around interpersonal boundaries, collectivist versus individualist values and cultural expectations framing how support is given and received. I learned from these challenges that trust is built through the trial and error of practice, as well as a willingness to accept the risks, uncertainties and discomforts of a changing world view. These lessons of reciprocity informed my approach to mutuality within the study. During the research process, I helped participants and their families fill in forms, engage with employment agencies, make decisions about educational pathways, secure permanent residency, navigate university assignments and write applications for grant funding.

Scholars of displacement and settlement have described the many roles beyond that of researcher that can emerge in the research endeavour (Evers 2010; Harris 2010; Marlowe 2009). Harris (2010) described acting as a 'babysitter, a taxi driver, a social worker, tutor and mentor' during her work with young South Sudanese women in ethno-cinema. In the design of this study, I did not view these reciprocities as a by-product of data gathering, a layer of volunteering added to the research role or a threat to objectivity through researcher dependence. These everyday practices of interdependence formed an essential and constitutive component of my ongoing relationship with a community and the research process I had embarked upon with them. In this, I reversed the dualism within Marlowe's argument outlined earlier, in which effective research with refugee communities arises from 'being' with community members, rather than 'doing' research with them as subjects. For me, the research process emerged from 'doing things' with community members before and during the study, in which reciprocity was a collective and culturally negotiated concern, while 'being' with them meant being available and open to the challenges that doing things, or reciprocity, inevitably brought. The primacy I gave to the wellbeing and integrity of these relationships and the reciprocity through which they were mutually produced also gave the research a form of accountability via the interactivity of these commitments. This is also consistent with the epistemological view framing this research that knowledge emerges from within a constitutive, relational process of discovery and interpretation.

3.4.9 Data analysis

The process of data analysis used in this study drew on the inductive, interpretive approach found within case study work and in qualitative research generally (Charmaz 2003; Denzin & Lincoln 2003; Gray 2003). Each interview was recorded and/or notes were taken during the interview. Where possible, notes were also taken immediately following the interview on first impressions and issues to be followed up in later interviews. Transcription began after each interview, which enabled emerging findings and themes to be noted and compared across the cohorts and sites as the fieldwork progressed. Each interview was read closely from three points of view: the participant's practices around information, the beliefs and values surrounding this engagement with information and how the participant's locatedness within the social world affected this process.

A draft coding structure of analytic categories was developed on the basis of this initial reading, as well as on the concerns identified during the literature review and initial understandings formed during the research preparation phase. A sample of transcripts was coded using this structure, after which the coding structure was expanded

with greater detail and more nuanced sub-categories. All transcripts were then coded with single or multiple codes according to this structure. The transcripts were coded fully a second time following a final and close reading, to refine the allocation of codes and eliminate unnecessary multiple codings. The text within the transcripts was then re-combined under the relevant coding categories and read a third time to check the coherence within the category and to adjust the category description as greater subtlety emerged. NVivo10 was used to support the coding process.

Throughout this process of analysis, a draft dissertation structure was developed and refined as the emerging themes, earlier insights and expectations following the literature review iterated, adjusted and were challenged through these multiple processes of reflective analysis. By moving between the transcripts, the coding structure and the dissertation structure, the whole of the question of information literacy within refugee resettlement could be kept in view while its constituent parts were emerging from participants' voices and experiences. This approach to data analysis reflected the methodological perspective framing the study, in which data obtained from social reality is not that reality itself but a representation of it and thus cannot claim a universal immutability.

The data has been written up, as much as possible, directly through the words of those who contributed to the study, in recognition of the need to allow their lives and experiences to speak for themselves. The data is included in the form of quotes from interviews or from personal communications. Quotes are recorded verbatim and do not distinguish grammatical and other inconsistencies with *sic*. Additional text is inserted in quoted material within square brackets, where clarification is needed. Extended reflections on particular situations are presented in the form of longer quotes or small case studies. Secondary material provided via other research studies will be used to supplement original data obtained here, where relevant.

3.5 About the research participants

3.5.1 The Dinka of South Sudan

Figure 1 South Sudan
Source: www.cia.gov

Sub-Saharan South Sudan is one of the larger countries on the African continent. Its vast savannah of clay plains is watered by the tributaries of the White Nile, which flows south to north through the centre of its territory. One of the world's largest wetlands, the

Sudd, or ‘barrier’ in Arabic, stretches from its banks, providing rich seasonal grazing lands and hunting and fishing grounds (Figure 1). The impenetrability of the Sudd affected the course of Sudan’s earlier colonial history and more recent development by limiting access to its southern regions.

The Dinka speakers of South Sudan are a Nilotic people and the country’s largest language and ethnic group, comprising ‘nearly two million’ people within ‘several hundred tribes’ (Deng FM 1972, p.1, 1998, p. 103). The Dinka are also its dominant political group, along with the Nuer people (Figure 2).

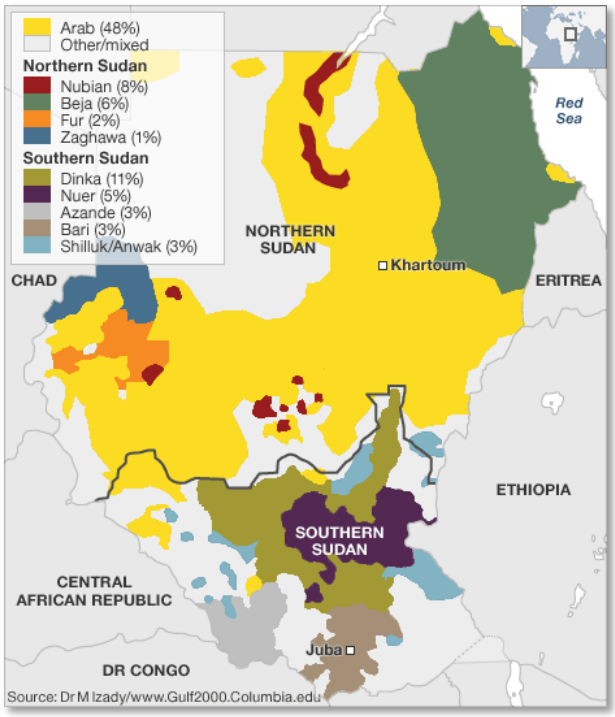

Figure 2 Sudan and South Sudan language groups
Source: DrMIzady/www.Gulf2000.Columbia.edu

Traditional Dinka life has been extensively studied by anthropologists and historians over many decades (Beswick 2004; Deng FM 1980; Lienhardt 1958; Sanderson 1980; Seligman & Seligman 1932). As pastoralists, hunters and subsistence farmers, the Dinka derive their socioeconomic identity and culture from cattle keeping. Complex exchanges of cattle mediate social and political relationships through bridewealth, the construction of kin relationships through dowry practices, and bloodwealth, the restitution of wrongdoing through ritualised exchanges of livestock (Beswick 2004; Coote 2006; Deng FM 1984; Deng LB 2010). Daily life moves between the village and the cattle camp, where families practise a form of transhumance driven by the annual cycle of wet and dry seasons. The Dinka language has four dialects, one of which is the Bor dialect (Madut Kuendit 2010).

Dinka kinship structures are clan based, a term which refers to an exogamous lineal descent group which generally believe themselves to have a ‘single founding ancestor’ (Beswick 2004, p. 5). Dinka family formations are polygynous, in which a man can have more than one wife, producing large extended families with deeply gendered divisions in family life, labour, sociality and communal space. Social life is also

stratified by ‘age-sets’, which determine cultural authority, social roles and rites of passage. An age-set is made up of youth born within a shared time frame who are initiated together into adulthood with ceremonies which have involved scarification and evulsion (extraction of teeth), through which the age-set ‘commences its corporate identity’ and takes on age-related social and cultural roles as adults (Deng FM 1984, p. 69). A rich tradition of songs and storytelling underpins the enactment of culture, lineage and clan relations across generations (Deng FM 1984).

3.5.2 Research participants

A total of 36 people contributed to this study through participating in an interview (31 people) or through personal communication (5 people). Twenty-four people were from the South Sudanese community, 22 of whom were clan members, and 12 were staff members of government and non-government agencies. Of these, 31 were resident in Australia and 5 in East Africa.

The Dinka Bor language clan who were a focus of this study are part of a larger grouping of clans based traditionally in Twic East County in Jonglei State, South Sudan. These clans’ administrative centre is Bor, a garrison town located on the banks of the White Nile and the Jonglei State capital.

Within Australia, the clan estimates its members to be around 700 nationally and around 60 within south-east Queensland. Seventeen clan members living in south-east Queensland took part in interviews, of whom 10 were men and 7 were women. Interviews were also held with two men from Dinka clans, one of which is from the Bor region, who are resident in south-east Queensland and have experience in settlement support work. In East Africa, conversations were held with 5 clan members, all of whom were male. The age ranges of the South Sudanese community members ranged from 20 to 68 years with an average of 37 years. The kinship links of clan members were dense and extensive and connected across the diaspora of Australia, Canada and the United States. All clan members were related to each other either as siblings, step-siblings, cousins, as husband and wife or through the marriages of their relatives.

All South Sudanese community members had been displaced, mostly as children, in the years following the outbreak of the second Sudanese civil war in 1983. Most had experienced long periods of refugee camp life in a number of locations. As the conflict escalated, they and their families evacuated to camps internally within the Equatoria states and externally within Ethiopia, Kenya and Uganda, most notably in Kakuma Refugee Camp in Kenya and Laboni Refugee Camp in Uganda. Many had links with the Sudan People’s Liberation Army (SPLA) through male family members and relatives who were members of its battalions, while six of the men had been members of the SPLA’s Red Army youth brigades, living in camps co-located with SPLA headquarters in Ethiopia’s Gambella region prior to 1991. Most had lived together at some point in Kakuma and those who had been resettled in Australia had arrived here via UNHCR and Australian resettlement processing in Kenya. The majority had entered Australia as Convention refugees under the federal government’s Humanitarian Program, with 1 man and 3 women entering under sponsorship by family already settled here.

Almost all clan members in Australia were living in multi-family households which were often within walking distance or short driving distance from each other. The majority were married with from 1 to 7 children. Most were engaged in full- or part-time

shift work, generally in food processing plants such as meat works or in the transport or security sectors. All had received some education within the various refugee camps they had lived in prior to resettling in Australia or returning to South Sudan following the 2005 Comprehensive Peace Agreement. Of the South Sudanese community members in Australia, eight men were studying or had completed bachelor level qualifications either in Australia of Africa. By contrast, none of the women were engaging in university level education. Six men and women had completed certificates or diplomas within the Australian vocational training sector, while 7 had no formal qualifications. The majority of the community members in Australia had arrived in the early 2000s and averaged 9 years of settlement.

Interviews were held with 12 workers from 10 agencies engaged in providing settlement services to new arrivals and those who are eligible for support within the first five years. Four male and 8 female staff took part, ranging in age from the early thirties to early sixties. Agency participants worked across all areas of settlement, within major and smaller government and non-government agencies and at all tiers of government. Some of these agencies provided specialist settlement services as their sole business, while others were mainstream service providers who had positions dedicated to multicultural services or to humanitarian entrants as one of many client groups. The range of time spent working with new communities of humanitarian arrivals was 3 to 10 years, with an estimated collective total of 70 years of experience in this field and an average of just over 5 years. The agency participants had worked with all the emerging refugee communities of regional and peri-urban south-east Queensland, including Dinka speakers who were resettled in the early to mid-2000s. Some agency workers span of work was located within one institution, such as a school or group of schools, while others covered large geographical areas stretching from the Brisbane Basin into western Queensland.

These participants held university level qualifications in areas such as education, social work and psychology. The majority were working in full-time, and one part-time, front-line services, case management or program coordination positions in state and federally-funded programs. Within these positions, the participants engaged with unaccompanied minors, individuals resettled on their own, families with young children, youth, older family members and community elders. Just under half the agency participants had experiences of migration and refugee displacement within their own lives or those of their families and two were bi- or multilingual.

3.5.3 Managing confidentiality

All those who contributed to the study have been de-identified in the discussions which follow in this dissertation. Because of the small numbers of the Dinka Bor clan resident in Queensland, the clan itself has not been named, as identifying its members as participants is possible under these circumstances. Similarly, refugee settlement and multicultural services are small sectors within state and federal public service provision, more so within regional contexts. Therefore, the agencies are also not identified in the discussion, as often there is only one staff member working in a role which engages with refugee communities. However, the clan, as well as the agency which gave formal support for the project, were identified in the ethics application to the University of Southern Queensland. The letters of support for the project that were provided by the clan’s community association and the agency supporting the study were included in this

application. However, they are not included here within the appendices of the dissertation, for these reasons.

Details of the clan members, South Sudanese community members and agency workers who were interviewed or provided background for the study are listed in Appendix C, along with the date and place of communication, as an aid in navigating the dissertation's content. These details are de-identified.

3.6 Conclusion to Part 1

The three chapters that make up Part 1 of this dissertation have provided the context for this study into information literacy within refugee resettlement. Chapter 1 outlined the study's research question, which concerns how humanitarian arrivals engage with the text-dense and digitally-mediated information landscapes of a resettlement country within the Global North. The chapter gave an overview of refugee displacement and resettlement globally and Australia's place within these international regimes, as well as of its resettlement programs. The scholarly disciplines within which the study is situated were also canvassed. The chapter concluded with definitions of the terms that are used in the dissertation, as well as an overview of its structure.

Chapter 2 provided a review of relevant research within settlement studies, as a subset of refugee studies, as well as within information science, and outlined the implications for this study. The chapter discussed the work of the political philosopher, Giorgio Agamben, to situate the study's theoretical framework within his inquiry into power, sovereign decree and the juridical exclusion of the Other as 'bare life'. Agamben's theorising has provided an entry point into the question of how does the refugee, excluded from the state's protection and stripped of the communality of citizenship, return to the subject position of citizen. The chapter proposed the concept of 'information relationship' as a means by which the process of re-engagement with the state, the body politic and civil life is enabled through resettlement.

Chapter 3 outlined the research methods used within this study. It began by contextualising these methods within the concerns for research relating to studies with refugee communities. The chapter then outlined the qualitative case study method that was used to explore the research question guiding the project and the steps taken to address the concerns relating to research with refugees. The chapter concluded with a description of the members of the South Sudanese community and workers from within a range of settlement-related agencies who took part in this study.

4 Information environments of civil war, refugee protection and South Sudan

4.1 Introduction

This chapter begins Part 2, the central section of the dissertation in which the findings of this case study into information literacy within refugee resettlement are discussed in detail. The aim of this chapter is to trace how displacement and civil administration during the second Sudanese civil war and under UNHCR protection shaped the information practices of Dinka Bor clan members as they responded to these events and regimes. It also outlines how state and community information infrastructure contextualises daily life within the new nation of South Sudan and forms part of the wider diaspora. The discussion combines clan members' accounts with material from secondary sources to consider the nature and effect of these experiences. The chapter highlights the importance of their backgrounds for communities undertaking settlement.

The history and experiences explored in this chapter are the background against which clan members' encounters with information following their arrival in Australia and across the diaspora can be understood. These encounters with information during resettlement are considered in detail later in Chapter 5.

4.2 Information, civil war and displacement: 'You are excommunicated. That's it'

South Sudanese refugee experiences of state systems, government administration and civil life, which go towards forming a 'state of inclusion' following resettlement, are set against a background of protracted conflict, repeated displacement and extended intervals under humanitarian protection within refugee camps. Over a fifty-year period, from 1955 to 1972 and 1983 to 2005, north and south Sudan fought for control over natural resources and political, ethnic and religious rights. During the second civil war, beginning in 1983, further conflict broke out within the south for control over the region itself. This brutal, intermittent second war, or 'network' of wars, generated an estimated 2.5 million deaths and more than 5 million displaced people (Johnson 2007, p. 127; Collins 2008; Zambakari 2012). Following the 2005 Comprehensive Peace Agreement and subsequent referendum, the Republic of South Sudan was declared in July 2011, making it the international community's youngest member state.

The history of state administration and service provision in South Sudan and the civilian population's experiences of government processes are closely connected with the region's legacies of long-held colonial control. During the Turco-Egyptian rule of Sudan beginning in the 1820s, the brief Mahdist state in the 1880s and the Anglo-Egyptian Condominium period from 1898 to 1956, the south remained largely isolated below the vast and impassable swamps of the Sudd. During these varying periods of external control, which ended only recently in 2011, the south received little in the way of government administration or economic and social development. Routine northern pillaging of slaves, ivory, agricultural produce and minerals made southern resources a form of 'curse', ensuring the region's continued 'pauperisation and sustained underdevelopment' (Riehl 2001, p. 5).

The Anglo-Egyptian Condominium's policy of physical and systemic isolation was ultimately codified in the Closed District Ordinance and Permits to Trade Ordinance of the 1920s. These regulations restricted access to and from the south and supported the Condominium's system of 'indirect rule', which was used by Britain elsewhere in its African colonies. Mechanisms such as these encircled the region within a 'grass curtain' of benign neglect designed to allow its peoples to develop along a more 'natural' line (Rolandsen 2005, p. 24). Indirect rule, which builds administrative processes on traditional clan hierarchies and justice systems, also limited the growth of an educated elite of southern administrators. It was believed that educated southern officials would form 'a detribalized, discontented class contaminated by progressive ideas' and pose a threat to the colonial status quo (Collins 2008, p. 43).

By Sudan's independence from colonial rule in 1956, the first civil war with the north had already begun, fuelled by southern fears of re-colonisation by a regime dominated by Arab nationalists and exclusion from participation in the new nation's decision-making. These fears led to the formation of the Anyanya, the south's first armed insurgency. Three decades later, moves by the Khartoum-based Sudanese government to impose sharia law and frustration at the south's continued underdevelopment and lack of meaningful political participation precipitated the outbreak of the second civil war. The decision to take up armed rebellion was further provoked by the Islamic north's continued exploitation of rich southern resources and ongoing slave raiding.

The lives of the Dinka Bor community were uniquely entangled with the genesis and history of the second Sudanese civil war. This entanglement set up patterns of displacement that affected how families and communities stayed connected throughout the war and obtained information about its progress and people's welfare and whereabouts. A mutiny in 1983 of southern military officers and their Sudan army battalion garrisoned in Bor against orders to relocate to the north of Sudan marked the outbreak of this second round of conflict (Malok 2009). With it came the establishment of the Sudan People's Liberation Army (SPLA) and its political wing, the Sudan People's Liberation Movement (SPLM), the guerrilla force which led the south's bitter and costly struggle. For two decades until his death immediately following the peace agreement in 2005, the SPLA/M was headed by Dr John Garang de Mabior, a Sudan Army colonel who was himself a Dinka Bor and allied with the Bor rebellion.

The displacements during the 1980s and 1990s of the Dinka Bor clan who are this study's participants were linked to three pivotal events. The first of these was the Bor garrison mutiny, which forced the movement of its officers, men and their families into the Gambella region of western Ethiopia, where they received logistical and ideological support from Ethiopia's Mengistu government. Government reprisals against the insurrection widened beyond the Dinka Bor lands as the war began to escalate and the SPLA consolidated its Gambella headquarters in co-located military and civilian-refugee camps. Within these headquarters, the SPLA trained 'roughly 110,000 men and boys' for combat (Justice Africa n.d., p. 74).

The younger recruits, known as the Red Army, or *Jesh Amer* ('Seeds of the Nation'), were moved into Ethiopia generally under SPLA escort and with the support of family and village elders. There they were located in SPLA-administered 'minors' camps which held 'some 17,000 boys' in total (Human Rights Watch Africa 1994, p. 7).

Groups of minors, including those orphaned by military action, were also taken into Ethiopia as a survival strategy to gain access to humanitarian support and as a reserve of younger recruits in anticipation of a lengthy and costly war (Human Rights Watch Africa 1994). Red Army brigades received elementary education and military training and were assigned mainly paramilitary roles until they were deemed ready for combat. Of the study's 19 South Sudanese participants resettled in Australia, 8 moved to Ethiopia during this period, of whom 7 were members of Red Army units.

Simon, a clan member in his early forties who was relocated to the minors camp of Pinyudo as a young boy in the 1980s, described the close connections between the fortunes of the SPLA during this period and the movements of Dinka Bor clans:

> And the war broke out in 1983 and it was in Bor Town. And the people who joined the movement were the Bor community, because Garang was their son. So, the young people by that time, '83, who went to Ethiopia were the soldiers. And the Arabs think, okay, this community, they are the cause of the mess. [The Arabs] bring all their soldiers into the village and they start have a lot of mess. People were beaten. So we followed the other elders who run away to Ethiopia who were the soldiers.
>
> (Simon, interview, 20 September 2013)

The second event was the catastrophic Bor massacre of 1991. A breakaway SPLA faction, led by Nuer leader and ex-SPLA senior commander Dr Riek Machar, destroyed Bor and its surrounding villages and cattle camps in an effort to reduce Garang's support base and gain control of the insurgency. This second layer of conflict continued until the early 2000s, when Machar and his forces were re-incorporated within the mainstream SPLA. Civil war with the north, as well as internecine war within the south, shaped the displacement patterns of clan members for over two decades, as Simon explained:

> So when the Nuer start the war, they start with the Duk. They force them to Twic East. From Twic East they come to Bor county. When the people arrive in Bor Town—because it was during the rainy season and there was a lot of water—so when people arrive in Bor Town, Riek Machar came and capture the city. So people would try to follow the dry land. People who knew how to swim, they cross to the other side of the Nile into Bahr el Ghazal. And people who don't know how to swim, there is no Bor Town, there is no cow [in the cattle camps], so they follow the direction of the SPLA. Because the SPLA was running, soldiers, running towards Juba. And they were instructing people to come with us. Every time they are being defeated by the war, any direction they run to, they told the civilians to follow them. So they came to Juba, to Equatoria, until they end up on the border [with Uganda and Kenya].
>
> (Simon, interview, 20 September 2013)

The third event was the fall of the pro-SPLA Mengistu regime in Ethiopia in the same year as the SPLA split, which brought an end to the insurgency's supply lines, technical support and Gambella bases. Almost overnight, Garang and his senior command were

forced to evacuate men and equipment and hundreds of thousands of civilians, including the young boys who made up the SPLA's minors brigades, out of the Ethiopian camps and back into southern Sudan, where a new military headquarters were built. Dinka Bor clans were caught up in this mass relocation, including many of the clan members in this study. This evacuation involved long and dangerous treks across often hostile tribal lands that ended for many in the refugee camps of Kakuma in northern Kenya and Laboni in Uganda.

Along with others in her family, Grace walked as a young girl from her village in the Bor region to the Ethiopian camps in 1988. In 1991, as the SPLA decamped from Gambella, Grace trekked back across southern Sudan along with thousands of other civilians, ultimately to Kakuma. The extreme privations of these journeys, including lack of food and water and physical exhaustion, brought many deaths:

> Because I'm go to Ethiopia 1988. I walk there from the village to Ethiopia when I was twelve years … So I live in Ethiopia and then … I'm coming to [Kakuma] … We walk, I think, three months walk … But a lot of people die there. 'Cause we don't have food. We walking all the day. We walking all the morning and to night around twelve o'clock and then we sleeping. And then around three o'clock we wake up and then we go. Like that, like that. Is a lot of people, you know. In big groups, big groups, yeah … A bad, bad life. You don't know if you will live or you die. You don't know. Just you walk and then you die. Finish.
>
> (Grace, interview, 9 February 2013)

During the turmoil and upheaval of intermittent flight, not all members of a family, clan or village experienced the same patterns of displacement. Simon's younger brother, Mark, who is currently studying in Kenya, followed a different route over the many years they were separated by conflict, before meeting again in Kakuma:

> No, I did not follow the same route as Simon. Simon left and went to … Pinyudo [Camp in Ethiopia]. And then he was forced to come back again … to Kenya. But I was moving from my village. I was displaced to another place and from there pushed to reach a camp. So it was not the same. I met him in Kakuma. I came with the mum and then met Simon in the refugee camp … He was also young, roughly ten, twelve, around that age [when he left for Ethiopia] … We're still in the country [of southern Sudan] and then came through [to] Kenya. That is the route that we took.
>
> (Mark, pers. comm., 28 December 2012)

According to Simon, these displacements and the wholesale destruction within the Bor region led to an over-representation of Bor clans within camps such as Kakuma. In his view, this history of dispersion also produced a new camp-based intergenerational imagination and memory of clan life within those unable to repatriate following the peace accord or to resettle elsewhere:

> People run from home … Until today, no one can go back and identify where they was born. Even I went back … I can't know where is my grandfather's place. So that was the big war that killed everyone from home. The cattle, everything was destroyed. People move away … to Kakuma. And then Kakuma to America … So if you go back home now, there is no population. We are the one even in Kakuma. People are still thousand of them in Kakuma from Bor community. Some were born in Kakuma, they will marry in Kakuma and even their kid and grandkid will be marry in Kakuma. They don't know what is Bor. But they are Dinka Bor.
>
> (Simon, interview, 20 September 2013)

The history of flight shared by the Dinka Bor clans, including those members within this study, and the effects of these central events of conflict on their lives added to the traditional reliance on kinship networks for support and resources that characterises collectivist communities. Simon argued that these experiences of displacement and mutual dependence have flowed through into the processes of resettlement:

> So that's why you see us, we are very, very related together because we run together from the village. All the time together, together, until we end up together here [in Australia]. If you arrive here and you have a cousin left in Kakuma refugees camp, you get them out. Send the form back. Come, come, come, join me. So we are all related here. And that was the cause of it.
>
> (Simon, interview, 20 September 2013)

First-language and English-language literacy are deeply implicated in humanitarian settlement and how communities engage with information literacy in this process. The skills of information literacy are also foundational within the pedagogies of contemporary Northern education systems. However, there are significant contrasts between Northern systems of learning and the education experiences of the South Sudanese. South Sudan's history of education is one of sustained neglect exacerbated by conflict and isolation. The new nation's impoverished education outcomes can be traced back to the British pre-independence policy of intentional underdevelopment, which aimed to 'maintain the perceived "purity" of the Southern Sudanese' and 'simplify' the colonial administration (Sommers 2005, p. 16). Education in the south has been consistently poor in quality, with limited access, a focus on schooling for boys and a weak system of delivery (Sommers 2005), as well as diminished infrastructure (Figures 3, 4 and 5).

Figure 3 Malek Secondary School, Bor, December 2012
Source: Author

Figure 4 School age children in Bor cattle camp, December 2012
Source: Author

Figure 5 Primary school in Bor cattle camp, December 2012
Source: Author

The systemic and chronic underdevelopment of education within the south was reinforced by community beliefs about the impact of education upon traditional Dinka life and the threat it posed to cultural identity and values. As a young man, Moses had dedicated his life to the study of the Bible, which motivated him to develop literacy, even though his mother had refused to allow him to go to school as a child. He described the effect of cultural attitudes to schooling on Dinka participation in education:

> Our people used to refuse education. They say, what is education? Education is just you driving away from your cultural life. And then you will behave like a wild man … In the ’50s and ’40s there were few Dinka who were educated … Because people used to fear if you get education then the children will go astray, adopting other cultures. And when they come back to the people they will not be obedient … In Dinka custom, when the children reject the advice of the elders, the elders become very sorry. What is wrong now? They say, okay, it’s because you went to the school … You got another culture. That is why our son is not obeying us.
>
> (Moses, pers. comm., 22 December 2012)

In Moses’ experience, these attitudes began to change as the revolution of the early 1980s took shape under the leadership of men such as Garang and Machar, who had been educated in systems outside Sudan. Education was recognised by the insurgency as one of the many ways out of the south’s lack of sovereignty and self-determination as a region and part of the rationale behind the SPLA minors brigades:

> But in the period of the revolution … then, ah! these children, yes, let them go to school. They will be our eyes. They will see everything for our future. Then we came to understand that educated people they have a better vision about the world … [I]n ’70s and ’80s, better understanding came to mind. Okay, okay, we were wrong. School is what make the people to be leader. They say, okay, lead us now to the standard of the nation … who are educated … So it become not a matter of how you talk. It is a question of how you write. That will make you to be a national leader.
>
> (Moses, pers. comm., 22 December 2012)

These shifts in deep-seated beliefs about knowledge gained via learning in settings outside the family were part of Moses’ response to whether his son should take up formal schooling. Moses contrasted his decision to educate his son with his own lack of opportunity as a child: ‘My son, okay, I bought to the school. I missed the chance, now it is your chance … Yes, you join the world. We don’t know what will happen after thirty years but you, you will get education and you will know. You are like prophets. You go, you go to the school’.

The historically ‘disastrous consequences of underinvesting in education’ (Sommers 2005, p. 17) were felt in the lives of clan members during this period, as Moses recounted, but would later also affect their engagement with information during settlement, especially, as the following chapter shows, in practices of reading and research which are at the centre of information literacy within Northern states. Grace’s

husband, Jason, a senior clan member in his early forties, described the limited access to schooling during his years as a member of the SPLA's Red Army in Ethiopia:

> Yeah, we were been having education. Like the time … before the war in Sudan, I was studying in Arabic … [T]hen the war broke out and then the school stopped. Then I went to Ethiopia with a group of young boys … [W]e were given just a little education but not much because we were just study under the trees. We were maybe seventy or a hundred people in one class.
>
> (Jason, interview, 9 February 2013)

Information played a vital role in movement during this period, but also in maintaining clan and family connectedness. However, the scattering of people in different directions across the south, limited means of communication and meagre technology meant information was difficult to obtain and poor in quality when it was available. The practices of information were also shaped by the logistical realities of war and the exigencies of forced relocation. Michael is from a county further north of Bor who walked as a young boy to the Ethiopian camps in 1986, three years after the war broke out. In the years before evacuating to Kenya in 1991, he experienced a vacuum of information about family, community and often the war itself:

> No, no, there was no information. There was *none*. For me, I never heard of *anything* until I left Ethiopia for Kenya. That's where I heard that my mum was alive and that my sister was killed. My younger sister. And that was through Red Cross. And that was in 1996.
>
> (Michael, interview, 20 December 2013)

For Michael, this lack of knowledge about the whereabouts and welfare of family members felt like a form of excommunication, which lasted almost a decade. Information filtered through to Gambella camp residents via sporadic, unreliable and incomplete communications that gave little comfort regarding the wellbeing and security of relatives:

> No, there was not. You are excommunicated, that is it. That is it. That is it. People in the front line who got injured in the field, they could come with very little information. Say, ah, yes, year ago, I saw your dad but never met him. That's a year ago. And you never know what happen. Or two years ago. So was just nothing. No information.
>
> (Michael, interview, 20 December 2013)

Much of the information priorities during the period of displacement to camps such as those in the Gambella region revolved around the tactical and ideological needs of the insurgency and the necessity to control military lines of communication. As Michael explained, the systems of producing and moving information during the war focused primarily on its ongoing deployments and manoeuvres: 'Information about the fighting, that's all. There was nothing, you know, like, trying to facilitate that communication [among families]. Priority was just fighting, fighting, fighting'.

Access to information was limited by access to technology which, for those whose lives were intertwined with the operations of the SPLA, was generally kept within the hands of the military. Radio provided a line of communication into the camps but few of these were available to civilians. Information infrastructure within Sudan's south during this period, as in much of Africa, was also extremely poor. A study in 2003 involving the continent's ICT connectivity reported that 'the teledensity' of Africa as a whole was 'about 1 telephone per 200 individuals' (Roycroft & Anantho 2003, p. 64). Samuel, a clan member in his early thirties who lives in Juba, reflected on the links between this limited communications technology, the needs of the military and access to information for civilians:

> And that's why the SPLA manage to stay in the bush for the last twenty years. Because they were coordinating [communication]. There were no cars, but people would move when they had to send messages. Or they were using long range, this mobile, Motorolas, long range radio phones. Then information is circulated.
>
> (Samuel, pers. comm., 22 December 2012)

Using technology to obtain and circulate information was a dangerous undertaking. Adam is a humanitarian entrant from a Dinka language group further west within South Sudan who has experience in settlement support work. His use of communications technology during the war, like that of many others, was framed by the threat that this posed for him and his family. Until hostilities ceased in 2005, contacting his family from Australia by phone would risk their physical safety:

> Before the peace agreement [in 2005] … even if my family member have got a mobile phone, I cannot talk to them on the mobile phone. Because it may get intercepted by the … Sudan government intelligence. And they would locate where my family member would be in and that would endanger their life. So that time it would be easy to get in trouble with the government if you are using advanced technology like mobile phone and all that. They would question where do get the mobile phone? How do you use it? Who do you talk to? And all that. So it was really a scary time before the peace was signed.
>
> (Adam, interview, 4 May 2013)

As Adam explained, maintaining the safety of family members while trying to maintain a connection with them also meant understanding which technology to use and when to use it. Under these circumstances, the practices of information, used without extreme care, could mean loss of life:

> And there were also satellite phone. Satellite phone were a bit safer because the government of Sudan was not … having that great access to international satellite services. Because if I have one of my family members down in the village in South Sudan and I know they have satellite phone I can talk to them and … I can guarantee that they are safe. The only time they would be in danger is if the government security

> forces or the army or the police come and get that equipment in their hand. That's where they get in trouble. But talking, there will be no interception and tracking and locating. No record. But it will absolutely be a death penalty for them if they are got with that equipment in their hand. They will say, oh, yes, you are now directing rebels on satellite to go and attack … Because that was one of [the SPLA] war machines.
>
> (Adam, interview, 4 May 2013)

Information was disrupted for the SPLA itself as the war progressed and the vital communications and supply lines into the Ethiopian camps were lost and then later rebuilt within south Sudan. For civilians living in the camps across the region, oral communication via visits, briefings and conversations was the most available means of finding out about progress within the ongoing conflict. Michael described how, as a camp resident, he learned about the war from visiting senior members of the insurgency's political wing:

> Yeah, it was hard but few people that got radio. Because SPLA had, when Mengistu was there, a channel in Ethiopia that communicate, you know, their war things. But when Mengistu fall, then SPLA have none. And so what SPLA use was to send some politicians sometime to talk to [camp residents] and update them about what is going on. How is the war going.
>
> (Michael, interview, 20 December 2013)

Staying connected during the war and the dispersal of community and family that it produced meant passing messages by hand, by word of mouth and occasionally, given the risks, by a form of telephone. Grace described how she lost touch with her family during the war, once she had moved as a young girl to Ethiopia: 'But no one … know where you are. [During] '88, '90, half of '91, I don't know where my family are. I know they're in the village but I don't have information'. Mark and his mother were reunited with Simon in Kakuma after twelve years, during which they had little knowledge of Simon's welfare: '… so we took twelve years that we met again as a family … Simon was over there [in Ethiopia]. You cannot know where he gone to'. Information came from clan members and others known to the family or the village passing on details they were given while moving between Dinka Bor lands, the various military bases in SPLA controlled areas and camps in and beyond the south. Messages were carried verbally or occasionally in writing, if a person were literate in Dinka, which meant that information moved slowly:

> And people are trekking. You move from there to that place. You walk. So unless you write me a letter or draw a picture there. Maybe take one month, two months [to reach the person]. Then you get that information so-and-so is doing well. And that is what he is saying. I am doing well. So you have to reply again. Getting the information back. The family is okay. We're doing fine.
>
> (Mark, pers. comm., 28 December 2012)

The upheaval of war and dislocation also attached great value to knowing about clan members' movements across the region and into and out of Ethiopia, Uganda and Kenya, as the fighting flared with the seasons. These movements generated for clan members added responsibilities as messengers within networks of information circulation that were essential for keeping families connected, as Mark described: 'You know someone is moving through. You say, are you going there? Yes. Okay, my brother is there. Please get this message … You can write in Dinka, then you write. Telling him that we are okay'. Michael reflected on the time, effort and risk of relaying information across the civilian and military networks that built up as the war took over communities' lives:

> Yeah, it was very risky. [P]eople, the top [SPLA] commanders, the big bosses had a type of telephone. I don't know where they get it from. And a few people had it. And you pass your message to those people and then they pass the message to the people concerned … Unless if someone travel from home to foreign country like Uganda, Kenya, Ethiopia. That's where you can communicate. A lot of effort, a lot of money, yeah. A lot of risk.
>
> (Michael, interview, 20 December 2013)

For the clan, as for the southern Sudanese generally, the war meant widespread dispersal into a diaspora that extended beyond the region during the war and into the countries of the North as resettlement began in the late 1990s and early 2000s. This scattering stretched the information networks of clan relations beyond the south's borders. Simon's brother-in-law and age mate, Stephen, was orphaned during the war and spent his youth in a Red Army camp in Ethiopia before being moved to Kakuma. Stephen reflected on the reach of the diaspora in regions beyond south Sudan brought about by the drawn-out struggle for southern independence:

> The majority of South Sudanese people are in diaspora. There's many, many people around the world. We are all scattered, yeah. Our people are been dispersed by the war. You go to Uganda, you can get Sudanese there. You go to Rwanda. If you go to Central African Republic. If you go to Chad. Even in Libya there will be people. If you go to Egypt, there's a lot. You go to Lebanon, there's people there. If you go to Eritrea, there's a lot of people there. If you go to Syria, there's people.
>
> (Stephen, interview, 13 April 2013)

Southerners' experiences of displacement and information were also shaped by the biopolitical spaces of administration that conditions of war can bring, as well as the regimes of regulation and supervision encountered within refugee camps. These experiences of administration and regulation would later frame clan members' responses to information during resettlement in Australia. The next section of this chapter highlights aspects of civilian and refugee administration during civil conflict and how information plays a role in these spaces of containment.

4.3 Information and refugee administration: 'And they say, okay, he's alive'

Conflict and displacement brought Sudan's citizens into contact with competing regimes of administration operated by the Sudanese government in Khartoum, the SPLA rebel army and its political wing and agencies engaged in humanitarian relief. As the war progressed, the guerrilla movement's continual need to provision its forces caused civilian populations to be targeted as a source of food supplies and support and a means of attracting humanitarian aid for diversion into the military (Hutchinson 2001; Rolandsen 2005). The SPLA's early focus on militarisation and conflict led to a failure within its senior command to conceptualise local communities as 'authentic and rightful actors in a developing civil society' (Riehl 2001, p. 8). Perceptions of the SPLA as a Dinka-dominated and predatory 'army of occupation', rather than a rebel force seeking national independence, contributed to the development of an increasingly weaponised culture among regional and rural communities. These communities took advantage of the small arms proliferating across the south to engage in self-protection through local militias, as well as cattle raiding and inter-tribal feuding as a source of livelihood (Arnold & Alden 2007; Walraet 2008).

In the period between 1983 and the signing of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement in 2005, the south functioned largely as a 'stateless state' (Riehl 2001, p. 8). Administrative structures of command and allegiance switched between the north and south as garrison towns and their surrounding villages and cattle camps were taken and re-taken by either side of the conflict. The south became a mosaic of zones controlled by either government or rebel forces, with local militias adding a further layer of coercive violence. During this period, a significant international relief presence established itself in and around the region in response to the overwhelming crisis in civilian welfare and security. In the absence of effective centralised government supervision, the numerous relief agencies formed a parallel 'administration' to state institutions, the guerrilla movement and local militias. In this coterminous space of oversight, aid agencies constituted a competed-for source of food, water, medicines, infrastructure maintenance and other forms of humanitarian support. This gave international agencies 'political space and access to classic state functions' that reached 'far beyond their mandate' (Riehl 2001, p. 9). This space of quasi-political function also forged relationships with local communities which bypassed state and military authorities and generated complex cultures of dependence, scepticism and mistrust (Hutchinson 2001; Jok 1996, 1999).

Relief organisations accounted for their programs to external donors, rather than directly to recipients or local authorities, and operated from an unreliable information base that contributed to an over- or under-supply of often misdirected aid (Jok 1996; Riehl 2001). Little existed in the way of inter-agency coordination and cooperation or operational transparency. However, commentators at the time argued that, despite these deficiencies in accountability and support, non-government operations dominated by international agencies were judged by their client populations to be the better providers of public services, while the indigenous state bureaucracy was viewed with 'bitterness' and disappointment (Riehl 2001, p. 12).

The formation of Operation Lifeline Sudan in 1989 brought the majority of international non-government activity under the one umbrella. The establishment of formal rules of engagement between the SPLA and aid agencies inserted the SPLA as a

mediating authority between humanitarian services and their recipients. By the mid-nineties, the movement had revised its view of its responsibilities for civilian wellbeing and the over-militarisation of community life and began establishing civilian authority structures at the village, regional and state levels within SPLA-controlled areas (Branch & Mampilly 2005; Rolandsen 2005; Young 2003). However, while marking a significant philosophical and strategic shift, these reforms tended to replicate the earlier British 'indirect rule' model of administration and left control largely in the hands of the military (Bradbury et al. 2006; Riehl 2001).

The second space of biopolitical power experienced by South Sudanese during the decades of post-Condominium conflict lies in the refugee camps situated in countries around the region's borders to which thousands fled for refuge, including this study's participants. In 2005, the year the civil war ceased, 2.7 million of the 9.5 million refugees globally were found on the African continent. This encompassed five of the world's top ten refugee-producing states, including the then Sudan, as well as the top three receiving states (Crisp 2006, p. 1). Africa constitutes 12 per cent of the global population but has around a third of its refugees, many of whom live in camps or settlements overseen by the UNHCR. Between the 1960s and 1980s, the newly independent African states, in an environment of relative prosperity, traditions of hospitality and pan-Africanist ideologies, adopted the international refugee protection instruments, as well as a new regional convention. These moves brought in a 'golden age' of asylum on the continent with 'new and improved legal standards' for the treatment of displaced people, supported by international aid (pp. 1–3). In the decades since then, African states' positions on asylum seeking have hardened, in response to the scale, complexity and protractedness of regional displacements, as well as to changes in international donor support with the erosion of refugee protection in the Global North. The negative effects on local economies of neo-liberal free market reforms through structural adjustment have also contributed to these ideological shifts (Crisp 2006).

By the end of World War II, as Malkki argues, the refugee camp had become institutionalised as a 'standardized, generalizable technology of power' in the management of mass displacement. The camp's concentrated arrangement of space and people enabled its bureaucratic systems and military-style facilities to create an environment of discipline and supervision. From within these spaces of administration and control, the modern, postwar refugee emerged 'as a knowable, nameable figure' and an object of scientific inquiry (Malkki 1995, pp. 498, 500).

Refugee camps vary in their size, density, demographic makeup, location and environment, as well as access to local services and job markets, relations with surrounding populations and reliance on external aid (Black 1998). Refugee camps are also affected by fluctuations in host country policies on undocumented arrivals and relations with the UNHCR. However, the common characteristic of these arrangements for protecting the displaced is their authoritarian frameworks of control (Harrell-Bond 2002). Camp management and the provision of food, shelter, water, sanitation, education, health and security are contracted out to an array of mainly international non-government agencies, operating under differing legislative, regulatory and contractual requirements and acting as a camp-based 'public sector'. Structural contradictions surround this service provision, deriving in part from tensions between ideological compassion for the displaced and inter-agency competition for donor funding. To

develop some level of livelihood, refugees in camps engage in agricultural and wage labour, trading (including in food rations), small businesses, remittance disbursement and lending and investing, as well as illegal activities such as drug dealing, prostitution, robbery and extortion (Porter et al 2008; Werker 2007).

The biopolitical control of encamped refugee communities is administered through formally bureaucratised systems but also more informal processes, some managed by refugees themselves. These systems can include registration, in which displaced arrivals must prove their statelessness, often more than once; restrictions on movement outside the camp; permits to engage in external work and to travel; licences to operate small businesses within the camp; taxes on goods and services; fines imposed by customary courts; corporal punishment, imprisonment and collective punishment (including ration withdrawal); transfer to another camp; withdrawal of wages paid to refugees by UNHCR or its implementing partners; limits on political participation; curfews; rulings made without explanation; limited or no appeals process; head counts to determine rationing levels and structured food distribution (Harrell-Bond 2002; Verdirame 1999; Werker 2007). Camp administrators and agency staff have access to police and security guards to enforce regulations, including with violence, while permits for mobility, employment, trading and services are often given arbitrarily. Despite the humanitarian ideology of refugee protection, power in camps is exercised through a combination of coercion and control, placing pressure on refugees to present themselves as vulnerable, helpless and grateful victims. Pressure on agencies by donors to allocate resources equitably and to account for their contracted use of donor funds generates stereotyping of the 'good' refugee, deserving of support, and the 'bad' refugee, who is not (Harrell-Bond 2002).

Despite the dire differentials in access to jobs, movement and security for refugees living in camps, many manage to establish trade, communication and support networks that reach into their countries of origin and out into the diaspora. Research in Kenya's two main camps, Kakuma and Dadaab, found the number of overseas telephone calls 'far outstrips' calls within the camps (De Montclos & Kagwanja 2000, p. 216). Administrative controls over life and agency are actively resisted in practices of resourcefulness and ingenuity, such as disrupting or manipulating censuses and food distributions, trading in ration cards and relief supplies, registering family members more than once, assuming multiple identities, concealing deaths and moving between camps in search of services and resettlement (Allen 1997; Harrell-Bond 2002; Kibreab 2004). In resisting dependency, the great majority of displaced people form a relationship with regimes of authority which requires them to 'ignore, avoid or subvert governmental and aid agency imposed controls and regulations' (Allen & Turton, 1996, p. 8). These experiences of authoritarianism and the strategies of avoidance and subversion developed in response have significant implications for how refugees engage with systems of governmentality and information once they are resettled.

During the second Sudanese civil war, many thousands of southerners sought international protection and assistance in refugee camps across the borders with neighbouring countries. Kakuma Refugee Camp is located in north-west Kenya's isolated, arid and infertile Turkana region on the border with South Sudan. Kakuma was established in 1992 in response to the arrival of around 10,500 boys within an estimated population of 23,000 displaced southern Sudanese seeking aid (Human Rights Watch/Africa 1994; Jamal 2000). These militarised youth from the SPLA's Red Army

brigades became the subject of considerable international media attention following resettlement as 'Lost Boys' to the United States, Canada and Australia from the early 2000s (McKinnon 2008; Richards forthcoming (a), (b); Ryan 2012).

Kakuma's remote and arid surroundings meant that 'the vast majority' of its population was completely dependent on internationally-supplied rations for survival (Verdirame 1999, p. 67). The camp grew to hold 96,000 residents from surrounding conflict zones in conditions that met UNHCR minimum standards but generated 'despair and low self-worth' across the displaced community (Jamal 2000, p. 17; Horn 2010). Despite the camp's education facilities and their attempts at developing a camp economy, residents led lives of relative inactivity, poverty and restricted rights, dominated by sporadic physical and sexual violence (Jamal 2000; Sommers 2005). During the 1990s, the period of clan members' residency, the administrative practices used to manage Kakuma were heavily criticised by outside observers. Although located on Kenyan territory, the camp's population was overseen by humanitarian organisations that operated independently of the Kenyan government and outside its judicial system, 'with no checks on powers and, in effect, without legal remedies against abuses' (Verdirame 1999, p. 64).

Of this study's South Sudanese participants resettled in Australia, 16 were resident in Kakuma for periods of up to and over a decade, from the early 1990s to when they moved to Australia a decade later. During this period, many separated family members, such as Simon and Mark, were reunited in Kakuma after years apart, while others arrived there together, bringing with them a closely shared history of displacement and conflict. Simon and Jason were age mates who, as Simon recalled, had 'played together in the village', then undertaken the long journey to Gambella with the insurgency and finally the trek south to Kakuma. Now they were living a few streets apart in south-east Queensland. Clan and family roles and responsibilities extended across the fluctuating fortunes of the insurgency's campaigns and the privations of life within the camp. Jason's father, a high ranking clan elder, had a large immediate family of many wives whose children's ages spanned five decades. Jason's older brothers were officers within the SPLA and, as the youngest male in the family, Jason was responsible for their wives and children living with him in Kakuma: '… a lot of [family] people were with me … The majority of them were ladies … Wife of my brothers [in the SPLA]. Most of them were there'.

Conditions in the camp were precarious and extreme, with constant pressure to obtain survival necessities such as food, water and physical safety. Matthew, a clan member in his mid-thirties who arrived in Kakuma in the early 1990s, recalled the poverty and insecurity of this period and compared these with the relative peace and wellbeing he experienced now: 'In Kakuma, nothing. No food, no school, no security. No freedom like the way you sleep here in your big house. Very clean environment. But there, too windy. Too dusty. Very hot. And you think about what to eat tomorrow. But now here you don't think about what to eat tomorrow'. According to Simon, these extreme conditions intensified the traditions of mutual support within the clan and its culture of collective responsibility as a means of survival: 'In the camp we shared everything. You had to because there was not enough for everyone. Tonight you don't eat but tomorrow night or the next night you might eat. That way we made sure everyone had a turn'.

Kakuma during this period was organised spatially along tribal and ethnic lines that formed zones within its boundaries, as Lucas, a former camp resident now living in

Australia, explained: '… in Kakuma we used to make it according to the tribe. So each tribe have to live separate'. These groupings were headed by designated leaders with responsibility for liaising with camp managers around group needs such as rationing, education, health, communication and information.

During these years, information from the outside world came into the camp mainly via telephone, letters or messages from new arrivals. As a group leader, Jason was responsible for bringing day-to-day information about camp administration from its office back to his group. Very little of this information was conveyed in writing:

> We were living in the group. And in the group also [was] the [group leader] who deal with some papers or some information. When you are the group leader, you write [down] the name of the people who are living with you in the group. Then, if there's something, you go to the compound where the UNHCR office is … Then you get information from there. You write maybe something in your book [to take back to the group]. So you don't get any papers sent to you by UNHCR or by what[ever], no.
>
> (Jason, interview, 9 February 2013)

Jason was also responsible for staying connected with older extended family members and for organising the distribution of remittances they forwarded to Kakuma from within the diaspora:

> Because I, like, give the money sent [to me] to be divided [among] the family members. As you know, we got a large family and I was the person in charge of the family. If there's something sent, then I will be the one to distribute it to all the ladies which were there. Because people were there were kid and some ladies. But the big people, like [my brother] … he was in Khartoum. And the other [brother], he was … in the field of war … So our brothers which were in America, if they just get some money, they send them through me. Then [I] divide them to the people.
>
> (Jason, interview, 9 February 2013)

The means of bringing news into the camp were restricted by a paucity of technology and limited to information distribution by aid agencies and oral communication with fellow southerners. Obtaining news by telephone was possible but posed a particular challenge, as few people had access to telecommunications in the camp in the 1990s. Using a telephone required some level of coordination to take advantage of the limited time it was available, as Mark described: 'I remember in 2004 I didn't have a phone … The only phones that were there actually people queue for them, yeah. Like you need somebody and you … are given a time to talk to the person. Maybe your relative who is in America or Australia. So it was limited'.

Simon contrasted the accessibility that mobile phones have brought to the community, since the peace agreement of 2005 and resettlement in countries such as Australia, with the difficulties that lack of technology and Kakuma's isolation meant for

finding information. Instead, camp residents relied heavily on the International Red Cross for news about family and community:

> It was the hard, hard, harder thing. Before the [mobile phone] people are relying on the Red Cross. The Red Cross used to bring a form. And this form, if you know how to write, you fill in the form. Write the name of your relative. You sign it … [The Red Cross] collect them and they go from city to city.
>
> (Simon, interview, 25 January 2013)

According to Simon, it was equally difficult finding out what was happening generally in southern Sudan. Camp residents were especially concerned to hear word of the war's progress and the movements of SPLA battalions, many of whom contained men who were their relatives. However, information about the war was often out of date by the time it arrived, bringing little relief to the need to know more about the events that were profoundly shaping their lives:

> … it was really hard to get information about Sudan. What is happening. You might get the news after four week or three week. There was no telephone. There's no TV. There's no any newspaper where you can just get information. So we rely if there is anyone coming back from southern Sudan to the refugees camp. We used to go to him and we ask him about the thing happening in southern Sudan … If he came from where you have relatives, he will tell you, yes, Mr So-and-So, they are here in this part …
>
> (Simon, interview, 25 January 2013)

For clan members, the highest information priority was finding relatives they had not heard from since being forced to leave their lands as fighting intensified across a number of fronts. Michael described the slow, largely manual and back-and-forth process used by the Red Cross to find and link people across displaced persons camps and in countries of resettlement. Family information managed by the Red Cross required clan members to check lists of names posted on sign boards, fill out forms with family details and write messages to be sent to other places, all of which required a level of literacy:

> Finding the relatives was one of the biggest problem. I know when I was in Kakuma camp … we could communicate through Red Cross. Red Cross go into the field and find people there and wrote the name. And sometime you can go to the Red Cross office and see the long list of names. And you just struggle to see the similar name of your relative. Mum or dad. And you said, yes, I know this person. This is my whatever. And they say, okay, he's alive. He is there. And then you write your name, too, and a short message. Then they could take it again to the field. And that was the communication. The method that people find out who was alive and who is not. Especially true in 1990s. Communication was very poor. Was through Red Cross.
>
> (Michael, interview, 20 December 2013)

Elijah was resettled to the United States in 2000 but was later sponsored to Australia. During his years in Kakuma, finding information about his relatives meant constant letter writing via the Red Cross to camps in the region where southern Sudanese might be located: 'When I was in [Kakuma] I was just with Red Cross to find my people. Because I didn't have telephone. So I have to keep writing, sending letters everywhere to refugees camp. Displaced persons camp in southern Sudan. So to find my relatives' (interview, 24 February 2013). However, as Simon described, low literacy levels and a history of limited and disrupted education meant that for many camp residents letter writing presented a particular problem, as did filling in the Red Cross forms: where to source the skills that these communication processes required?

> [T]he writing is a problem. So we line up to one person in the camp who know how to write and read. So you take your form to him. You talk to him. You book him. People are just doing voluntary. So you just sit down with him, you say what you want to say and he fill in the form on your behalf. You tell him, we are relative here. Mr So-and-So is alive. This person have died. You name all this thing. After he finish, take the form to Red Cross office.
>
> (Simon, interview, 25 January 2013)

From the late 1990s, a diaspora began emerging for the clan as refugee receiving states in the Global North began resettling displaced southern Sudanese. Information about resettled relatives and life in the diaspora came via letters that were distributed throughout Kakuma's various residency zones. Simon recalled the systems used to manage this distribution and the hierarchy of administration within the camp which supported these methods:

> When the Lost Boys left in 2000 to America they start writing the letters. … The UNHCR used to bring all these letters and they put them in the UNHCR compound. And they employ some people and they give them the bicycle. So these people go group by group … [T]hey approach the group leader and they say we have the following name and people have send them the letters from United State. So we need them to come to UNHCR compound to come and collect their letters. So the group leader go with the list in the group and they say, okay, Simon, you got a letter from United State.
>
> (Simon, interview, 25 January 2013)

These distribution methods functioned as a form of postal system, although not always reliably as they contained relatively rudimentary controls to prevent letters from going missing or to the wrong person. Simon outlined the steps involved in regulating the distribution of letters across the camp:

> So you just go to UNHCR compound in the morning. You line up at the gate. Nine o'clock they open and they say you can come in and collect your letter. The person come with the list and they start calling the

> names. So what they do, they have a technique. They call two names and they leave the last name out to confirm you are the right person. Or they ask you the name of the person who wrote you the letter from the United State. So they say, there is a letter here from Peter Ajak, can you tell me his third name. So you must confirm. If you know the third name you are the right person he sent this to. So they will give the letter to you … Because there's no any postal system where people collect the letter. People don't have like here in Australia where you can collect your letter at your house … But if you are not lucky, the person who take the list into the group miss your name. You might not get any information.
>
> (Simon, interview, 25 January 2013)

For clan members, finding out about events outside the refugee camp and the whereabouts of family and extended kin was a slow, protracted and frustrating process. Restricted access to technology, limited literacy skills for written communication and a reliance on oral communication with those who were moving between camps or back and forth into the south of Sudan characterised the information literacy practices of their extended periods of encampment. These practices also engaged with an administrative environment that was designed to maximise the containment and control of large populations of the displaced. The following section of this discussion considers the effects on clan members' lives of the information infrastructure of the new state of South Sudan as they repatriated back to the region following the war's end.

4.4 Information infrastructure in the new South Sudan: '… they use their networks'

The present-day information infrastructure of South Sudan is grounded in the combined legacies of colonial and national underdevelopment and protracted civil war discussed earlier in this chapter. This information infrastructure provided some of the circumstances under which clan members who participated in this study must manage their family obligations, kinship connections and identity as a diasporic community located across time and space. This infrastructure also contrasted with the information environments of Northern receiving states, most significantly in the use of technology and the roles of text-based communication and literacy. These contrasts in information environments helped shape the information literacy practices of resettling southern Sudanese but also reflected global inequities in control over information and its systems of production.

Scholars of South Sudan argue that the new Republic's nation-building depends on reconciling with its history of slave trade and Anglo-Egyptian colonisation, as well as resolving border demarcations, oil revenue allocations, cross-border movement of nomadic peoples and debt sharing (Ahmed 2007; Anderson & Browne 2011; Baker 2011). National stability also requires ensuring inclusivity in citizenship and sustainable governance and infrastructure (Abatneh & Lubang 2011). While socioeconomic indicators of growth and stability are slowly improving, South Sudan's population experiences extensive deprivation as a result of chronic, long-term conflict and neglect. In 1976, between the two major periods of uprising, over 90 per cent of South Sudan's population had never attended school (Sommers 2005). This included the older clan

members within this study, as well as the parents of its younger participants. Currently, half the population is under 18 years of age, school enrolment rates are the second lowest globally and only 8 per cent of women are literate, 'possibly the lowest female literacy rate in the world' (UNESCO 2011, p. 7).

Connectivity in South Sudan is 'meagre' with less than 2 per cent of roads paved and few which are passable in the long May to September wet season, a serious consideration for a landlocked state (IDA & IFC 2013, p. 6). The country is separated by the Nile River, which has only one bridge across it, in Juba, the national capital. Since the peace agreement in 2005, Juba has grown rapidly, from 100,000 residents to 1.1 million, or about 13 per cent of the total population (Natsios & Abramowitz 2011). Navigating the unpaved and heavily potholed streets of towns such as Juba and Bor is difficult and slow as there are as yet no comprehensive street maps. Since the streets are also not named they cannot be signposted, while houses and buildings are not yet numbered. Public transport is via small vans, which provide a bus service, and motorbikes, or 'boda-bodas', which act as unregulated taxis (Figure 6).

Figure 6 A main street in Bor, December 2012
Source: Author

As a Juba resident, Samuel claimed that getting around for an outsider was only possible with local help, which also meant finding a vehicle and a driver:

> You will be directed by a person. Like Nathan [the driver], take you to where you need to go. But you will not find now what street you are on … You ask, what is the name of this street? They will say, I don't know. The areas are named but the streets are not yet named. And these are the new proposals in the parliament. They were saying it is wise to name our streets even though they are not fit to be called streets … There is no map to find out where you are going … You just go with a person who knows Juba and they just take you around.
>
> (Samuel, pers. comm., 22 December 2012)

Power generation is limited to major centres, such as Juba, with little or non-existent provision in regional and rural areas, while information and communications infrastructure is equally sparse (Figures 7 and 8). Samuel lived in a family compound in a residential area of Juba and described the heavy reliance on generators by households and small businesses: 'There's no electricity here. It's all generators. At night all you hear around the houses is the sound of the generators. All across the suburb. It's very noisy. And you see outside the shops. Everyone has to have their own generator'.

Figure 7 Power distribution in Bor market area, December 2012
Source: Author

Figure 8 Roads, power, housing and telecommunications infrastructure in Bor, December 2012
Source: Author

With a population of 8.2 million, South Sudan is rich in agricultural land and water resources, as well as extensive oil reserves (Salman 2011). Despite this, 'over half the population lives below the poverty line', while a third is food insecure. Access to safe water and sanitation is poor and disease and mortality rates are among the highest in the world. Differences in socioeconomic outcomes according to gender are 'dramatic': as of 2006, young women were more likely to 'die in childbirth than finish primary school' (IDA & IFC 2013, pp. 10, 11; Jok 2011; Pantuliano 2009).

The legacy of colonial and later Arab-administered under-development and the prolonged struggle for southern independence have led to governmental structures and

systems characterised as fragile and under extreme stress. Poor governance, a weak legislative framework, corruption among political elites and a lack of skilled administrative personnel characterise the nation's public sector. Civil administration is dominated by institutions ill-equipped to deliver services, provide representation and resolve conflicts (IDA & IFC 2013).

South Sudan's information base is reportedly inadequate for the policy development and decision-making needed to build service capacity, while its justice system is incomplete and its administrative presence in outlying areas is minimal (Baker & Scheye 2009; Walraet 2008). A widely-resented disproportion of ministerial positions and government and diplomatic officials have been appointed from within the senior ranks of the SPLA/M. These appointments have also been made on tribal grounds, a form of 'public realm tribalism' which has led to ethnicisation of the state's functions (Buay 2012, n.p.). The people's high expectations of their new government, set against its inability to deliver infrastructure and services and its visible corruption, threaten to undermine confidence in the new state and its legitimacy (Batley & McLoughlin 2010; IDA & IFC 2013). However, Timothy, a young clan member who was resettled in Australia but has since returned to South Sudan, pointed out that practices of corruption within South Sudanese life varied along lines of ethnicity and race. In his view, these variations were shaped by the interplay of access to information with the exercise of power. For Timothy, knowledge about 'systems' functioned as a form of self-protection against corruption: 'But the police won't do bad things to you here. They know that foreign white people know the system. They know how things work. They're careful to treat you not too badly, with some respect'.

These tribalist tensions erupted into violent conflict in late 2013 with the ransacking of Bor and other towns by largely Nuer forces, as part of an ongoing and unresolved struggle for control of the new nation's government between President Salva Kiir, a Dinka, and Riek Machar, the Vice President and Nuer leader (Figure 9).

Figure 9 Aftermath of conflict in Bor, January 2014
Source: AP/Mackenzie Knowles-Coursin

These clashes led to military and civilian deaths and mass displacement of residents of Bor and other affected areas, as well as widespread fears of renewed civil war (Brangwin 2014; Odera 2014). During the weeks of fighting and the evacuations which followed,

the information links between Bor, now a 'ghost town' (Gridneff 2014), and clan members in Australia and the diaspora broke down. Mobile phones were lost in the panic of flight, evacuees found themselves outside mobile network coverage and the power sources needed to recharge phones had been wrecked. Clan relatives could not receive remittances as the banking system in Bor no longer functioned. In this information vacuum, intricate relays of news and arrangements were rebuilt via relatives in Juba, Kenya and Uganda. Simon's elderly mother, aunts and uncles evacuated from Bor to Bahr el Ghazal across the River Nile. Once he had regained contact with them, Simon managed to relocate the family to safer territory in the country's south. According to Simon, this involved 'eight days on the phone' from Australia undertaking complex negotiations concerning drivers, vehicles and travel routes, as well as multiple money transfers.

The systems within civil life for sourcing information in areas such as employment, housing, health and education are largely based on direct contact between the individual and the organisation concerned. Information generally receives limited mediation via signage, news items, advertisements, fact sheets, promotional material, specialist agency support or digital technology. English is the official language while Juba Arabic functions as a limited form of lingua franca within a multilingual civil society. Advertisements for jobs are generally placed on notice boards outside the organisation offering the position. This practice means that job seekers must go to organisations' premises to check for information about employment. Mark described the difficulties these practices presented when he began looking for work in Juba after completing his studies in Nairobi:

> And I was going there with an expectation of maybe getting a job … Like, here in the place where I was studying, we have the wireless and I have my computer. I can key in anything and I get [it] … I went there [to Juba] and … there was a big board at the UNDP and it had the work. So if I have to get any information to apply for a job I have to trek to that place … The billboards are there, you know, but by the time you get there the date has passed. But what do you do? You came here today but yesterday was the date and it has gone … So you have to move around to where the big boards are. They are in faraway places from where I was staying … You have to walk.
>
> (Mark, pers. comm., 28 December 2012)

Real estate services are not yet established in Juba which means that those looking for housing must move through residential areas to find the signs that home owners place outside buildings when a property is available for rent. Samuel explained the information exchanges involved in finding rental accommodation:

> In Juba you cannot find real estate agent. They are not there. We have just started. Now if you come to South Sudan for the first time and you need to rent a house you will walk by yourself. You find a house to let by yourself. Not in the paper, just on the building itself. If they are there in the newspaper, they are few. Because it's expensive to advertise. So they just do the writing on the building to be aware for renting. You put it there, house to

> let. Then from there you call them. After call them, you negotiate. Then you go for all the titles, the land titles … You come to the lawyers, then you enter the contract, the tenancy.
>
> (Samuel, pers. comm., 22 December 2012)

In South Sudan, distances are immense and communication, transport and mobility are extremely difficult. In 2012, the main news and information source was radio, with more than 30 stations active across the region in that year (Infoasaid 2012). Broadcasts are also made via loudspeakers on vehicles moving through residential areas, as Mark described:

> … like something need to be done tomorrow, so the government is maybe hiring vehicles moving around with microphones talking to people, using local languages. So [they say], this is going to happen tomorrow … Moving around over Juba, yah. They are passing information that way. They are not using the TV because they knew if they use the TV many people cannot have access. But if you move around with a microphone with that information then you pass that information to all the people in the community.
>
> (Mark, pers. comm., 28 December 2012)

Radio is the 'main source' of news and information across South Sudan (Infosaid 2102, p. 9). Apart from radio broadcasts, word of mouth and the church were the most important means of circulating information. Mobile phone penetration was reportedly '13 per cent' in 2011 (p. 8), with five mobile services operators, while network coverage was restricted to main towns and some main roads and reached less than half the population. The landline system was all but destroyed during the war and telephone directories are not compiled and published. While mobile telecommunication networks have expanded considerably since conflict ceased in 2005, 'vast areas' of the region do not have access to 'a working telephone line of any description' (p. 74). The 'only functioning television station' in the country is the government-controlled South Sudan Television station in Juba, with limited broadcast hours, while 'only the educated elite in [the] main towns, foreign residents and the diaspora overseas' have Internet access (pp. 51, 60). South Sudan's first daily newspaper, *The Citizen*, a tabloid founded in 2005, has a circulation of around '2,000 copies per day', mainly in the larger towns, while other smaller news titles are published weekly (p. 53). While online news is available via the *Sudan Tribune*, the *Gurtong Trust* and the *New Nation*, few within the country can use these outlets.

In regional and more remote rural areas, access to information within villages and cattle camps is extremely limited. Information is primarily delivered verbally face-to-face in these areas, in particular by local chiefs and religious leaders, who 'play a key role in spreading knowledge and forming opinions' (Infoasaid 2012, p. 9). However, this movement of information can be slow and time consuming, as Mark reflected: '… maybe takes two to three days before the information reach them … [I]f there is anything that needs to be communicated to the whole community, the chiefs, they are the most appropriate people to call people. They use the network to carry information far'.

This relay of information into the villages also includes news about relatives living in the diaspora. The diasporic chains of transmission built up by families and

communities combine technology that reaches across distance with communication that requires the closeness of face-to-face conversation. In Mark's view, since the end of the war in 2005, the mobile phone has become '*everything* to many southern Sudanese'. For Mark, at the heart of the community's information practices lie orality, personal contact and the abiding connectedness of clan and family: 'most of the Dinka they use their networks … What is written here how many people can read it? … So you call. That close contact is what most people are doing'.

5 Language, literacy and connectedness within settlement and the diaspora

5.1 Introduction

Chapter 5 moves the focus of this study of information literacy within refugee resettlement onto the experiences of clan participants as they began new lives in Australia, in particular in regional and peri-urban south-east Queensland. The aim of this chapter is to examine how information plays a role in the process of resettlement. It draws on interviews with clan members living in the region but also brings in the views and concerns of government and non-government agency workers who engage with newly arrived refugee-background communities. The chapter considers clan members' information needs and sources within the early period of settlement, while taking a translocal perspective. It examines how clan members engaged with information following their arrival, established diasporic connections across their kinship networks and began the process of rebuilding their lives while also supporting relatives overseas. The chapter also examines the intersections of literacy and orality within these processes.

5.2 Information priorities: 'the basics' and beyond

Like many entrants to Australia under the federal government's humanitarian resettlement program, clan participants in this study first arrived here at the international airports of Brisbane, Sydney or Melbourne. Those within eligible visa categories were met there by a worker from the primary settlement agency contracted to support their first six to twelve months of life in a new community. In the weeks following arrival, clan members within these categories were accommodated in a furnished rental property in their area of settlement, with initial food and provisions. During this period, the primary settlement agency also created for them a series of connections with major government, non-government and commercial services. Adults were registered with Centrelink for income support, children with a local school and families with the health care system. Adults were also linked with the contracted provider of English language training under the AMEP program. Bank accounts were set up and referrals made to employment agencies, while voluntary-attendance information sessions on aspects of life in Australia were also made available, generally with interpreter support. These relationships depended on the provision of personal details about clan members' identity, demographic characteristics, family structure and life history, which confirmed their eligibility to receive services and activated these services' delivery. As these information-mediated relationships were established, clan members began learning about the systems, regulations and communication protocols that structured these relationships and the cultural values and assumptions within which they were framed.

The information priorities for clan members in this early post-arrival period centred around what a number of participants called 'the basics'. Olivia has worked for many years supporting unaccompanied children from African refugee communities, which gave her insights into families' information needs as they struggled to establish themselves:

> … all the basic things … How to secure an income. Transport. Where are the schools? How do I get a bus into town? Where's Centrelink? Where

> can I get food? Where can I get familiar food? Yes, just the basics that you'd expect.
>
> (Olivia, interview, 9 September 2013)

Like Olivia, Jennifer has worked with refugee and migrant communities for many years in her role as a multicultural support officer with a large government agency. Jennifer likened the information priorities of early arrivals with Maslow's hierarchy of needs, a psychological schema of human motivation in which the most basic physical needs take precedence over those which can be satisfied at a later time: 'I think it's like that Maslow's hierarchy. Food. Roof over your head. Feeling safe … [A]nd income, of course, is part of that'. Anthony, who worked with migrant and refugee communities from within a smaller government agency, also noted the focus on information linked to essential life needs: 'So, you're looking at the basic needs, like house, shelter, food and all that, which is being met intensively in the first six months'. Michael reflected on his pleasure at being able to find food when he first arrived here from Kakuma twelve years ago: '… I say, okay, this is [the shopping centre]. Okay, you got milk there. You got bread. You can buy meat. That's all we need [*laughs*]. And I think, okay, that's good'.

While 'the basics' formed the core of initial information needs, these were often filtered through differences such as age and gendered responsibilities. Rebecca was resettled to Australia as a young girl and, for her, finding her way to school and around the neighbourhood was her immediate priority. In Rebecca's view, her young age helped her engage with information quickly, illustrating the effect of age at arrival on the processes of settlement: 'When you're younger you can digest information quicker. So I found that I was in my family … first [to] know where everything was … I was the first one to pick it all up'. Adam's primary information need, like the majority of male clan members in the study, was finding out about employment, followed for him by education: 'Ah, when I first came I have the priorities like this. One is employment. How can I get a job? And second is how I can get a school for my children or for myself'.

Information was also filtered through emotion, while at the same time facilitating its construction, a dimension of experience that will be explored further in Chapter 7. Joanna worked with a primary settlement agency and noted that, for her clients, finding out how to Skype with family left behind, rather than simply speak with them over the phone, was 'a really big one'. In her experience, the need 'to *see* them' meant that, for some, only visual information could fully reassure them 'that [family back home] are safe'.

Lucas was sponsored here from Kakuma in his late twenties and moved from interstate to live with cousins in Queensland to find work. Like most clan members, Lucas focused on employment in order to remit funds to south Sudan to support 'my parent back home'. However, finding employment was interlinked with other information needs, such as finding out how to get around and about jobs themselves, producing a chain of difficult information seeking tasks. As Matthew explained: 'But first of all you want to know how to drive. And how to know the street where to go to look for the work. And how to use computer look for the jobs. So very hard'.

These interlinked information needs often reflected more nuanced dimensions of settlement beyond finding out about the essentials for daily life. Angela, a settlement worker who migrated here herself many years ago, argued that employment gave new arrivals the beginnings of a sense of place in a new environment: '… because when you

have secure employment, a position, you feel part of the community. Even if it's basic employment'. Stephen, now in his early forties, married and a father, had arrived from Kakuma towards the end of the civil war. He described his realisation of how paid employment also structured space, time, sociality and inclusion in a country such as Australia: '… when I came I find that Australia is a very, very busy place. So everyone in the morning went out and he stay out for a long time. And in the evening … he came back late at night. So what came in my mind is to get a job. To be like them'.

From his experience working with newly-arrived refugee communities, Anthony argued that, for men, finding out about employment was connected with safeguarding masculinity within a meaningful life: '[t]hey want to have a meaningful existence by being able to work. It's also pride. Even though they've been in a refugee camp, there are men saying, I want to do this. Oh, how do I do this?' Anthony proposed that information is essential in reducing the alienation of an unfamiliar place and thus prompts new arrivals to find and connect with those who have come before:

> … it's the feeling of going to an unknown place. Although they might have an idea of coming to Australia … it is like looking for that connection straight away. In terms of, who do we find from our community when we come to this new place that we do not know? It's a bit of comfort that there is already somebody there who has gone through the same process.
>
> (Anthony, interview, 18 December 2013)

James worked in a large government agency which engages routinely with new refugee-background communities. In his view, 'social information', which connects people through conversation, is needed to create a 'shared experience' of community. For James, settlement was only effective when these social connections had begun to build. However, while these varying and nuanced needs for information about life essentials were clan members' priorities during the early period of settlement, for them the more difficult dilemma was where to begin to find it.

5.3 A foreign information world: 'Where to begin?'

While clan members had a clear understanding of their information needs and the priorities these held in the early phase of settlement, the question of how to go about finding out the things they needed to know proved extremely problematic. Caught in a space akin to anamorphosis, in which perspective distorts an object unless it is viewed from a specific vantage point, clan members could not locate the entrance to the unfamiliar information worlds that they knew surrounded them. Despite the structured support in navigating local systems provided by settlement agencies, finding information did not have an immediately obvious cultural logic. Anthony argued that while information might be evidently available, most new arrivals 'did not know how to source it'. This led to the problem, in his mind, of 'where do you start off to get information? From service providers? Your caseworkers?' Michael was shown a job advertisement shortly after he arrived from Kakuma that asked for 'someone who speak English, fluent in Arabic and know Dinka'. While he knew he met the position criteria, Michael did not know how to find out about the next steps in the application process: '… I said, yeah,

that's right. It sound like me [*laughs*]. But how can I? Where can I? Where to begin?' This question proved highly frustrating, as information appeared readily and widely available yet in practice remained inaccessible, as Angela pointed out: 'They realise here that information is more accessible but they don't know how to find it. They know it must exist. I need to find out. I need to ask … Because in the corner of their mind they probably think it must exist somewhere but no idea where'.

For most clan members, direct personal contact, particularly with family and extended relatives, was the preferred means of entering the new world of knowledge that settlement presented. Understanding the world around them was more easily and speedily achieved through personal information provided via face-to-face communication. Despite the varied information distribution means used by settlement systems and contemporary Australian community services, such as print materials, digital technology and information sessions, 'if you have somebody [to ask]', as Grace declared, 'you go quick!'

The preference for personal contact was reinforced by the need to be shown, through demonstration, how to undertake unfamiliar tasks or to be taken to places where information and services were available. Judith arrived from Kakuma in her late teens and was now married with a young child. Her first months in Australia were spent living with a relative who 'show us how to operate all the electricity. The cooking. Because we don't know. We never see before'. Grace recalled the reluctance to engage with unfamiliar objects without being shown how beforehand: 'When you do the tea there or you turning TV on, we don't know how to do it. So we say we leave it … [W]e don't touch anything. Unless somebody come to help us'. Stephen described the steps involved in being introduced by a settlement worker to local health care systems: '[He] show me things. He take me to hospital … And if I get prescription from doctor, he show me where to get the chemist … He take me … where all the facilities are the human need, like doctor'.

The need to 'be shown' also influenced how Rebecca entered into foreign worlds of information surrounding high school. Rebecca decided that she would 'work … out my life by watching what my friends were doing. It was almost like mimicking what they were doing'. For her, a combination of observation and mimicry enabled her participation in the everyday practices through which she could become a student in the Australian education system. Mimicry also helped her to overcome the difficulties posed by language and literacy differences.

In Olivia's experience as a settlement worker, the widespread preference within the community for direct personal contact and demonstration generated a heavy reliance on kinship connections for information:

> [They go to] each other, to see each other. The people who've been there longer than they have. And also people they know in other cities. Like, they might have relatives or friends from the refugee camp in Melbourne or Sydney or Adelaide or wherever. Or all over the world. They all communicate with each other.
>
> (Olivia, interview, 9 September 2013)

Catherine, who worked with refugee arrivals for an education provider, extended Olivia's reflection by arguing that community connections could also be more believable

at this time: '… they get more messages from their community members then they would [from us] … [A]nd the community members are probably, in some cases, a more believable face at a time of high stress than the strange bureaucrat who you're just trying to please at the time'. Engaging with information through clan links also shaped where people chose to live, producing residential concentration. Matthew stressed the importance of living with or near clan relatives in order to negotiate the complex information needs of settlement he encountered when he arrived from Kakuma in 2008:

> Yep. Very important. If you don't know who to go to, who will look after you? … [Y]ou need someone to come and introduce you to Australian people. How to do things like cooking, learn to shop, going to work. Everything. Need someone to introduce you in the first months … But when you come without someone, it will be very difficult for you to deal with the life here.
>
> (Matthew, interview, 19 July 2013)

Simon's first priority after arriving a decade ago was employment; however, as he said, 'I don't know … the job are being advertising in the paper'. He found out how to apply for a job in the meatworks soon after arriving in Queensland through a clan connection: 'I came and I met one of my clan … I ask him … what are the procedures that I can get a job where you work. And he told me I will bring application to you. This application, you come and fill it. And I will take it back to the company and then we'll wait for the result'.

Clan members routinely acted as interpreters for newly-arrived relatives, as Matthew explained: 'I was taken by my cousins … Because doctor … cannot hear me my accent. But I need someone to stand by when he didn't hear me and explain'. Immediate family members also mediated between a need for information and its source. Susannah arrived here with her children as the widow of an SPLA officer, after many years in the Gambella camps and in Kakuma. For Susannah, whose English is limited and for whom Stephen acted as an interpreter, her children are 'the very people that I can get information from them. If there is something need to be done, they will show me'.

For nearly all clan members, attending church was a vital and culturally familiar means of sourcing news and advice. Susannah felt that 'people go to church [because] they can trust those people'. According to Simon, in church 'every Sunday people make announcements about what is happening', while Judith stressed the significance of the church as a source of settlement support: 'So everything we go to the church at that time. The church for help'. Michael arrived in 2003, before South Sudanese church groups were established in the region. As a deeply religious man who 'rely on God', Michael reasoned that he would find friendship, support and information from an 'Australian congregation' through a shared religious faith: '… if they are really Christian, they will help me. That was my own expectation … I just said, only church. It worked'.

Many clan participants recounted how the serendipity of friendship with other Australians helped overcome the anamorphic effects which prevented a clear view of the entry points into information. These friendships helped form bridging social networks with local communities. Michael found out how to apply for his first job through 'the church and my friend [at church], that friend' who had also found for him the job advertisement. Jason arrived from Kakuma with his wife, Grace, and his youngest sister, Rachel, just

before the signing of the peace agreement in 2005. In his view, 'most of the [community] were not educated. They were learners like me'. For him, this lack of education presented risks of obtaining 'the wrong information', which led him to ask 'elders whom … were white Australian people' for help. This included his next-door neighbour:

> And [when we] come here people were really lovely and friendly … [A] person called Ellis was living next door to us … [H]e just came and wave to us and hello. And then … he came outside and [ask], where you came from and how long you been here in Australia. We tell him. So from there he made a good friend with us. And he was having a dog and a daughter. So when we've got a problem with the electricity we do call him to come and see and then call the electrician or the agent.
>
> (Jason, interview, 9 February 2013)

As a young girl, Rebecca found friendship at school and, like Jason, relied on that early generosity for support in negotiating the entry into information, which she recalled many years later:

> And my poor friend—we don't keep in touch any more—but that girl she was amazing. She'd come over on the weekends. She'd bring books. Would do reading. Would check for me the places, like parks. She was just instant. There was an instant connection. And she didn't judge me, the fact that I was dark. A lot of kids in my grade seems to have an issue with it. And so this girl, she didn't even care that I was dark. She didn't care that I didn't speak much English either. Every time taught me a swear word, she'd say not to say it because it's wrong. She had a sense of … God, she was a good woman. Good woman now, good girl then.
>
> (Rebecca, interview, 6 July 2013)

While entering the world of information proved highly problematic for most clan participants in the study, engaging with the information they encountered there turned out to be an overwhelming experience. Joanna, who works closely with new refugee arrivals, likened this experience to a 'roller coaster of information sharing'.

5.4 Engaging with information: '… a roller coaster of information sharing'

Most study participants, from the community as well as from agencies, described the process new arrivals undergo in engaging with information in contemporary Australian life as 'overwhelming'. Michael contrasted the lack of information in Kakuma with the volume of information he met with here: 'Yeah, it was overwhelming. Because I come from in the refugee camp. From morning to afternoon, nothing. But here, too much information. On the paper, radio, television. Too much, too much, too much coming in. Too much coming in'.

The volume and speed of information following arrival were described by Roy, who provided information workshops to refugee communities, as a 'flood' of details, paper and communication that bewildered and disoriented its recipients. Roy recounted

the feedback he received from a refugee workshop participant about the amount of information that new arrivals must contend with: ‘And afterwards he said to me, “We arrive here from Africa and you have no idea—we are *flooded* with information. We don’t know what is important”’. This information deluge was depicted graphically by Simon when describing the communications that followed once he was registered with government and commercial service providers:

> That was a terrible thing. The first week I received about eleven letters from Centrelink. A lot of information. I don’t understand what they are looking for. Because I was just arrive and someone took me to Centrelink. I registered … and then … the next day, letters, letters, letters, letters. They send me the one for the keycard, for Medicare. Then *they* send me a lot of letters … I was thinking, how long before this will stop? My friends say, it won’t. It doesn’t stop.
>
> (Simon, interview, 25 January 2013)

Simon’s response to this flood of information was linked with feeling unable to control the amount or type of communication he was caught up in or decipher what was required or how to respond in turn. The systematisation of information was opaque and the rationale for communicating at this level of intensity was unclear. Simon’s confusion about what these communications meant for him extended into not knowing how to manage them as objects in his life: ‘I just get confused. I don’t know where to put them. At first I thought maybe I will keep them. Then the next day they keep coming’. This flood of information in writing also contrasted in his mind with orality as the dominant mode of communication within Dinka culture:

> … you go to any office, they send even a thank you for talking to them. They send you the email, say thank you for coming in. All this kind of stuff. Or they do the summary of what you have said and send it to you. But in our culture, nothing like that … [W]hen I arrive here, I was not knowing that I would settle and understand all these things … It was hard for the first time. It was totally hard.
>
> (Simon, interview, 25 January 2013)

Agency workers were keenly aware of the information overload that settlement induced, as Carol, a migrant and refugee health worker, reflected: ‘I can guarantee a lot of things I tell them in the first four weeks of being here go straight over their head, oh, yeah’. In her experience, information overload combined with the need among new arrivals to focus on ‘the basics’ meant that other, more complex health considerations might not be followed up: ‘… but a lot of these clients have no idea about preventative health. Nor are they interested. They’ve got a roof over their head. They are not being shot at. They’ve got food. They’re well. [They think], why would I want to go and follow that up?’

While information was experienced as an overwhelming flood, clan members also spoke of a simultaneous and paradoxical information vacuum that arose from social isolation. As a shift worker, Simon encountered culturally unexpected hours at home on his own while relatives he lived with were at work: ‘I was not having any connection

with anyone. Just every morning I sit there at home. When it come to one o'clock I go to work. I don't know where to get any other information'. Likewise, Jacob, who arrived from Kakuma in his late twenties seven years ago, spent the first six months after arrival unemployed and isolated during the day: 'Very hard for me at that time, very hard for me … I stay at home … No one home. All working'. As Matthew asked, 'Where do you go when people go to work already and then you are left at home? Nowhere to go'. Clan members were aware of the effects of this new found and unforseen social disconnection. Rebecca's mother, Sarah, an elderly woman sponsored here by Rebecca's older sister, recalled through Simon, her interpreter: 'So it happen when she came here she was informed that you can't stay in the house. Because if you just stay in for the whole day will make you mad. So where to take her?'

A number of factors mediated how clan participants dealt with the disproportionate nature of information encountered during settlement. Adam argued that, whether it came into his life 'on the television', 'from the radio', 'on the sign post' or 'through mailbox', the relevance of information helped him to determine how he would respond: '[W]hen I first came as a new person in the country, that was too much information. And I don't know which information that can benefit me … I have to work out whether this is related to my current needs'.

Some clan participants reflected on the behaviours and self-perceptions that engaging with new information worlds forced them to consider or adopt. Michael recounted that, for him, 'just asking' was the immediate entry into information but that this would require acknowledging the differences in how information was produced in a culturally new setting: 'I knew that I am in a different country. I am not going to change anything here. It's me myself to change myself. To fit myself into the country'. Rebecca recalled the pressures of cultural appropriateness that 'just asking' generated: 'Knowing how to ask appropriately … Without offending people. Because we knew that we were coming to a society where things were done very differently to us'.

Despite the desire to 'fit … into the country', clan members had to counter instances of hostility and racism and the effects of their visibility as black South Sudanese when enacting their need to know. Rachel arrived as a teenager with her brother, Jason, and his wife, Grace. As she settled into school, 'Like, people insult me'; however, as Rachel recalled, '… when it come to serious bully … I didn't take it'. Similarly, Rebecca found culturally effective ways to defend herself against everyday racism at school, which she learnt from locally-born school friends:

> But still felt the need to be with them so not to get picked on or whatever. 'Cause some of them would stand up for me … [S]ome of the kids would come to me and ask me to say something. Say it in a funny way. [A]nd my friend would be, like, it's not funny anymore, guys. Get over it. She was good. And I learnt to say, it's not funny anymore. Get over it.
>
> (Rebecca, interview, 6 July 2013)

At the centre of definitions of information literacy lie the practices of research, which involve finding and evaluating information, as well as its sources, in order to develop knowledge through critical thinking. These practices are also part of contemporary pedagogies within Australian education sectors, which employ student-centred, self-

directed inquiry as a learning strategy and contrast markedly with the teacher-centred, rote learning styles that clan members experienced in the limited education available in southern Sudan during the civil war. Isaac, who was orphaned during the war and resettled from Kakuma in late adolescence with a close relative, recounted that 'doing the research … was the hardest thing' as he began undertaking learning here:

> Because over there you just deal with a specific book. One book. That is it. So but over here you have to do the research. Go to that book, get some information. Go to that book, get some information. And then combine it. But over there it's just, if there is a text book, that is the text book you deal with … Finding things, yep, [is different]. And work it out and putting them together.
>
> (Isaac, interview, 6 July 2013)

Jason elaborated on this in recalling how the practice of critically assessing where information came from to determine its value was not part of the intermittent education of his youth. His experiences of learning in the village, in the SPLA minors camps in Ethiopia and as a refugee in Kakuma involved repetition of information provided through explicit instruction by a teacher:

> So things were really different from here and Africa … [T]he teacher tells you to read and then writes something on the board and then you write all those [down] … And the exam will be coming from there … In Australia, we are given a lot of assignment in order to make a lot of research … Find some information from the others. And you need to give reference where did you find that information … But [in Africa], if the question has been asked and you know the answer … [j]ust write it down. Don't worry about where … you get that information.
>
> (Jason, interview, 9 February 2013)

Jason felt that the practices of research were 'a problem to us but not a problem to our kid', whose information literacy skills were being developed within the Australian education system. However, Lillian proposed a more nuanced view of this generational difference, by arguing that she and her husband, Stephen, who is a shift worker, were unable to engage with their children's education because of their own lack of research skills and Stephen's unavailability: 'I don't know how to research and my husband … came [home from work] at three [in the morning] … [A]nd [the children] need help. But they don't get help from us when they go to school'.

While almost all clan participants had learnt some English prior to their arrival here, many reported that the unfamiliar pronunciation and cadences of Australian English mediated how they engaged with the information worlds of settlement. For Michael, as for many others: 'The only problem was the accent, you know, the way people talk here. And that make me check a little bit. Oh, is that English that you speak there? Or is it different English? … Listening and just get what I get and leave what I don't get [*laughs*]'.

A number of clan participants, like Isaac, measured progress in settlement against the acquisition of an Australian manner of speaking: 'You know, the accent was the hardest thing because Australians sometimes they speak too quick. Though now I'm fully Aussie. I speak the Aussie way'. Simon touched on the liminality that differences in accent produced, in which information was both available yet out of reach. This threshold state was compounded by the obstructive effects of alien information technology:

> In the camp you have to know who speaks English. Then everyone lines up with their papers to get that person to tell them what it says. Like letters and ration cards. And then you get here and everything is in the computer. You don't know how to find what you need. If I find a phone number [on a website] I think, oh, I'm not Australian. I'm African. If I ring them they won't understand what I mean. So then I don't know where to go. I have to find someone who knows and ask them.
>
> (Simon, interview, 25 January 2013)

Difficulty understanding Australian accents led some clan members to prefer reading to speaking as an initial means of engaging with information. Stephen described how 'because listen to people was very difficult', he preferred 'to read thing. If I don't know any word in the line, I have to ask and then they translate'. However, this initial preference for reading to escape the difficulties of understanding Australian-accented English, which led to the need for translation of written English, ultimately returned those asking for help to the original problem of understanding Australian accents.

This infinite loop, a condition where the circumstances within the condition contain no way of exiting and thus cause its endless repetition, was also apparent in the connections between information and housing and employment. Although clan members had formally documented identities as permanent residents entitled to live in Australia, for the purposes of obtaining their first house or first job this identity proved insufficient and incomplete. Despite their residency status and their connections with local kinship networks and agencies who could vouch for them and their history, in the early post-arrival period clan members could not produce the personal credentials that are required by real estate agencies and employers in the form of rental and work references. Adam described his shock at the reference-based property rental market in Australia, which asks for identifying information that refugee tenancy applicants could not initially provide: '… the system was really the shocking one to me. Because real estate they have to ask me to provide two to three previous rental references. If I come yesterday, where do I get it?'

Temporary entanglement in an informational infinite loop was also encountered in clan members' first attempts to enter the labour market. The inability to get a job because of a lack of Australian employment references made it difficult to obtain the work experience and references needed to get a job. Lillian, in her late twenties, was sponsored by her husband, Stephen, two years ago and worried that, because of this entanglement, she would be always unemployed: 'And they ask me about do you have experience. And I don't. I say, I don't have. Oh, yes, so what do you have? I say, I can learn from [you] … But they always reject me up to now'. Jacob, who like many of the men went into employment without completing his AMEP English language training,

described the long and frustrating process of application and rejection he encountered following his arrival because of his inability to provide the Australian employment credentials that workplaces required: 'I took my resume to different factories. And they say, have you worked in Australia before? And I say, no. That's my first time. Okay, they say. Then we don't have anything … So you cannot get a job here in Australia [if] you have not work [here] before'.

Engaging with information was enmeshed in a number of intersections, in particular the tension between the necessity to find a job and the need to develop greater skills in English. The choices that clan members made in negotiating tensions such as this could have serious ramifications for long term settlement. In his role in providing education to refugee communities, Scott observed that the need to find employment meant that many new arrivals did not take part in AMEP English language learning: 'It's all about employment … [T]he ones who … say, well, I don't have time to go to learn English because I've got to get a job right now. Because I've got to feed the family and I've got five kids. And I'm gonna go and get this job at the meatworks and to hell with that'. In Scott's experience, these pressures have produced a 'semi-ghettoisation, to use a really strong term' within the community in the form of:

> … cliques of people who might have been settled here for four years and have no English. Because they arrive … their cousins are in the meatworks, they just take off. And they're speaking Dinka or whatever it is down at the meatworks … [I]t's not giving themselves a chance to settle because they're preoccupied with survival.
>
> (Scott, interview, 28 August 2013)

Celia also worked in education, although in a different sector, and engaged daily with refugee-background students. She encountered the consequences of the pressure to find employment which emerged for the South Sudanese community's English language competence, as settlement progressed over time. These developments had significant implications for the emergence of information poverty within the community in the longer term. Celia recounted how:

> … there's a new wave of Sudanese coming to me now, who've been here for ten years. Speak like Aussies. Are illiterate, some of them. Virtually illiterate or write like a Grade 2. And yet, if you had them on the phone, you wouldn't even know they were Sudanese. They are completely Aussie but they haven't learnt to [read and write].
>
> (Celia, interview, 31 July 2013)

Grace recalled how pregnancy began the break with her English classes: '… because I'm getting pregnant then … so I stop the TAFE. Then my son grow three years then I go to [the meatworks]. So no time to go [to TAFE]'. Simon argued that bypassing AMEP for employment occurred particularly among men: 'Especially boys, when they get the job, they drop AMEP. They don't follow the studies'. Matthew recalled going straight into the workplace on his arrival, rather than to AMEP: 'Nah. I didn't. Straight to work … I never go to school when I came here'. Pressure to 'feed the family', as Scott described,

was further complicated by cultural practices of family alliances enacted through marriage and dowry payments. Matthew explained how, 'you know, the life in Africa. They rely on us. My brother … he get married. So he need dowry for the marriage. So I want to let him get married first. And my missus now. I want to get married. Because we used to pay money or cow back home'.

Of the many information needs clan members recalled during early settlement, finding out about the welfare of family and relatives left behind was of great concern. This concern meant that, for all clan participants, reconnecting with extended kin across the diaspora was an immediate and urgent priority from the moment of arrival.

5.5 Information and the diaspora: '… I left my people in the war'

During the early years of clan members' settlement and up until the peace agreement of 2005, the civil war continued to wreak havoc on the lives of communities in the southern states of Sudan. Finding out how the struggle for southern independence was progressing and about its impact on family members was uppermost in all clan members' minds, as Jason explained:

> The first thing that I was used to ask about it was the security in the country and how did the war going on. Because I left my people in the war. So this were the thing that I keep on asking … And also about the starvation because I left people in the hunger. Because in the country that has been affected by the war, the life use to be very hard … Because there is no food and sometimes people may live for some days without food … So I keep on asking about this.
>
> (Jason, interview, 9 February 2013)

Elijah, who was sponsored to Australia by Judith after they married, recalled the need to know how family members were being caught up in the conflict: 'And the war is going on. Always we want to know exactly with our parents whether they are alive or killed because of war. So we keep calling'. Judith's need for information also focused on finding her parents: 'You think that one day, one time, you will go back and find them'. Elijah recounted the effects of resettlement on those left behind during this time and how information provided reassurance across the separation of distance: '… none of our ancestors came here ... When we leave there they were just, oh, are you going to come back again? Are you going to be okay? So the big thing is to tell them that you are arrive. Because you have been flying'.

Like many in the study, Stephen monitored the progress of the peace negotiations, as well as the possibilities for repatriation for those displaced across the region's borders, as the ceasefire between the warring sides slowly took hold:

> … how the peace going. Waiting for south Sudan become a separate country. I monitor how the peace going … And how did our people settle back when people come out of displaced camp, from refugee camp. And there's many people scattered around the world and the different countries coming back. And there's no food and there's no farm. There's no good water. There's no medication. We need to find out about them.

> How did they settle? How did they manage that situation? And who help them? So we ring back to find out …
>
> (Stephen, interview, 13 April 2013)

Simon argued that it was not possible to find out about everyone he had known during the two decades of displacement that stretched back to his early youth with the SPLA in Ethiopia: 'Up to today I didn't even find some of my friends since we left Ethiopia. We didn't get any information are they alive or they die. Because when we run away we were running through the mountains and many of us were lost … They are just in the hills or in the big mountains somewhere in Ethiopia'.

Clan members used all information means available to reconnect across the diaspora. Olivia described this space of information practice as a 'grapevine' of 'knowledge about each other's families', in which social media now played a part: 'I have heard stories of people phoning family members through Facebook … Even when tracing services haven't been able to find them'. Like many in the study, Simon used the Internet to find news about the prolonged conflict in Sudan's southern region on websites such as the Sudan Tribune: '… then I go to this website, the Sudan Tribune, to get all what is happening there. Even though it's not a hundred per cent right, you get an [idea] of what is exactly happening. Before there was no Sudan Tribune, there was no website, you were just depend on the phone. Calling people'.

Jacob used the phone to stay informed, but also a number of news services available on cable television, as well as the Internet: 'Sometime I just give a call. The phone. Just ring them. Or sometime I watch the news, like Foxtel. If someone got Foxtel, I can see the news. BBC World. CNN. Sometime [the Internet]'. YouTube also contained news about South Sudan, including the clan's regional centre, Bor. Benjamin arrived in 2006 after years as a member of the SPLA's Red Army in Ethiopia and later as a resident of Kakuma. He explained how '[y]ou go to the YouTube. So then we have, like, Bor Town News. So if you want to find out what happen in Bor Town so you get them there'. Adam used as many news sources as possible to keep up with the war, including updates issued by the SPLM, the insurgency's political wing, but also with the dispersal of people across the diaspora via displacement and resettlement: 'Was information from the government and from the movement at that time. From NGOs. From United Nations organisations. So I read all this news about the Sudan in term of political, in term of war. All the way to humanitarian and social scattering. That people were actually scattered everywhere'.

However, while finding and exchanging news about family, the events of the civil war and the move towards peace were a high priority and increasingly facilitated by technology, sending back much-needed items like clothing, medicines and utensils was not easy. Jason described how '[t]here's no postal system … If you send something to Bor Town in form of packet, I think it would be very hard to find the person. Because there's no address where somebody may be contacted or who it will be deliver it to'. The lack of a postal system and the institutionalised information of public and private addresses meant that articles must be hand delivered by those returning. Simon described the circuitous information exchanges and logistical arrangements made by a clan member in Perth to send a laptop to a relative in Juba:

> My friend in Perth has a brother-in-law in Juba who has asked him for a laptop. His brother-in-law works with an Australian from an NGO there and that person is coming to Brisbane for two weeks … So my friend wants to send the laptop back to South Sudan with her. So he's sending the laptop to me here … Then I'll take it to her in Brisbane. He'll tell me when she's here so I'll know when to meet her. He'll give me her mobile number from his brother in Juba.
>
> (Simon, interview, 25 February 2013)

Of the means for communication available for clan members to connect across the diaspora, the mobile phone was the most commonly used device. This highly prized technology produced what Michael called an 'explosion' of information within the community, as clan members rebuilt links with immediate and extended family who were now scattered across countries in East Africa, as well as in the United States, Canada and Australia.

5.6 The mobile phone: an 'explosion' of information

One of Stephen's first acts on arrival in 2006 was to obtain a mobile phone to enable him to begin the process of family and community reconnection: '… after one week. Centrelink give me money and I use my first money from Australia to buy myself a telephone. Yeah, that was my first priority. To have a phone. So that I can ring my friend and all the people related to me'. The mobile phone also enabled all parts of family networks to be connected, once they had access to a phone. This compared with the limited family connections that were available within the information environments of Kakuma, as Michael recalled: 'Here you could talk to whoever you want to talk to. Because if they can't afford to buy the phone, you send some money. You buy them a phone. So you talk'. Michael described the emotional force of reconnecting with family via a phone and finding out about their wellbeing:

> And that was a *huge* difference. Because you miss talking to your own person. You can't talk to your own person. But you hear the voice and you say, ah, I'm happy to hear you again … Are you alive? Yes, I'm alive. Where are you? Australia. Can you come [*laughs*]? You know, can you come? … [B]ecause when we were in the camp, you never know whether you really will be coming back home.
>
> (Michael, interview, 20 December 2013)

Connectedness via the mobile phone was intense and constant. Matthew explained how he is called '*All the time*. All the time. All the time. Even at night, when I put my phone on silent …' Reconnecting via the phone also involved making long distance arrangements for relatives to have access to a phone, which included the means of charging it and the maintenance of credit for calls. Conflict nationally in South Sudan has escalated significantly and continues sporadically within its regions, despite demilitarisation programs with local militias and the country's more weaponised communities. Cattle raiding and kidnapping of women and children also persist across neighbouring tribal lands. Elijah explained that if 'people are being attacked and … they

are on run … [t]hey can't charge their telephone'. Stephen described how contacting those overseas without a phone meant making 'an appointment' for them with someone who does. Grace's sister must return to the family's village outside Bor and bring her mother back to Juba, a day's drive south, for Grace to talk with her by phone. Simon recalled the lengthy, elaborate and ongoing arrangements he made from Australia to establish a viable information flow between himself and his elderly mother in Bor:

> I send money. She bought the phone, in Bor. I get people—I know them—they can charge her mobile phone. So I connect her with the people that have the generators. Every time the mobile phone is off or there is no power I say to her, you go to this person. He will charge it for you. And that after some hours you come back and collect it.
>
> [S]he was not knowing what is happening with the phone. She say, the mobile is not working. But mobile is working. There's no power in it. But she can't even differentiate between what time there is no power in the phone and what time there is power … [S]he had no idea. Just talking, talking. Then she says, I don't know what happened to the mobile. I can't hear you. But there's no power. The phone is dead.
>
> But she can't know there's no power … In Kakuma, there [was] no electricity. She can't understand electricity before she understand mobile phone … It's very, very hard to know how to use it … [For older people], something they never come across in their life before … They ask themselves, how does this small thing connect me with my son where he is living?
>
> [S]he don't know how to [put credit in the phone]. But there are some people that I connect with her. Every time she want to call me, she must go to the shop and talk to the shop owner. I want the mobile to be charged. How much, people ask her. Such an amount. And then she will pay. People put the money in the phone for her. She doesn't know how to use the numbers … So people do it for her and it start calling. Or somebody put in the money. They say, bring Simon's number. She has it written down on the paper. Give them the number and they dial in. When the mobile start calling, then it's okay, it's working now. Give it to her. Then she is waiting for me to answer.
>
> So now she become a friend with these people. Every time the mobile is dead, she took the mobile to the electricity person to go and charge. Come back and collect her mobile. When there's something emergency, she want to talk to me, she come to these people … So she rely on that all the time.
>
> (Simon, interview, 25 February 2013)

Reconnecting via the mobile phone was also affected by the relative costs of calls and personal incomes. Mark's method for contacting Simon from Kenya, where he is

currently living, was to ‘beep him when I need him to call me back’. Calls from East Africa were expensive and Simon earned considerably more money than him, which led to short conversations exchanging quick updates:

> [I]t’s like when people used telegram. See, they’re counting words. It’s economy, yeah. Sometimes you don’t have much [money] but you call and say, Simon, hello, how are you doing? Are you okay? Are you alright? Yes, I’m here and here. That’s it … Money is the issue … So most of the time you want the conversation to be short. Short as possible. Just make it short, yah.
>
> (Mark, pers. comm., 28 December 2012)

Clan members also exchanged information via kinship structures and traditional protocols for communication. Rachel’s large family, of whom she is the youngest, included the many wives of her deceased father. Among her numerous extended relatives within the diaspora, her primary connection was with her sister in Kenya, whom she called almost every day, ‘more than my … older brothers from my other mothers’. Samuel lived in Juba and had a brother and cousins in Australia. His family members relay information across the diaspora via the traditional family hierarchy and according to the significance of the news: ‘If it something that affects our family, we get it through our uncle with the elders present … If it’s just to know background in Juba then, fine, just call me. But, if it’s for the whole family, then call my uncle’.

The process of rebuilding communities via exchanges of information proved to be slow and faltering. Simon described how, like others in Australia and in South Sudan, he built up a collection of phone numbers that reflected the connections of kinship that had once been lost:

> I start asking people for telephone numbers of people I want to find … Until I find the telephone numbers of people in Southern Sudan and I start calling them … [T]hey start telling me, Simon, your cousin is in this city. In this displaced camp. I met them some years ago. They are one of your relative. So now this is where we start knowing where are the people we are related to … Yep. It was very, very slow process … So collecting the telephone numbers like that.
>
> (Simon, interview, 25 February 2013)

Information exchanges about family members and their welfare shaped the practice of remitting goods but also, in particular, money to South Sudan, from the beginning of clan members’ resettlement in Australia. Remittances enabled clan members to meet traditional obligations to provide support, but also presented them with a complex interplay of cultural pressures and misinformation about life in Australia that proved difficult to engage with and to resist.

5.7 Information and remittances: '… you have gone to heaven'

Remitting money to immediate and extended family was identified as a settlement priority that clan members established systems for almost immediately following arrival. Michael recalled that 'my first payment from Centrelink. I send that money to Africa the next day'. Agency workers were aware of the cultural pressures within new communities to remit funds to family networks, as Angela observed: 'And they're obliged to send money regularly as well to support the family left behind. That's a must. They have to. It's expected from there'. Remittances are generally made via Dahabshiil, a Somali bank, Amal, a bank now based in Ghana, or Western Union, all of which have money transfer facilities in stores across south-east Queensland, as well as throughout Australia's metropolitan and larger regional centres.

The constant mobile phone contact between clan members and family across East Africa resulted, in Adam's view, from the significant material impact that resettled refugee communities can have on family circumstances back home: 'So when my sister or my brother, their children, call me and I send one hundred US dollars, it make a big difference in their life. Because things are very expensive to buy, especially food'. Judith described how worrying information about family welfare circulated unceasingly: 'It's a lot. People call every day. They need help. They are sick. They are in hospital. You have to send money. You have to find out what going on. Every day. Every minute'. Isaac was the 'only one here' from his family and was supporting younger cousins through school in Uganda. He received 'every day at least seven to fifteen missed calls. If I get it, seven to fifteen call a day. And that's different people … So I have to, if I finish work, I have to ring back. What's happening?' Matthew pointed out that information related to remitting was magnified by the large family size within Dinka tradition: '… whoever ring you, [it's] about [money] … You got your brother, your sister, your uncle, your auntie, your niece, your nephew. They are all ringing everywhere. Sometime you cannot pick up the phone, when you got nothing [to send them]'.

The practice of remitting money has built within it pressures to continue remitting, which derive in part from information produced and circulated within the community. Adam described how, if he remits money to one person, another person will find out and ring him, also asking for money:

> So they can just call me and say, look, we run out of sorghum. We run out of this and that. And I can send hundred dollars. And then when they hear it, oh, Adam send hundred dollars to that [person]. Okay, the other person also pick up the phone and say, Adam, help me, too. I'm also struggling to get food to my kids.
>
> (Adam, interview, 4 May 2013)

Rebecca argued that remittance practices were used to frame cultural definitions of a 'good person'. These definitions placed pressure on community members to conform with expectations about sending money home. Failure to conform could also reduce a person's success in sociocultural practices such as dowry negotiations and marriage:

> And then if you don't do that, you're not a good person. And that you're mean. And you're chance of getting married is very small. Because

> people say you're tight. Or you've changed culturally. You've become Australian and Australians don't give and you're selfish. Then a profile gets developed along the way that you're helping nobody. And the guys get pressured to work hard to make dowry. Like, people come here [to this house] and they look at the TV and they say you must have money. [It means] that nothing gets sent home … So there's a lot of misinformation going around about people.
>
> (Rebecca, interview, 6 July 2013)

Pressure to remit was also brought about by misinformation within parts of the diaspora about life for refugee arrivals in Australia. Matthew's relatives in South Sudan compared his life as a family member resettled in Australia with conditions they continued to experience there: 'They say, you are very rich here. Our life is very poor'. For Rebecca, this misinformation led to the perception 'at home … that you've come to Australia and you land into the world of money'. Simon argued that communities across South Sudan have little understanding of the relativities of financial pressures in Australia and a distorted, almost fantastical appreciation of the wealth that follows from resettlement in the Global North:

> They say that if you go to Australia you have gone to heaven. You are in heaven. And money flowing into your house, everywhere. You can't stop it. Money, money, money, flowing all the time. So if you say, but it's expensive here. You must pay gas, electricity. Buy a car. This costs money. They don't believe you. Because you are in heaven, in Australia. And if you don't send money, you are bad, a greedy person. So you must send money.
>
> (Simon, interview, 25 February 2013)

Clan members expressed concern about their inability to convey the kinds of information about life in Australia and the pressures they faced here that would help communities back home develop a more accurate appreciation of their capacity to remit funds. In the face of informational imbalances such as these, Matthew asked, '[W]hat can I do? I can't say my money go for my petrol, for my food, for my rent and for my everything. And they say, okay, what can *I* do? … You send them [money]. What can you do? Do you want them to die?'

Clan members who spoke about their obligations to support family overseas acknowledged that these responsibilities were having debilitating effects on their capacity to settle here, despite their deep concern about family wellbeing and commitment to providing support. Adam argued that newly settling families were facing their own reduced circumstances as a result of these undertakings:

> We are getting poor here because we are sending money to support our family members back home. Some people are saying, oh, we are doing the right thing to help our family members. Some people will say, oh, this is too much. I can't do it. Because I have my own kids here and if I don't save anything for them, what will they get if I'm gone tomorrow? And

> then there is the risk of either look after your kids here and forget about them or support them and nothing for your kids.
>
> (Adam, interview, 4 May 2013)

These practices of mutual support across kinship networks were also evident in how clan members engaged in what Angela called 'collective information'. In her view, information in collectivist communities was shaped by cultural practices of communication, such that 'not one individual need to remember something only, it's the group. It's a collective information'.

5.8 Orality and the collectivity of information

In Angela's experience, collective information derived from the priority given within the community as an oral culture to high levels of input from all its members on issues of concern. This process was shaped by, but also contributed to, the need for regular contact and extended conversation and discussion. As Angela observed: 'everyone will give his idea … and that's why they spend so much time talking'. Olivia felt that newly-arrived African refugee communities can be:

> … much more verbal … than we are or perhaps how we used to be, you know, in village times maybe. I was at a [client's] home one night and this chap dropped in and we got talking … And he was saying how this is how it is in our community. We just drop in on each other. And he's my friend and of course he will welcome me. It didn't matter what time of the day it was. It could have been six in the morning or six at night. Or even midnight. But of course he will welcome me.
>
> (Olivia, interview, 9 September 2013)

The focus on verbal communication as the medium for information exchange meant that information could move swiftly through the community, an effect which was now compounded by the high adoption rates of the mobile phone, including, as Simon declared, among both men and women. Rachel described how 'everybody have, like, technology these days. So whatever happen the next person will hear it. And then the next person and then the whole wide world in Australia will hear it. And then you go into Africa'. In her experience, this swift circulation of information was unstoppable: if information was passed on 'to one person, you cannot stop it [spreading]'.

The dense connectedness of orality was reflected in the number of calls that clan members made each day, the cultural expectations around sharing information and the extensive collections of contact details built up in mobile phones. Simon made around 'ninety calls, just a day, within Australia' and had 'more than five hundred [contacts]' in America, Kenya, Uganda, South Sudan, Australia and New Zealand: 'Anywhere there are Southern Sudanese people and I know them I have their contact in my phone'. The practices of making and fielding calls, for Simon, occurred morning and evening and were also fitted around his work hours in a nearby factory:

> Look, when I'm just at work, every break … I come outside and I might get fifteen, seventeen missed calls. So I try to just see who is that. Some

> people I want to answer them. Some people I just ignore. I will talk to them over the weekend. Because I know if I just reply their call, this will take thirty minutes. It will let me miss my job. So I don't call them. There are some people I will call for two minutes. Tick. Finish. There are people I will let hang on. Saturday will do.
>
> (Simon, interview, 25 February 2013)

Isaac had so many contacts in his phone his SIM card was full: 'Ooh, actually … the SIM card is full now. Five hundred contacts. And then I have to save the numbers on the phone itself'. Mark felt that his number of contacts was fewer than the average for the community: 'Yeah, surely, I've got eight hundred and thirty-seven. But if you want the average … I think I'm at the lower end, yeah. Others would start at one thousand'. Nathan, who was visiting Juba from Sydney, described how he received 'over fifty' calls a day and had in his phone the details of 'over three hundred people in Australia and about one hundred and sixty in Juba. Also some in Canada and the United States. Plus, I've got over a hundred since coming back'. This high number of contacts stored in mobile phones was connected to the large and extended family structure within South Sudanese culture and the scattered nature of its communities. It was also connected with the lack of any other means for sourcing and collating people's contact details, as Simon explained: 'So it gets bigger and bigger … There's no Yellow Pages. It's all in phone'.

The intensity of orality as a practice was shaped by cultural expectations about sharing information within the clan. Matthew compared the pressure to stay in touch within the community with family communication generally in Australia, which he perceived as more distanced and delimited: 'Like you Australian, you just ring to your mum only or your missus. That's it'. If he did not call them regularly, Matthew received queries from his relatives, including those overseas:

> And when you take time without ringing your cousin, they will blame me. Oh, why, Matthew, you been two weeks without ringing me? Why? Are you going alright? Blaming you that [you haven't rung]. I say, oh, sorry, I got no time. That our culture. And Jason he will ring me, oh, how you going there? How your family? I been three days without ringing you. That's alright. I been in Adelaide … Those are there blaming you even in Africa. They ring you and then they say, why you been without ringing me?
>
> (Matthew, interview, 19 July 2013)

As a senior clan elder, Jason 'talk a lot with [clan members] to see how they are going'. His responsibilities as an elder, within and outside the clan, meant that he made 'ten, twenty, thirty [calls a day and] if there's something important to be communicated, [I] may get a lot of phone call'. To fulfil these obligations, Jason allocated considerable time, especially on the weekends, to finding out about families' welfare and offering them advice:

> As the person in charge, you need to say hello to everybody … You give yourself a time and then try to ring some of the members so that you

> know how they are catching up with the life. And also I do ring also from outside of [the clan], with the people from [other Bor clans]. I'm also the [elder for them] in Queensland here so I normally have a contact with them. And also if there is any event … I'm invited and then I offer myself to go there. This is when I can give them some advice.
>
> (Jason, interview, 9 February 2013)

Isaac estimated that he and Simon had in their phones about 'eighty per cent' of the contact details for Australian members of the clan, which believed its numbers here to be around 700 people. In his view, this close and regular contact also enabled clan members to find work and, if necessary, move interstate to live with relatives who had information about local job opportunities:

> Because we from the same community, so we have to check. Jason, what you doing? How you doing? How is the job? If X and Y is not having the job in Adelaide, he might think Queensland is better for him to get a job. So he can ring Simon or ring Jason or whoever in Queensland to come to Queensland. So either the meat factory or the casual job or whatever job that will suit that fellow.
>
> (Isaac, interview, 6 July 2013)

While this close attention to kin connectedness and the constant circulation of information worked to rebuild a scattered community, these practices also enabled greater scrutiny of people's lives and thus constrained their privacy. Rebecca compared these effects of personal exposure through the spread of information with those within other communities she felt shared similar cultures of collectivism. This lack of privacy influenced for her how she related to her own community when making decisions about her life:

> If you're in a community-based society, it's very hard to do something that's secret and get away with it, I think. 'Cause I've got a lot of ethnic [friends], like Greeks and Italians and Jewish, and they're all family and community orientated and they tend to struggle because everything they do just comes back. Ker-ching! And that's why I stay away from it. That's my perception. If you wanna go find life.
>
> (Rebecca, interview, 6 July 2013)

The cultural emphasis on high levels of oral contact, particularly as this has been magnified by telecommunications technology, was believed by some clan members to generate a form of information overload within the community, even while this helped to reconstruct its links. Simon reflected on how 'People call a lot. Especially if there's any community politics. People contact me all the time. Calling me, do you know what? You know what? You know what? All this for the whole day. Talking, talking … The weekend is the worst. People are free. It's a problem'.

The ready availability of information via the mobile phone had the potential to create tension within families and, in particular, according to Simon, between couples. The mobile phone had enabled communication outside some of the traditional protocols

for interpersonal contact between men and women and in part reflected the intersection of the polygonous Dinka culture with the Australian practice of institutionalised monogamy.[1] These changes in communication access and cultural tradition placed new pressures on trust within families that extended across the diaspora:

> People say it cause a lot of problem, especially with the gossip. The negative part of the mobile phone, people circulate even very simple thing. He talk with you, the same word [you said] reach Southern Sudan. It didn't even take five minute. People are talk about it there … You come within the families, it kill the trust. Some men try to check their women mobile phone. Who are you calling today? Who you talking to? … The same thing with the woman. Suspect the man get another girlfriend somewhere. Tell me, who has been talking with you? … Taking the mobile and checking the list. If she find the woman talk to her husband, there's fighting … There's issues with all these things in the family.
>
> (Simon, interview 25 February 2013)

This intense circulation of information through conversation also shaped the space within which young women engaged with gendered definitions of acceptable conduct. As a woman in her early twenties, Rachel argued that, because 'everybody have … the technology these days', young women were constrained to conform with cultural norms through the spread of information as 'gossip': 'And then it's like, oh, did you hear this girl did this. This girl did this … Then you know you just be a bad person rest of your life. You don't respect yourself and people won't care about you … And it's gone to everybody and your family don't trust you anymore'.

The high level of communication and intense exchange of information within the community took place within families, church groups and women's groups, as well as at community association meetings, fund raising events, parties, dances, dowry negotiations, weddings, celebrations of school and university graduations and elders meetings. Many clan members spoke of travelling regularly between the centres in which they lived and Brisbane, as well as to other capital cities, to attend community events. Within this intensity of communication, a concentration on developments within the clan, the wider South Sudanese community and in South Sudan itself led to a degree of insularity and lack of engagement with issues and events outside this circle of interests. Simon noted that the focus of information exchange was generally on 'our own local stuff' and did not include events occurring elsewhere:

> … we meet every Saturday—I'm living with my cousin—we can talk about our … community stuff. We might talk about what is happening in Southern Sudan. Anyone get any information. If my cousin call [South Sudan] today and there's something new that he heard from people back home, he will tell me straight away. If Jason get any information from Southern Sudan, when we met Saturday we can discuss what is happening … But none of them tell me about what is happening in [our

[1] The effects of changes in marriage practices from polygony to monogamy as part of Dinka settlement in countries of the Global North, such as Australia, warrant further study but are outside the scope of this project.

> area here] … Nothing like that we discuss. I think they miss a lot of information, like me.
>
> (Simon, interview, 25 February 2013)

The high value placed on oral communication within the clan and the familiarity of orality as a traditional means of producing and circulating information contrasted strongly with clan members' practices of engaging with information via reading. In Simon's view, literacy in the form of reading did not have the same effect as speaking, as, unlike orality, it was unable to render information 'real' and believable.

5.9 Reading versus speaking: 'It's not that real'

Clan members often expressed concern about the amount of literacy required of them in finding out the things they needed to know in order to meet their settlement needs. Agency workers also noted the difficulties that information in written form presented for an oral culture people, such as the Dinka, in the highly literate information landscapes of Australia. Agency workers argued that differences in skills and in learning styles, but also in the value attached to reading and, by extension, books played a part in how the community engaged with reading as a sociocultural habit.

In describing how he and his cousins had moved out of their rental property, Simon recalled that they had not attended to the letter from the Rental Tenancies Authority about the deductions from their bond that the landlord was claiming and which they disputed. They had discussed these deductions earlier with the real estate agent and believed that this discussion had resolved the matter. However, as they had not replied to the Rental Tenancies Authority or completed and returned its enclosed form, the disputed amount was deducted from their bond and they had no recourse to compensation for the monies lost. Simon reflected on how a cultural preference for face-to-face communication and an avoidance of engaging with written communication had contributed to their misunderstanding of the situation. In his view, this could also result in a feeling of being 'tricked' by authorities:

> Why do I have to fill in that bit of paper (from the Rental Tenancies Authority)? I have spoken with the agent and they agreed …
> I didn't look at the piece of paper (from the Rental Tenancies Authority) and see that we can say, no, we don't agree with that. In my mind we talked with the agent. That was that … We ignore these things. If we get a letter and it has a date we must do something we ignore it. Or we say, later. I will do it later. And time passes. And then we miss the date. So we get angry and we blame the government. Or we think we've been tricked. They trick us. How can they do that? Trick us like that?
>
> (Simon, 20 September 2013)

In her work with unaccompanied minors from African refugee communities, Olivia took up everyday opportunities to encourage the children she was supporting to use literacy to engage with the information available around them. However, in her experience, the encouragement she gave had limited effect:

> Getting them to read was really hard. Really hard. It just wasn't something that they seem to take to, you know. I would try to get them to read road signs and things, at least, so that they could familiarise themselves. We'd walk into a shop and I say, what does that say? It said, push, on the door, or something. Just get them to be using everyday kind of words so that they knew.
>
> (Olivia, 9 September 2013)

Olivia argued that education was a high priority for newly-arrived African refugee families 'without exception'. However, while education held a high value within the community, reading, which is a pivotal practice within all levels of education, was inscribed with a much lower worth. Celia, who worked with refugee-background students, felt that this related in part to a lack of understanding of the skills involved in reading beyond those which enabled a decoding of symbols into meaning. In her view, skills such as scanning the text and identifying essential points within its content were problematic and contributed to a resistance to engaging with written material:

> But also … they don't know *how* to read … I've got one [African refugee-background] student who's been with me for about eighteen months who's … [f]aced with forty pages of a great big fat book. They don't know how to do it. So I've been teaching him to scan. To pick up key words. To use the index. To make notes. And he's got it!
>
> (Celia, interview, 31 July 2013)

In Celia's experience, crossing the cultural gaps encountered in engaging with texts via reading was a long and slow process. Engaging with texts was entangled in techniques such as document navigation, which were difficult to comprehend and whose impact on learning outcomes was considerable:

> But it has taken ages. Not because he didn't want to learn or he was resisting. But he just didn't get it. He used to sit there and just look at me sometimes and I used to go on and on and on and on repeating … I'd say, look, I haven't read this before. I don't want to read all this. You know, *boring*. Okay, so what am I gonna do? … And I'd look down it and he'd say, how did you read it so fast? And I'd say, I'm not reading it fast. I'm skimming and I'm looking for these words. I'm just running my eyes and, where I don't see the words, my brain doesn't do anything. So I've been saying this over and over and over and over again for eighteen months … It's not an easy skill … [I]t's actually taken me all this time to teach him to skim. Pick up the index. Index? Never heard of it … But these skills are very, very, very hard to pick up.
>
> (Celia, interview, 31 July 2013)

From her experience as a settlement worker, Angela felt that, irrespective of literacy levels, African refugee background communities, particularly those from oral traditions, culturally 'don't see the point of reading'. In Angela's view, for these communities,

information that required reading to be absorbed also 'doesn't stay in [the] mind'. Under these circumstances, rather than opening up a world of information, reading can close it by reducing the capacity to retain what has been transmitted by this means.

Sharon had worked with school age children from language backgrounds other than English for almost two decades. She drew on her experience in teaching English to new arrivals to suggest that a cultural resistance to reading was also found in practices in the home. Reading was not seen as a source of enjoyment, an attitude she contrasted with wider social understandings of the role of reading and books in everyday life:

> [I]t's an oral culture. It's not a culture that values reading. And that's huge. Because you find there's no books in the home. Even the children who've learned to read. There's no concept of having a library at home or reading for pleasure … They're very resistant to reading for pleasure, like in our culture … [T]he idea of reading for fun just is not there.
>
> (Sharon, interview, 23 October 2013)

In Sharon's experience, the low value given to reading diminished the capacity to engage in processes such as research and revision, which depend on reading and are critical for learning at all levels of education: 'It's a chore … The idea of going home and revising and reading over what you've done or reading a piece of a textbook or doing research, just don't do that. That's not what you do in your spare time. Reading is not really part of what they think a happy life is all about'.

Research is central to contemporary teaching and learning methods, particularly in secondary school, which, in Sharon's view, placed pressure on children from other language backgrounds to learn how to self-learn: '… a lot of learning is self-learning. Children are given an assignment and they have to then go off and research for themselves. And that's how they learn … And ESL children cannot do that'. This contrasted with a preference among children from African refugee communities for a teaching style based more broadly on explicit instruction:

> … they loved learning like that. They would love it if you gave them the example and then said, go and work through these the same. There wouldn't necessarily be the understanding but they would follow the pattern and do it. And that was how they were taught to learn and that's how they like to learn … And so when they came into our system where they had to find everything out themselves, through their own devices, they … don't cope.
>
> (Sharon, interview, 23 October 2013)

These effects flow into the ability to engage in further education opportunities, as well as in lifelong learning. The concept of education continuing throughout life underpins professional development in the workplace and shapes employment progression through credentialism. Sharon argued that the value of reading within African refugee communities was also framed by a view that the practice is 'just a tool' to enable sufficient literacy for 'survival':

> And they often very rarely improve. They get to a certain level and they have no desire to move to the next level. Because once they've got what they would call survival literacy, survival skills, there is no desire to continue. To understand more about the written word and use it themselves … It's just a tool, I think. Once they've got the basic tool that helps them to read the timetable and maybe read the sports magazine or write a very basic resume for the job at KFC, they have absolutely no burning passion to get more. It's a tool.
>
> (Sharon, interview, 23 October 2013)

Resistance to reading, in Sharon's experience, also extended into engaging with the information available in written form in everyday life. In her mind, this then had the potential to disadvantage new communities when compared with more well-informed local populations:

> They're not interested in the information that we are so loaded with. Everything we buy is full of information and you'll see Australian people in the shopping centre reading things. But I suggest to them that they read the containers, the labels, they don't. Reading just doesn't occur to them. That they can get useful information out of a label or a container. So that's another thing they're missing out on.
>
> (Sharon, interview, 23 October 2013)

Sharon's concern as an educator was that reading resistance was transmissible across generations, with long term implications for new communities' education access and success: '… because it means that gets passed on to the next generation as well. And it will also impact their ability to learn throughout life. Most people continue to learn and learn and learn'. This resistance also underpinned the possibility within refugee low-literacy communities of emerging information poverty, with potential flow-on effects for social cohesion more broadly.

Cultural attitudes to reading in the context of resettlement within an alien environment of language and literacy intersected with feelings of trust and confidence. Sharon argued that while children from new refugee communities who were literate could decipher the meaning of the words they were reading, this did not then mean that they would trust their interpretations of this meaning: 'You know they can read it and they can decode it. But they don't trust themselves to have got it right'.

Simon elaborated on the intersections of reading and trust with his community's cultural practices of orality. These intersections meant that while meaning could be made of a set of symbols through reading, this meaning could not be construed as a possible reality. Information was only 'real' and thus believable if it were spoken, preferably face-to-face and with a person with whom a relationship had already been formed. Information relayed via the written word, on paper and computer screens, appeared more distanced, less verifiable and thus less credible:

> Instead of go and look at it and read for yourself, you want to listen to someone. Come and explain to you. If you give me an instruction [to] go

> and read it, I don't trust this thing. But if you say [it], this is what I just value. It is very important. Wendy told me.[2] I listen to you and I trust you. This information I believe is [more] important than you just instruct me to go and read it to be independent. Know how to click, click, click there. I say, ahh, no. It seems like it's not that real … But if I talk to you like this and you explain to me, I feel confident that it's true. It's like the way now with the email. I don't respond to email. But if you call me, tell me the thing, I feel, *yes*! She tell me. But the same message that you sent me through the email, I want you to call me. We talk … I hear it. It is just something with the culture … [I]f you talk, you feel very happy.
>
> (Simon, interview, 25 February 2013)

The contemporary emphasis on textual information can place oral culture and low literacy peoples outside information environments in which self-administration enables the maintenance of relationships with services, the community and the state. Post-industrial information environments require individuals to access, interpret and exchange information for themselves in a sphere of self-managed practice which depends heavily on reading. Simon alluded to this potential exclusion from self-service information when comparing his community's framework for information's believability with that of 'Australian people' in the context of using email. In his view, for 'Australian people', information exchanged over the phone, via speech, and through email, via reading, was equivalent in its interpretability and message-bearing impact:

> But with the Australian people, they say, what is the reason that you call me? You can just send me the information. There is no need to call me. What I'm sending you is the same word that I can say over the phone. But [with email] you feel like they didn't even get the message. It seem like there's a part of it missing. Because you didn't talk to the person. This is totally different.
>
> (Simon, interview, 25 February 2013)

For Simon, as a person for whom orality enabled identity, communication and the continuation of tradition, 'Seeing it is not just enough. I saw [it]. You saw it. But we need to talk about it'. The information modalities of speech and reading did not share the same value or produce the same effect. For Simon's community, orality went beyond the act of reading to create the culturally available meaning that was necessary for informed and effective action within everyday life.

[2] 'Wendy' refers to the author

6 Settlement strategies and information relationships

6.1 Introduction

Chapter 6 focuses this discussion of information literacy in the lives of new refugee arrivals on the settlement strategies that agencies employ to establish information relationships with and for refugee clients. In Agamben's theorising of sovereign exclusion, the refugee acts as the paradigmatic figure of exile. Similarly, resettlement of the refugee could be said to exemplify the reincorporation of the exilee into the body of the state. The chapter draws on the reflections of agency workers who support humanitarian arrivals during resettelment, to explore the effects of information literacy on this process of reincorporation. It also considers the challenges that the information practices and cultural preferences outlined in the previous chapter present for agencies and new entrants in the process of restoring refugee arrivals' connection as citizens with the wider community and the state.

6.2 Agencies' work: '… everything under the sun'

While the roles of workers supporting new humanitarian-entrant communities are specified under the funding contracts of their program area or by the requirements of their agency's delivery systems, in general these roles were delineated as casework or community development. Casework focused on the settlement support needs of the individual, while community development worked within a broader perspective encompassing the needs of the collective. Agency workers who took part in this study were employed in both types of settlement support. Irrespective of the differing scales at which workers engaged with refugee community members, their roles generally, as Olivia argued, involved 'a very broad charter'. This broad charter of work included connecting newly settling communities with culturally unfamiliar systems of information, ranging from the informal practices of daily life to more formal protocols framed within government legislation and the law. Olivia's role as a caseworker supporting unaccompanied minors involved:

> … virtually … anything, in terms of providing transport, doing advocacy, attending real estate appointments or writing letters of support or going down to Centrelink or just ironing out issues. A lot of the time, ironing out misunderstandings. Going to school meetings and helping the staff there understand the child's background or help the family understand the school systems.
>
> (Olivia, interview, 9 September 2013)

Celia worked with refugee-background students and engaged in a similarly diverse array of activities that helped students, in her view, to learn how 'to do everything under the sun'. The needs of the students she supported meant that she dealt with 'whatever basically anyone walks in the door with that I am able to do. Or I refer them on to specialised people if I can't'.

Like most of the agency workers interviewed, Joanna's role was framed by the 'contractual obligations that we must tick for [the funding body]. So we're delivering services and information to our clients around [the funding body's] programs'. The

contractual specifications of settlement programs meant that, in her agency's work, 'we have to provide a lot of information [to refugee clients] in a short period of time'. This included delivering information sessions that focused on the many life skills that new arrivals needed to settle effectively, including, as Joanna outlined, 'Australian law, culture, personal hygiene, school, education, homework, school hours, driver's licences, road rules [and] transportation'.

The breadth of agency workers' roles reflected the wide-ranging scope of the settlement process and their clients' varying sociocultural and physical circumstances, as well as individual histories. Providing support to new arrivals and responding to their information needs also required agency workers to be adaptable to cultural differences across settling communities, as well as fluctuations in the federal government's humanitarian intake and shifts in the sociopolitical philosophies surrounding refugee protection and support. Joanna outlined how her agency, like many others, worked across 'the different political spaces' of settlement policy and programming, which, in her experience, were 'forever changing', along with the '[d]ifferent cultural groups [who] trend through these programs' over time.

Refugee communities' capacity to engage with information during the early post-arrival period also varied, as Joanna explained: 'We've got someone coming in who's got this information abilities and then someone comes in five minutes later with that information level'. The strategies Joanna's agency developed to respond to these variations relied, in part, on input from support workers drawn from the country of origin of those who were settling:

> We listen on the ground and our … cultural support workers are really great at saying, you know, the families are not understanding why they have to pick their kids up at three o'clock. Right, well, let's have a workshop around importance of school times. What does that mean? Who's responsible for a child? Children can't be left alone under eighteen. Going in depth again over maybe a little [point]. But then the next group comes through and there's no issues around that. It may be something around driving unlicenced. So we have a hot topic and we go into more depth around that.
>
> (Joanna, interview, 6 August 2013)

As a multicultural support officer in a large agency, Jennifer had a high level of contact with newly-arriving refugee communities through direct connection with individual clients, as well as her delivery of language-specific information sessions to community groups. In Jennifer's mind, this routine engagement with new communities gave her agency the capacity to adapt its services as refugee intakes changed:

> When I am out in the community, any issues that are brought up in the community I'll take that back to the office to the meetings and say, look, this is the feedback I'm getting out there. And that then directs how we may change how we offer a service … And it's a two-way street … So giving the information out and bringing it back and that is how we've

> adapted over the years with interpreters and whatever else we need in the office to make it easier for people to come in and do their business with us.
>
> (Jennifer, interview, 6 September 2013)

At the heart of these complexities of changing client groups, the broad span of concerns within settlement and the unpredictability of daily programming lay the need among all refugee arrivals for information that supported their entry into the community. For Joanna, as a settlement worker, success in this process of re-entry could be framed in terms of a recent arrival's capacity and willingness to pass on the new knowledge that had been gained:

> … and they turn around and say, when someone else comes from my culture, I want to help teach them. Wanting to give back that information that they have learnt, I think, shows successful settlement. To say that I've come through this journey, it's been tough, it's been good, it's been bad, but I want to help someone else that comes from my culture and I reckon I'm ready … Or seeing them in the community when you're with a new arrival. They come and say hello and they walk with you to the bank or they walk … Being able to share and orient your fellow person, that's successful.
>
> (Joanna, interview, 6 August 2013)

While all agency workers engaged in providing information to new arrivals, either through casework or community development, the methods that they used to do this varied according to the differences in language, literacy and cultural practice that new communities brought with them. These methods were developed and modified over time through a process of trial and error and ongoing community liaison.

6.3 Agencies' information methods: a 'multiplicity of channels'

In reflecting on how agencies in the settlement sector that he dealt with provided information to clients, Roy argued that most, like him, used a 'multiplicity of channels' which reflected the environmental complexity of settlement work: 'The multiplicity of channels would mean that I would really have to think about four or five or six different things to do to get information into a community'. These multiple methods included individual communication, group information sessions, print materials, such as flyers, brochures, fact sheets and program guides, and, increasingly, digital media. Jennifer explained how her agency:

> … tried to put things on DVDs and CDs so that people who can't read and write can listen to the information. We have printed stuff in twenty-six different languages, I think it is. We now have our services on your iPhone in different languages.
>
> (Jennifer, interview, 6 September 2013)

Agencies' information methods were generally developed over time across a range of organisational areas and through a process which Jennifer described as 'trial and error'

as programs changed and new communities emerged. Jennifer's agency undertook 'a lot of research' before releasing updated information about programs into non-English speaking communities. For large organisations such as hers, these development processes could also require a long lead time and extensive community and interagency liaison:

> So there's an awful lot more work when new measures come out or changes, which happen quite often. I've got to do a lot of ground work out in the community to bring the non-English speaking community up to a base level of understanding that somebody who walked in through the door who could speak English would understand … Which is why you'll see me out in the community at a lot of the meetings and stuff that go on. I've got to liaise a lot with the other organisations that deal with the non-English-speaking groups, as well … And, of course, for us to take on a new language and get all that stuff into that language—provided it's got a written language … it takes a few years … [W]e can't just flick it and go, [here it is]. It took us four or five years to get stuff in Dinka and Sudanese Arabic up there. Because we have to put it through real stringent things … before we can release it.
>
> (Jennifer, interview, 6 September 2013)

Apart from the individual and direct communication of casework, the most common form of information provision used by agencies engaged in settlement involved short half-day workshop sessions targeted to refugee client groups, with specialist speakers and interpreter support. These sessions often covered 'something really, really basic' about the cultural and physical practices of daily life in Australia, as Catherine explained:

> … bringing in community people and agencies to talk about a topic and every week is a different topic. And we've got coming up the [local] council and they're going to talk about the bins. You know, something really, really basic. You've got three bins at your unit and this is what they look like and sometimes you only have two bins. But when you put things in the bin, it means something … [F]or us, we've had campaigns … and they make sense and we understood them. But for our new arrivals, then, how do they get that information? How do they actually know that the green thing outside is a rubbish bin that they can put their household waste in?
>
> (Catherine, interview, 9 September 2013)

Information sessions provided an environment of discussion and interactivity that Angela, a settlement worker with African communities, argued were a culturally preferable and more effective means of communication with refugee communities which valued high levels of interpersonal contact. In her view, personalised face-to-face information exchange was also more effective than media such as CDs and DVDs, which were believed to be more appropriate for low literacy and oral culture communities because they were watched and listened to rather than read:

> It's not because you give them the DVD that they will watch it more, I don't think so. They have all the equipment they need for that. They enjoy DVDs, but from their culture. Not for information, I don't think so. But interactive information session, workshop, where they can participate, show them things visually, they can touch as well. It's more efficient than [saying] here is the information, read it! And ask me if you don't understand something. They will never come back to you, never. No.
>
> (Angela, interview, 29 November 2012)

The multiple information channels agencies used also included word of mouth, which, as Adam pointed out from his experience as a settlement worker, could obviate the difficulties posed by differing literacy levels: 'Especially those who don't read and write. They cannot actually read the flyer … But some of their friends will say, oh, tomorrow or next week there will be information session that will be available in different languages'. In Angela's view, the practices of collectivism and a preference for oral communication within the communities she had worked with meant that word of mouth also contained within it a greater cultural obligation to pass information on within the community:

> … this notion of care, as well, that's probably stronger than in the Western society where we're more individualistic. They will think much more about, ah, okay, that could be good for someone else. Like, I was talking [to a client] about an information session that will happen and [said], do you think you could enjoy that or that will suit you or… Oh, yeah, maybe not me but I can pass that on.
>
> (Angela, interview, 29 November 2012)

While word of mouth may act as a preferred means of communication within an oral culture, it could also generate misinformation, as Angela went on to explain: 'But it's not reliable … So many times I've seen people … expecting something … that we gave [information on] at the beginning, [but] the information was completely wrong at the end'. In addition, as Roy argued, while word of mouth as a method of information distribution had the capacity to reach those who could not read, it was also limited in its penetration within a community and, to be effective, required identifying who within that group would pass information on to others. This included identifying people beyond those who were ostensibly community leaders, as well as working in spaces where community members gathered:

> First of all, you have to use other service providers who might just happen to have someone with them [as a worker from the community] and they could relate something to [the community] … Then … you would have to talk to someone who could be a pastor or a church person. But then that wouldn't be completely sufficient. You would have to probably be lucky to strike a couple of family members, like heads of families, like fathers, [who would pass information on] and then your numbers could swell quite easily. And you have to get this sort of word of mouth going … And in the end, you get to know the people who do

> and the people who don't. The people who will pass on information and those who won't. And you just work with them. And sometimes they don't really have any sort of profile which you can say is a community leader's profile.
>
> (Roy, interview, 3 November 2013)

While most agency workers and their organisations used multiple methods for communicating information to refugee clients, written materials proved to be the least likely to bring about the information transmission that they, as settlement providers, were seeking. Written materials played a particular role in advertising settlement support events for refugee communities through small leaflets, or flyers, distributed across agencies for redistribution to refugee clients. Written materials also provided more extended program advice to clients via brochures, fact sheets, program guides and websites. However, materials such as these proved problematic as a method of information exchange. While designed to provide a first point of contact with clients about a service or an event, these materials often failed to reach them or to appear culturally relevant or manageable, as Angela pointed out: '[F]irst, they don't rely on flyers or reading booklet. Second, they don't store their documentation properly, so …'

For many agency workers, this led to a change in attitude to literacy as the culturally prioritised medium of information exchange within contemporary government and non-government service delivery. In providing settlement information workshops for refugee arrivals, Roy described how he began by using flyers to contact potential participants but changed his work practices as he learnt, through experience, about their limited effectiveness in relaying these details: 'I suppose I've changed my attitude to how I work completely around this question of information. I started off by thinking, oh, I'll try flyers. I tried flyers in different community languages'. As he discovered the limitations of flyers as a means of communication, Roy moved to information methods that involved direct verbal interaction with groups and individuals about upcoming workshop events: 'I'll make an announcement in a church. Then I went on to I'll find someone in the community to help me to get people to come along'. In Roy's experience, written materials such as brochures, which were often produced in large numbers for distribution at events across the settlement sector, were also rarely used by refugee arrivals as a point of engagement with services or a means for exploring information about service entitlements:

> I've never seen … anyone pull out a brochure and say to me, now, in here it says I can get a, b and c. Or there's this, this and this. I've never seen it happen. I've got cupboards full of this stuff and I leave them out at workshops and I pack them up again and then they come out again.
>
> (Roy, interview, 3 November 2013)

While designed primarily for communication with program clients, written material such as flyers and brochures had an additional purpose which, in Roy's view, was to advertise events to other agencies to prevent programming clashes but also to territorialise and control spaces of expertise in an environment of competitive funding: 'So flyers don't work, really. They really work for other agencies. They're about claiming space and time

for diaries. A diary space to say, don't you run anything at the same time that we're running something. Or, this is our area'.

As an education provider, Catherine relayed information about English language courses that refugee arrivals were eligible for within written course guides that her organisation published annually on paper and the web. In writing these guides, Catherine found herself entangled in a liminal space of knowledge production in which language could not be readily converted into meaning. In the condensed and codified space of the course guide, the terms that were available to her in English to depict the experience of learning could not convey the meaning of the course to those refugee arrivals for whom the course was intended. Catherine expressed concern that the language of written course descriptions, when read by new arrivals with limited English, could not make the learning experience 'real' to them as potential students. This concern paralleled Simon's description in the previous chapter of written communication's limited ability to make meaning believable for oral culture people:

> We have [printed] information on what the courses are and how the courses run and that kind of thing. But it's so complicated, you know. That whole field is incredibly complicated to explain in a one-page flyer … I think, well, what will I put in that? Because if I put things in that so that *you* understood, then it's easy. If I'm putting it in there for … a Level 1 student, who does actually need the English language and … does actually need to get the information to … do the course, I can't put any words in there that are going to be real enough. And there's not enough capacity to be able to do the translation … to understand it well. So I end up usually with the most weirdest things that end up printed with regard to the courses. Because it's such a complicated space.
>
> (Catherine, interview, 9 September 2013)

Most agency workers identified face-to-face communication as their preferred method of conveying information to groups undergoing settlement. In his work with refugee communities, James prioritised 'talking and socialising' in exchanging information, as these methods enabled knowledge to become 'situational—he's just been to Centrelink and he's done this, this and this and he's got into trouble for that and I'll just pass it on'. Roy argued that the preference among workers for face-to-face communication was influenced by the cultural value given by many new communities to dialogue through personal contact:

> [W]e've been told [by refugee clients] quite clearly that they don't like printed materials. They don't like fact sheets. They don't use websites. They like that dialogue between you and the person. They believe it if they hear it with you and they can talk to you about it. It's in that discussion that information is really exchanged and values can be checked out and issues raised.
>
> (Roy, interview, 3 November 2013)

In Roy's view, direct face-to-face communication was more than just an alternative to the modality of written information with equivalent capacity to provide meaning. He had concluded, after many years delivering information to newly arrived communities via various methods, that the relationality possible in a face-to-face exchange was fundamental to the development of knowledge in the context of settlement. Despite written communication's ability to extend into a community beyond the point of its production, for Roy this modality lacked the interactivity of the relationship between speaker and listener. At the same time, however, the relational benefits of interactivity were offset by the limitation that information could only reliably be conveyed during the moment of conversation, with no assurance for him, as a settlement worker, that it would travel further:

> I've come to actually believe in my own work practice that information is only exchanged when I am there and they are there. And it's as simple as that. No amount of fact sheets, flyers [will work]. I have to have them with me. They have to be with me. We have to be spending time together and talking. And the people who get that information are those people who are there. I can't guarantee that other people will get that information from the people who are there. I can't guarantee anything after that point in time.
>
> (Roy, interview, 3 November 2013)

Agency workers used a number of communication styles to convey information to refugee clients. These communication styles focused on pictorial content, a conversational, question-and-answer approach to interaction in workshops, simple terminology, practical examples and simplified systems of service. Jennifer's agency described the services it gave to refugee clients 'via pictures' on computer screens or, in complex cases, Jennifer worked 'with a white board and a marker and try and explain it that way. Because it's too hard and too long winded and too much legal description in a lot of what we have to say. So I've got to simplify it'. The first stage in her agency's services for refugee arrivals had also been simplified, as Jennifer recounted, to 'one sheet', with a 'vulnerability tag' placed on a new client's record for twelve months: '[I]f things go pear shaped and they don't comply or they don't whatever, before any failures are looked at, they'll take into consideration the language barrier … So there's a lot of leniency given initially when they first come here'. In carrying out health assessments as part of establishing new refugee entrants within the health care system, Carol also found 'pictorial things are very helpful'. Health assessments were conducted soon after arrival and Carol held these consultations with family groups, rather than family members individually, to retain 'the safety of family cohesion', and only 'broach[ed] on subjects … very briefly'. Information and life skills sessions within Joanna's agency concentrated on a combination of discussion in workshops with practical experience gained through guided visits to new environments, as she explained:

> Or, yeah, go to the shops. Coles. Talk about Home Brand. What's expensive. Organic versus not … And they do a session in a couple of family groups to go around and look at prices and purchasing. What does that all mean … We revisit that again with the house. Cleaning, domestic

> chores. [Our] life skills [session] goes over that again. A lot of it's practically done … Getting in with some doing, listening and talking. And chatting about what you've experienced, too. And then rehashing again … So we aim at the practical element … To help our clients transition but also explain to them, yeah, the oddities of Australia. Because there are a lot [*laughs*].
>
> (Joanna, interview, 6 August 2013)

The information practices agency workers used also included support from accredited interpreters engaged through language services such as TIS National and Oncall.[3] Jennifer's work with new arrivals involved 'train[ing] the staff how to use the dual headsets. How to get an interpreter. To make sure, if we can have them, we've got face-to-face interpreters in the office'. A number of agencies employed cultural support workers to provide conversational-level language support, as Joanna explained: 'So it's not a direct interpretation, it's a conversational interpretation. And we find that that works really well because sometimes things get lost in a direct interpretation'.[4] However, not all services that refugee arrivals engaged with used interpreters, which affected their capacity to access resources necessary for settlement. As a resettled refugee, Adam argued that success in applying for a rental property depended on effective communication, which was not possible when real estate agencies did not use the language support available through interpreting services:

> Because real estate officers who deal with people daily to oversee the process of application and all this, they are very busy. And if I go with my broken English, with my heavy accent, with that English not understandable, they would prefer to talk to someone whom they can understand and that's it. Because I will need an interpreter. I will say, oh, I need an interpreter. They don't have time to call interpreters. So automatically that contributing to me losing the chance to get a house.
>
> (Adam, interview, 4 May 2013)

Agency workers distinguished between on-site interpreting and phone interpreting in terms of their effectiveness, but also in terms of complex intersections of privacy, trust, gender and pre-arrival histories of conflict within communities, as well as the power dynamics present within client/provider relations. Access for agency workers to on-site interpreters was limited by their local availability and the additional cost of paying for interpreters to travel from outside the region. Working with an interpreter could also take time, which reduced cost-effectiveness where a service was billed to clients according to the time involved, such as in health care consultations, as Carol pointed out: 'And it does take time. I sat on the phone for twenty minutes trying to get a phone interpreter today. And if you're a GP, that's … money. It's big money … Because interpreters take time and time is the biggest issue'. Phone interpreting was less effective in group work but could often be the only form of support available in a particular language. However,

[3] TIS National and Oncall are described in more detail in Chapter 1.
[4] Cultural support workers are settlement staff employed from the same language backgrounds as new arrivals.

while less effective for groups, language support over the phone could provide a greater level of privacy, as Jennifer explained:

> We've had people come in that don't want to see our face-to-face interpreter so we'll put them on the phone. So the phone one can be from anywhere in Australia. So they don't know that person, which works well on a one-on-one. But when I've got to go out and do information sessions, it's very hard to get a phone interpreter. We can't do it over the phone. It's just not loud enough. So I have to use the interpreters that are here. And that sometimes is the issue as well.
>
> (Jennifer, interview, September 2013)

Despite the requirements placed upon accredited interpreters to ensure service clients' privacy and confidentiality, community members were reportedly often reluctant to provide information to a service via an on-site interpreter who was from outside the family. In Jennifer's experience, an interpreter from within the community but not the family could raise fears about the consequences of exchanging personal details: 'They say, well, if I say something, then he'll go out and tell so-and-so out in the street'. This reluctance was compounded where communities spoke the same language but shared an extended history of internecine conflict. These experiences affected community members' willingness to engage with interpreters from the other side of the dispute:

> It's not easy. So you're not just fighting the language barrier, you're fighting the cultural barrier and the cultural divide … I'm talking about the divide within that individual culture itself … I mean, even now, we've got Pashtus and Hazaragis together and the Pashtus are the persecutors of the Hazaragis.
>
> (Jennifer, interview, 6 September 2013)

As a refugee arrival who had worked in settlement, Michael recalled the struggle his agency engaged in to increase settling communities' use of interpreters to avoid miscommunication. In his experience, new arrivals preferred to rely on trusted members of the family or the community, who were also more readily available:

> Even the community would refuse to use the interpreters. They would say, no, no, no, I got my friend. I will ring my friend [to] come with me. And we just say, no, you need to use the interpreters. So was a kind of a fight and I think we won that fight. Because it was right … to use interpreters. So there was miscommunication, sometimes, with someone who is struggle with English and … end up not getting things right.
>
> (Michael, interview, 20 December 2013)

Resistance within agencies to using interpreters could result from hostility to non-English speakers generally, as well as a fear of engaging in the process itself. Using an interpreter transferred control over communication to a third person and in a language that a service provider would not understand, as Carol described from her experience in health care:

> And a lot of people say, they're in our country, they have to speak English. And I say, they've been in our country for five days! … And encouraging people to not be afraid to use interpreters. Because people are fearful of it. It's something that's different to them. Particularly in the health system. Particularly medicos. They're in control.
>
> (Carol, interview, 16 October 2013)

Establishing trust in language support within refugee clients was made more complex by the power relations operating between a client and a service provider, which, in Carol's experience, affected non-English speakers' capacity to exercise their right to clear communication: 'And I know that the general public won't stand up to a GP. It's the power over [the patient]. Let alone someone that doesn't speak the language or understand the system or culture'.

Cultural practices concerning gendered communication also shaped the effect of trust in language support. Michael outlined how the interaction of trust and gender could prevent information from being exchanged effectively, particularly in areas of social life bounded by protocols which demarcated culturally sensitive knowledge:

> Some cultural things are difficult, too, like with a female interpreting for male. Male, instead of asking the female, will just say, no, I don't want to talk. Or, if he is ready to talk, he will just say opposite things but not talk exactly about what the problem is. Simply because it is not culturally appropriate … So it's all about trust, yes. And cultural aspects of different communities.
>
> (Michael, interview, 20 December 2013)

In Michael's view, this intersection of communication, culture and feeling could significantly compromise a service outcome through the construction of misinformation, 'especially when it come to those things that you can't compromise. Things like doctor's questions. You just need to be accurate, so that you get the right medication. We get the right treatment. Banking, finance, money, legal things'. At the same time, despite fears within the community about loss of privacy and a preference for language support from familiar and trusted sources, those agencies which routinely employed interpreter services were often called upon for help with concerns outside their mandate. Jennifer explained how her agency's use of language support led to requests from refugee arrivals for assistance with other organisations whose services did not recognise the communication needs of non-English speakers:

> They'll have a letter but it won't be one of ours, but they don't know what it says … Because we have the interpreters, they know they can communicate. And no matter how much you say to them this is not [our] issue, [they don't listen]. No, I can't talk to the bank on your behalf, sorry. I don't know why that money's gone out of your bank account. You'll have to talk to the bank. But they don't have interpreters.
>
> (Jennifer, interview, 6 September 2013)

The multiplicity of information channels used by settlement agencies established new connections for communities with state-delivered services and wider community organisations. However, in establishing these information-mediated connections, agency workers operated from within a space of settlement practice which required them to work across disparate systems of service. In their experience, these systems varied in their response to the information needs of those from displaced and oral culture populations, creating a dichotomised space of expertise and responsibility regarding support for emerging refugee communities.

6.4 Establishing information relationships: '… we're across their whole life'

While settlement workers engaged in building new relationships for refugee entrants across a range of domains in social and community life, in Roy's view, agency clients were often unaware of what was involved in this process of construction: '… we establish relationships with real estate agents, with banks and with Centrelink … directly between the client and … organisations. Without the client knowing … what was really happening'. In this 'behind the scenes' space of settlement work, agencies engaged with other organisations undertaking government-funded settlement support in often close working relationships across differing programs, as Jennifer explained:

> The people within those organisations have my direct phone number so a lot of that complex casework is done that way, too. So if someone is in at [an agency] and they're just completely at a loss as to what to do—I mean, I get lost sometimes as to what to do because our systems are so complex—so it's easier for them to ring me and me try and sort it out. Rather than get the customer to come in, sit, wait and all that sort of stuff. So there's a lot of that goes on between the organisations.
>
> (Jennifer, interview, 6 September 2013)

Catherine argued that these close working relationships had built up 'a really good network' across a small group of agencies engaged in the 'early settlement phases'. Her work with refugee background students included regular, even daily contact with the primary settlement agency: 'A really good relationship has been built … where … [t]he manager and I would probably talk once a day, if not several times when there's issues'. From his experience in supporting refugee arrivals, Anthony felt that the smaller institutional space of settlement in a regional area had a positive effect on program outcomes as most workers knew each other, irrespective of their program areas, and more effective service coordination was possible through a higher level of informal communication:

> [M]any of the service providers and staff are really close and network with each other … [D]ifferent community organisations who specialise in different areas, supporting a community once it gets their attention. Say, like now, today, it's the Afghan women. So everybody is trying to help them … So, people come in, what can our organisation do? And this other organisation is doing this and so on. Then somebody is doing

> something to supplement what they are doing … Communication is very informal but the outcome coming from that is very significant.
>
> (Anthony, interview, 18 December 2013)

However, while agencies engaging directly with refugee arrivals formally and informally shared information about developments within the space of settlement itself, outside this space of agreed exchange, as Carol explained, 'systems don't talk to each other'. In establishing information relationships across services for their clients, agency workers operated within a dichotomised space of expertise, in which specialist services developed systems for responding to humanitarian entrants 'inside settlement' but more mainstream services framed their systems 'outside settlement', with limited awareness of refugee arrivals' needs or articulated strategies for responding to these. In establishing new arrivals as clients within the health care system, Carol found it difficult to pass on the information she collected about their health care requirements to the next level of care in the system, which would have routine and ongoing responsibility for their welfare but had not developed the cultural and systemic expertise to engage with them as health care consumers. This dichotomisation was made more complex to negotiate for Carol by refugee communities' own lack of understanding about Australian health care systems, as well as cultural practices around time and appointments:

> And I used to send all the discharge summary to a nominated GP … and they'd all end up coming back on my fax machine. Because these people don't turn up … [A]nd I'd get [the discharge summary for] a family of ten back [with a note from the GP's practice saying] I have no idea who this family is. Here it is all again. So I'd be thinking, where do I send it?
>
> (Carol, interview, 16 October 2013)

A contributing factor in this dichotomisation of inside/outside settlement stemmed from the differing scales of engagement with refugee clients across all forms of government, non-government and commercial service. Joanna contrasted the intensity but also breadth of support that settlement as a specialist service gave to new arrivals with the narrower points of engagement that other agencies and enterprises, outside the space of settlement, established with their clients:

> [B]ecause we're across their whole life and we go to other services [to] link them in … [Other services] can say, oh, well, you're here for my issue [as a service]. Well, your issue is just one part of the twenty part person … So it's, I guess, helping the services to understand. Okay, it's an issue for you right now but that's only one little avenue of an entire person's world. We're working in that whole world, not just that slice. How do we best manage that for you? … But I guess the multicultural space is small so I can't expect … that every single service will understand. We're a specialty service, aren't we?
>
> (Joanna, interview, 6 August 2013)

In establishing information relationships for newly-arrived refugee families in the health care system, Carol was aware that, after their initial health assessment with her, clients would move across providers such as hospitals, medical and dental clinics and pharmacies, who operated outside the space of settlement. As well as the discharge summary she provided for registering new arrivals with a general practitioner, Carol also developed small strategies in which she hoped basic health information that she documented for families informally would move with them across these systems, taking this information to the health services they encountered there:

> But I'll say through the interpreter on the phone, I've given them a piece of yellow paper. That is [for] if they've a lot of dental pain to get someone to help them ring to make an urgent dental appointment. On the back of that piece of paper I'll often write whatever the person's name is and 'vision assessment required'. Or 'to see GP for medication'. So I'll write … little notes on the back. So that piece of yellow paper, even if they can take it to their cultural support worker, I know that the message might get down the track … Or if you take this to the chemist and explain 'asthma', all chemists … are registered to be online for interpreters.
>
> (Carol, interview, 16 October 2013)

A number of agency workers expressed concern about the effect of refugee clients moving outside the space of intensive settlement support on their ability to engage with information. Anthony argued that, while providing information that enhanced settlement was a priority across specialist programs, this was not the case with information made available to the wider community by 'mainstream' services. At the same time, in Anthony's view, providing more mainstream information was not possible in the early post-arrival period as it would be 'too much' to absorb:

> So then how do you get that information to them that is not just only coming from settlement programs but also what is the general information that most of the community understood as normal? Coming from mainstream organisations. Which they will eventually get in touch with but they're now in this initial state where this is too much.
>
> (Anthony, interview, 18 December 2013)

Agencies' strategies for connecting humanitarian arrivals with the state and the wider community operated within systems of governmentality that placed pressure on their roles and could constrain their work. These included periodic changes in funding systems, program criteria and policy directions, as well as in the requirements of the settlement contracts themselves. For Joanna, systemic shifts in policy produced an ongoing unpredictability within her agency's business environment: 'Immigration's requirements are always changing. Eligibility for visas is changing … [W]e call it dancing on a shifting carpet. Every day … you're just dancing on it to make it through'. In Jennifer's experience, 'budget restraints' had an immediate effect on service levels, particularly when establishing new arrivals as clients within her agency's systems:

> … it's like everywhere else, budget restraints and everything. We don't have as many staff as we used to but the number of people coming in through our door is increasing. So there is quite long wait times … Because it's not a quick interview. You've gotta do a lot of stuff.
>
> (Jennifer, interview, 6 September 2013)

In providing English language training to new entrants within the first five years of arrival, Scott's agency would become 'caught up in bureaucracy. We get caught up with the funding, with all that stuff'. For Scott, as for Joanna, the most onerous constraints flowed from the unpredictable fluctuations in visa eligibility and larger scale, national level policies regarding refugee protection. These changes were felt within agencies such as his, but also within communities themselves, with serious consequences for personal wellbeing, identity and security:

> It's got very complicated recently with all the changes around eligibility. HSS is in and then it's out and community determination is in and then it's out. And they're going to Manus Island and then they're not. That's having a real impact on the ground for us at the moment. So the category that used to be TPVs, those have just disappeared.[5] And we had a cohort who were coming to us funded who now can't because the regulation changed in Canberra. So even though they're not the boat people, they've been sucked up into the whole boat people thing because of their visa category … You can get subsidised housing. You can get subsidised public transport. All those things disappear overnight. There was a group when it first happened, when the first Manus Island thing happened eight months ago, we had a class full of … Iraqi males, who were community determination. In other words, they were placed here while they were waiting the outcome of their settlement. They lost their rights overnight. So they went from functional members of the community to absolutely nothing in one day.
>
> (Scott, interview, 28 August 2013)

The contracts for service provision that agencies operated under specified the activities they were to carry out for clients and communities during settlement. While these specifications were based on an analysis of communities' needs at the time the contracts were entered into, they also introduced a level of inflexibility in program delivery that reduced agencies' capacity to respond to changes in communities over time. Anthony recounted how fixities in contracts made it difficult for agencies to adapt their programming as new information needs emerged from within refugee groups:

> When we apply for the funding, we say these are the plans for the year. Everything is fixed. So you have to negotiate [with the department] and meet halfway. Then suddenly there's this other issue and the issue you thought six months ago would be the issue is not. Would be like, say, driving is important. And then you start the program but the community

[5] TPV: Temporary Protection Visa

> that you are working with has moved on. They are now driving. And you are fixed on this outcomes required by the department. But it's outdated. It can change in six months and then suddenly the issue becomes now domestic violence. And in your program which you applied for, there is nothing about domestic violence. Oh, okay, how do I get into this domestic violence? But they will not recognise this in the system because it's not in the program, in the work plan. So you just find ways to work around it. That's the only way.
>
> (Anthony, interview, 18 December 2013)

A related pressure on settlement service providers arose from the reporting requirements embedded in each contract. In acquitting their contracts, providers gave routine reports on program outcomes, including the numbers of participants, to funding bodies. James' work with newly settling communities led him to question whether these requirements increased a program's capacity to provide information to refugee clients or imposed an artificial yardstick for measuring success that prioritised participant numbers over more qualitative effects:

> Because our government wants to see numbers. They don't want to know [about] effect. There've been forty people have had a presentation, therefore they should know. They've no idea what it is. They all speak a different language. But the [participant numbers go] on the form [for reporting]. Off it goes and the people who've got it, the grey people, have got the proof that the message is getting across. And it isn't.
>
> (James, interview, 12 July 2013)

Agency workers used a range of strategies and techniques to establish relationships for refugee arrivals with state services and commercial enterprises which would enable their re-entry into the community of citizens. These relationships functioned through the production and exchange of information, in particular personal details that evidenced the right to access these resources as newly-arrived permanent residents. However, once these relationships were established, clan members faced a number of challenges in maintaining them, particularly when they were no longer eligible, as refugee entrants, for funded settlement support.

6.5 Maintaining information relationships: '… be sure, the government knows *everything*'

The overarching policy aim of settlement was to develop 'empowerment and independence' among refugee communities, as Joanna pointed out. However, clan members' capacity to independently maintain the connections established with services became entangled with unfamiliar cultural practices for engaging with these facilities, new concepts associated with this engagement and the unexpected systemic connectedness of Australian governmentality. In reflecting on the pressure on new arrivals to maintain these relationships once they were established, Roy outlined the difficulties encountered in doing so in areas such as education, housing and utilities:

> And that those particular relationships are time-limited and have to be renewed by them later on. And so there's this whole thing around them not knowing that a lease has to be renewed. The same thing if you don't pay electricity on time. It gets cut off. Or that you have to enrol at school at certain times or you have to be at school at certain times. Because the intensity of the settlement processes is such that trying to get the clients to actually, physically, have that relationship with a particular agent is quite difficult. And conversely, the agent doesn't necessarily want to have that relationship with them. They want a quick fix. And they want you [as a settlement worker] to do it for them. So it's not a win-win situation.
>
> (Roy, interview, 3 November 2013)

For many clan members, as Michael related in Chapter 5, 'just asking' was the principal means of obtaining support in maintaining their relationships with the state and the community. Simon described how he '[j]ust ask people all the time. Just ask. How can I do this thing? Do you know how to do this thing?' However, in agency workers' experience, new arrivals were unable to decipher, from the information environments of state and commercial services, who to ask, what to ask or how to ask for the help they needed. Jennifer explained that, '[w]hen it comes to asking agencies for information, they don't know who does what. They don't know who to ask'. Celia's observation of the problems associated with asking for help led her to conclude that refugee clients also 'don't know what they need, you know … [E]ssentially they don't know what to ask'. Catherine argued that recent arrivals were sometimes not aware that choices in service support were even available: 'Not knowing who to ask. Not knowing the question to ask. Not knowing that there is even an option there'. Jennifer reflected that it was not until 'things are wrong' that clients could learn that a problem might exist: '… you don't know what you don't know, until you need to know it'.

In response to these gaps of culture and knowledge, Celia focused on building skills within refugee clients in practices of asking: 'I teach them how to ask questions. How to approach people. How to get help. How to appeal [against a decision]. How to make complaints. How to fix things'. In Celia's view, a space of knowledge liminality opened up between services and clients, when clients approached services working outside settlement to ask them for help. Services with little infrastructure for supporting refugee clients were less able to comprehend problems they were presented with by newly-arrived communities, while community members often did not have the necessary cultural or systemic resources with which to frame the problem itself:

> [T]hey meet a receptionist who can't analyse what they're asking. And sometimes they're very confusing. Like, they'll come with an avalanche of stuff. And to pick it up and work out what they really want. 'Cause they often don't know what they want. So they're very unfocused because they don't have the context and they don't know where to start and they don't know who to go to.
>
> (Celia, interview, 31 July 2013)

Agency workers felt that seeking help was made more complex by the many new concepts refugee arrivals encountered in satisfying the terms of engagement with services. In Angela's experience, '… [r]enting a house, what does that mean here? … Forms are not that important in Africa. Transport is a big issue as well. You don't just jump in a car and go and drive even if you can. You're not allowed to'. Jennifer expressed concern that refugee clients reframed new concepts culturally, which reduced their capacity to comprehend the information they had been given and increased the risk of misinformation.[6] The effects of this reframing were compounded by limitations within services, such as the time available for client interaction, on the capacity to check whether unfamiliar concepts and terms had been understood:

> Or them completely, in their minds, reorganising what we've just said to them to fit in with what they know. Which is not necessarily what we're saying. And until it goes wrong further down the track, you've got no way of knowing that … And given the amount of people that we're pushing through and the time that we've got to spend with people in there, it's not that easy to keep checking it.
>
> (Jennifer, interview, 6 September 2013)

In Roy's experience, the terms underpinning the relationship that information mediated between client and provider, such as the obligations embodied in a housing lease, were themselves culturally alien. This unfamiliarity could render the entire relationship seemingly unimportant: 'And the extent to which that relationship is important is not really known. So if I'm paying rent … and in this house, then I'm in the house. The fact that there is a lease, that … it can be inspected, that you have to maintain things, these are all things found out later'.

Clan members depended for help in maintaining connections with services, in Simon's experience, 'on the people we know or the relative … who was been here longer than us'. This placed considerable pressure on community members to provide each other with support, as Simon explained: 'Some people they postpone even not to go to their work if there is a lot of demand from people to help them. [People] say … I need you to help me how to apply to migration … [or with] real estate agents'. The preference for engaging with familiar people also meant relying on known settlement workers for support, regardless of their area of expertise, and a tendency to avoid those agencies which were less well known. Carol, a health worker, explained how:

> … they'll come to me and want this fixed, that fixed and this fixed … I have no idea of the system of getting people out here and which forms to fill in. And, no, I don't know about Medicare … And how you ring Africa to get a message to five blocks down the road, I don't know about that. [They think] I'm Mister Fix It.
>
> (Carol, interview, 16 October 2013)

Agency workers were aware of refugee clients' preference for dealing with known staff within the settlement sector. Sharon felt that 'it takes a very, very, very long time for

[6] The practices used to reframe information during settlement are explored further in Chapter 7.

people to actually access services themselves'. At the same time, however, community members preferred not to engage with workers they knew over the phone or by email, as Celia recounted, but rather to meet face-to-face. This cultural preference in practices of engagement limited the opportunities for providing and receiving support:

> They won't make telephone contact. They won't email me … They'll come and knock on my door ... I've built up a huge clientele and the way I do it is by face-to-face. I'm always here. They won't leave notes under my door. They won't leave a message. It's gotta be face-to-face.
>
> (Celia, interview, 31 July 2013)

Olivia recalled how refugee arrivals' resistance to visiting unfamiliar non-settlement agencies and responding to communications from any agency, as well as to contacting her for help by phone or email, prevented them from satisfying the conditions for maintaining access to resources. In supporting unaccompanied refugee minors, Olivia would:

> ... turn up at somebody's house and they'd say, oh, here you are, very glad you're here … [W]e've got this and this and this issue. And they would have had a letter from the real estate agent two weeks ago or a phone call or something and hadn't responded. So I'd say, why didn't you ring me? This is really urgent … They would wait until I turned up at their home to exchange information or ask me about things. They wouldn't ring … So I'd get there and then I'd be on the way out the door with one of the boys and the twenty-year-old sister would say, oh, I need to know this. They would have saved up their bits of things that they needed help with until I was actually present. And I would repeatedly give them my number and say, call me any time.
>
> (Olivia, interview, 9 September 2013)

Agency workers noted an inattention among settling communities to practices within contemporary governmentality which required individual identities to be maintained over time. These included advising government and commercial services on changes in personal circumstances. In Angela's experience, 'they will change their email address and not inform you, just like the phone number, as well. They don't remember to update their resume with new address, new phone number'. Olivia expressed concern about the instability in community members' identities as clients that resulted from the failure to maintain their client status with updated personal details:

> … they all change their phone number … [w]ith amazing rapidity … [I]f you change your mobile phone number four times a year, then all sorts of things are gonna drop out of your world … People and organisations and things are not going to be able to get hold of you. And there are consequences that then happen … So doing something really logical like … notifying all the organisations that have got your phone number or your change of address or whatever, it doesn't occur to them … But then they'll say, oh, the school didn't let us know about the parent-teacher

> meeting. They haven't let the school know about their change of address. So the notice about the parent-teacher meeting is sitting in the letterbox at their previous house. That sort of thing happened all the time.
>
> (Olivia, interview, 9 September 2013)

Clan members' capacity to maintain information relationships with services was further complicated by the extreme systematisation of Australian governmental processes when compared with the administration environments they had known during the Sudanese civil war and later in refugee camps located across its borders. As outlined in Chapter 4, displaced southern Sudanese living with the chaos and disruption of protracted conflict were caught within administrative regimes operated by the national Sudanese government, the south's rebel insurgency and international relief organisations providing humanitarian aid. These administrations could be experienced as weak and unreliable, as well as authoritarian, predatory and violent. Few encountered the governance infrastructure characteristic of public services within contemporary Northern states. Governance processes within states such as Australia set up complex systemic interconnections designed to bring about state policy intentions and maximise the surveillance, service and control of civil life. The system components of contemporary governmentality, such as election commitments, policy frameworks, planning schemes, budgetary cycles, accountability criteria and large-scale communications and data technology, across multiple levels of government, were not possible under conditions of a twenty-year civil war and have since been identified as a development priority for the new and fragile state of South Sudan.

For most clan members, this background of civil and military administration during extended conflict and displacement shaped their responses to the complexities of governance within Australian systems of service delivery. For most, dealing with 'the government' meant engaging with systems which appeared impenetrable, indecipherable and threatening. Roy's work with refugee entrants led to his observation that, in particular, the densely interconnected nature of systems of administration across all spheres of service was not easily understood:

> My experience is that there is almost no grasp of how interconnected everything is here. Everything is systems based. How agencies have databases that talk across the state and that if you go into an office here and then in [the capital city], your data has followed you. Sometimes interstate. I know of one family who got into trouble with their Centrelink payments so moved to another town because they thought the next Centrelink office wouldn't know about it. They don't understand that places like Centrelink and the bank and the Tax Office are all connected in some way. Or if they do, they don't understand *how* that happens.
>
> (Roy, interview, 3 November 2013)

Centrelink was one of the first agencies that humanitarian entrants engaged with and remained central to their welfare until they established secure employment. However, systemic linkages, such as those between Centrelink social support payments and income

from employment, via mechanisms such as the tax file number, were difficult to conceptualise, as Olivia reflected:

> [They] said how happy they were with Centrelink because it was far from the government. And [the agency worker] said, it's about as close to the government as you can possibly get and they were horrified … To them it's just Centrelink. We know it's the government but they don't know it's government.
>
> (Olivia, interview, 9 September 2013)

Agency workers expressed concern about refugee entrants' response to systematisation as a means for structuring service delivery and relations with state processes. Joanna described the bewildering new space of rule-driven knowledge and practice that service systems presented for new arrivals: 'So there's a lot of conversations … around our education system, what are our expectations. And welfare system, our child safety system. And in Australia, there are so many systems. And rules, rules, rules'. In Olivia's experience, the idea of networked systems caused anxiety among newly-arrived refugee service users as it implied a wider reach of governmental oversight than anticipated or desired. These system connections led to a belief, expressed by Simon, that 'look, be sure, the government knows *everything*. In this country, it has all your information'. In Jacob's view, information in Australia acted as a worrying form of surveillance because of its capacity to 'follow you' over time: 'if you say, I work in Australia, they say, where? … [O]kay, we will contact your … previous agent … And then they say, this man, no, we don't know [him]. The record follow you for whole life. Which is bad'.

In her work with African refugee families, Olivia routinely encountered an inability among community members to imagine the effect these articulations across systems would have on their engagement with services. The consequences of not responding to system requirements were also poorly understood, making it difficult for new arrivals to envision the information relationships established for them across all sectors of service essential to settlement:

> They see bits and it's very hard to make those links … [T]here's huge gaps in their [understanding]. And one of those things is not knowing the consequences of things. We know that if we do this then that will happen. But they don't know that. So they go and find a piece of paper at Centrelink and what next? They don't know that then there's going to be a letter and if they don't respond to that letter, they'll [not get their benefit] … Navigating systems is huge.
>
> (Olivia, interview, 9 September 2013)

In Olivia's experience, new arrivals from displaced communities 'only see that part that you are dealing with and [have] no awareness of the rest of it'. In her view, this was partly caused by previous experiences of chaos and flight: 'And they're not used to things being systematic, either. A lot of them are used to chaos. So the fact that you actually have to do this before that will happen … is almost [incomprehensible]'. The

relationships established between new arrivals and state and community services proved hard to manage, as the role of information in activating and maintaining these relationships was not fully appreciated. The interconnection between information and time, in which information was often required within set timeframes, was also difficult to situate culturally, leading to outcomes that affected families' welfare and security:[7]

> We see Centrelink on the envelope or whatever and we think, oh, Centrelink, better open that. It doesn't have the same triggers, necessarily, for them. And it might be to say … oh, there's this important piece of information missing. We need this information before we can activate your allowance … Well, inevitably, the youth allowance would be cut off and then there'd be this scramble … [to] get it all sorted out [*laughs*].
>
> (Olivia, interview, 9 September 2013)

Not comprehending the uses of information or its role within the law could have serious repercussions for newly arrived communities. Catherine described how refugee-background students she worked with had become entangled in credit card debt without understanding how this had occurred: '[T]hey filled in paperwork with the assistance of someone else and suddenly there's money coming out of their account. And [they] say, I owe all of this money and I don't know how that's happened'. Simon traced a connection between his community's aspirations as people who had lost much through conflict and displacement and their vulnerability in the information exchanges underpinning the acquisition of debt:

> Look, my people, we want everything, everything, when we first arrive. We don't understand about debt. We want a car and a big TV … but we don't understand the contract. So when you get the contract, you sign the paper and then you have killed yourself. You have this huge debt. And you don't know what you have done to yourself.
>
> (Simon, interview, 25 January 2013)

Like applications for resettlement within another nation's territory and for state support during settlement itself, contracts such as financial agreements drew clan members into an information relationship with the law which provided access to desired resources but also exposed them to the unforseen threat of material insecurity. Managing these information relationships posed particular challenges for clan members as they encountered the self-service environments of contemporary governmentality structured via digitalised information technology.

6.6 Information, technology and self-administration

Agency workers reflected on the increasing moves within state and commercial enterprises towards self-management of information by consumers, particularly in spheres of web-enabled systems. These changes in the culture and technology of information production, in their view, had implications for refugee communities that

[7] The role of time in arriving communities' responses to settlement information is discussed further in Chapter 7.

could lead to forms of information poverty. Jennifer's agency had 'gone more self-service' through computerised interfaces with its clients, which meant 'a lot less form filling out for everyone'. However, while these developments in self-administration provided greater flexibility, speed and efficiency, in James' view their implementation satisfied the aims of policy makers and commerce rather than the needs of new refugee entrants: '… and we give them a website. It's like baptising a cat [*laughs*]. It's just totally and absolutely inapplicable. And yet for the grey man in Brisbane or Canberra, well, what else do they want? It's ticked all the boxes'. In Joanna's experience, these developments were also problematic for refugee clients because of the technical and language skills required: '… it's great, if you've got computer skills. And again, if you read English'. Their greater cultural need for personal contact meant that her agency's refugee community clients:

> … are still coming through as our, I guess, old school traditional [consumers]. At the bank, they go up to the teller and ask him for twenty dollars out. [They don't] use the ATM. It's a different world [for them]. They're still accessing our old school service, the face-to-face way, which is still okay but it's not encouraged … But if you're not highly educated, [have a] good understanding of English, have access to a computer you can log into with Internet access. They're leaps and bounds away from that.
>
> (Joanna, interview, 6 August 2013)

The move to online services within a culture of consumer self-management was also believed to have cost implications for refugee communities. Celia argued that the practice within some education sectors of providing course materials online increased the fees associated with learning which students from refugee families could not meet and required access to technology that may not be available: 'So what's the point of saying you've got to have Internet when the person can't afford [it]. Or they've got a little Internet and they've got four people competing [to use it]. And they certainly can't afford a printer'. Sharon extended this concern with the move towards self-management of processes by recounting changes within her sector of education in which students arranged their own work placements with local employers. In Sharon's experience, this required an interaction which young people from refugee communities found culturally and technically difficult to undertake:

> [M]y students come to me and they'll say, oh, I'd love to work for Toyota or whatever in town. And what they're expected to do is ring or go and visit that business and put themselves forward. *They can't do that*. They can't hold a conversation. They can't explain it … [I]t's becoming more and more so that every student is expected to take the initiative and do that stuff themselves, whether they've got the skills or not. So the kids that don't have the skills to do that end up not doing work experience. So they become further and further disadvantaged because they don't have that ability to take the initiative and do those things themselves.
>
> (Sharon, interview, 23 October 2013)

James argued that self-administration as a cultural practice had little resonance with refugee arrivals from collectivist communities, for whom assistance was enacted via relationships of responsibility extending across lines of family and community kinship. In his view, the relationality of personalised support was a form of engagement that contemporary Northern service systems no longer offered and could not afford to resource:

> And refugees and migrants come into our digital world and it becomes very apparent that we really don't care. Even those of us who do care, there's a limit to how much conversation you can have … And a lot of the help that we offer is a referral. And that really is not help, from their perspective … You need help with this problem in your life and this department can help you. Go and see them. But *you* don't have that problem, so why can't *you* help me. Yeah, but there is a department that [does that]. And we do it without even thinking about it. And they take it as a door shut. They go [to] Centrelink … [and] the problem is my wife's left me and taken all the payments. Well, I can't help you with that. So the door's shut. It's your problem. Go and sort it out.
>
> (James, interview, 12 July 2013)

Most clan members reported using web-based sources of information in resettling, in particular the men and those who had been students in the Australian school system. However, as Olivia observed as a settlement worker, while 'their uptake of new technology has just been phenomenal', most notably in relation to the mobile phone, use of the Internet was generally limited to 'certain things and only in certain ways'. These 'certain things' mainly concerned finding work and housing, as well as news about South Sudan. Access to the Internet was also limited, as many clan members did not have Internet connections in their homes, most of which were rental properties. The role of communications technology in homes was also shaped by cultural expectations about sharing resources, as Simon pointed out, as well as the cost of access: 'People don't get landlines because everyone comes in and uses them and you can't stop them. They ring Africa ... So everyone is on mobile phones on pre-pay. The same with the Internet ... [E]everyone will come in and download stuff'.

In Jason's view, the Internet was not as culturally accessible as the mobile phone as a device for communication: 'But some they don't have Internet in their houses. And some also they are not used to the email so they don't know how to operate the computers or all this. But to call a person, everybody's got a mobile phone'. In addition, as Simon argued, agencies' practice of referring clients to their websites for information made it 'very, very hard' for his community to manage their needs as consumers:

> T]hey refer you to their website. They say, okay, this is our website. You can go and see. You can get the house. Is very hard for me to see if this house is good. Which street is this? Which part of [the city]? Is it … north or south? You can't even find out the area exactly … If you have a relative you want to bring to Australia, the migration department they refer you to their website … You don't know how to even download all

> this documents from their website. Which one to click … Even in the letter they send to you, they refer you to their website. But you don't know where to start with that website. Where to get this information. What document is more important to download. How to download it … It make it very, very hard.
>
> (Simon, interview, 25 January 2013)

The self-service environments of web-based information and delivery systems proved difficult for clan members to engage with in maintaining their relationships with services and the state. However, paper as an information technology proved equally problematic for this community, but also more invasive in its capacity to enter the home through letters, forms and the practices of paperwork.

6.7 Paperwork: 'What am I going to do with this?'

In Latourian terms, paper as an object is a commonplace yet profoundly constitutive technology within everyday social life. Paper can also establish identity which, for refugee entrants with few personal documents, had particular significance, as Joanna pointed out: 'If you lose your visa coming into this country, that's who you are'. Paper arrived at clan members' homes, in the form of letters, brochures and bills, through the unfamiliar processes of the Australian postal system. South Sudan does not yet have a direct-address postal system and mail must be collected from the post office itself. There is also no way of knowing whether a letter or parcel has arrived to be collected and postal services do not extend into village areas. The sense among clan members of information as a flood which could not be resisted, moderated or deflected, outlined earlier in Chapter 5, began for many with the letterbox outside their home. In discussing the high levels of communication in contemporary Australian information environments, Roy described how a young refugee client 'would go to the letterbox':

> And there was always letters … Then she would pull them out and she would look at them. And I could see that she had no idea what they were. She wasn't going to open them because she couldn't read them. But she knew she had something. And that something was now a problem. What am I going to do with this?
>
> (Roy, interview, 3 November 2013)

The problem of 'what to do with this' was exacerbated by a lack of cultural frames of reference within which to interpret paper as an object that, seemingly overnight, had become ever-present in daily life. Paper arriving in the home could present itself as an undifferentiated, uninterpretable and foreign mass of material. Jason, who resettled in the mid-2000s, described how, in the period following arrival, an inability to determine the status of the different forms of documentation that came into the home led to the practice of simply ignoring them:

> But the time when we came here we do ignore. Even I don't open it. When they come, just collect them and put them in the bin. 'Cause we

> were new to them. We were in the new life so we don't know which one is which. And we don't know why they are sending them to us.
>
> (Jason, interview, 9 February 2013)

Agency workers discussed how the need for help with decoding the significance of paper-based materials and determining how to respond to them led to refugee community members approaching them for support even when the issue contained in the document was not one their agency dealt with. Celia routinely supported students in sorting out problems that paper, as an information technology, brought into their lives. This included those that were not education related:

> [P]eople would arrive at the door with something on a piece of paper and they'd just give it to me. And stand there looking at me [*laughs*]. You know, what is this? Oh, okay, if you don't pay your telephone by yesterday, you'll be cut off. And they have no idea what to do with it … They don't know what it is but it looks bad.
>
> (Celia, interview, 31 July 2013)

Responses to paper as a technology of information appeared to derive in part from its absence as a means of engaging with the world in clan members' former lives in villages and cattle camps, as well as during the displacements of civil war. Paper played a greater role later in their lives in the systems associated with refugee protection, such as UNHCR registration, ration cards and permits for mobility, as well as the Red Cross methods for tracking family members and facilitating correspondence described earlier in Chapter 4. Paper also lacked cultural relevance as a device for creating engagement and meaning through processes such as documenting, filing and record keeping. In Celia's experience, the concept of recording life events, such as illness, as evidence to gain access to resources, such as sick leave, was culturally alien: 'They don't realise they can go to the hospital and get a doctor's certificate … [T]hey just don't want to tell anyone. But also they have no concept of how to document it'. Simon compared the 'mess' of papers in his bag in Australia with the information literacy practices he employed as a boy to care for his family's cattle grazing in the Nile River grasslands north of Bor:

> Look at my papers. A mess, a mess! When I was in the cattle camp and I wanted to know where is that cow, I looked over there and there. I looked for the colour and the shape of the horns. There is the colour and the shape. So I found it. There was no alphabet to arrange the cattle. Just colour and horns. Here everything is paper. I can't keep it straight.
>
> (Simon, interview, 25 January 2013)

The lack of congruence between paper as a technology for generating and ordering information and the mechanisms for creating taxonomies of knowledge that refugee entrants brought with them was routinely encountered by settlement workers. Joanna engaged in conversations with clients which sought to differentiate paper into a hierarchy

of significance that would frame how to respond to them. This would enable clients to manage documents within the cultural practices of paperwork associated with life here:

> And then when I get letters, what do I keep and what don't I? What's important and what's not? When I don't even know what's on them … So we talk it over. What do you keep? What don't you keep? What do *you* keep [they ask me]? Personally, what do *I* keep and the reasons for that.
>
> (Joanna, interview, 6 August 2013)

Differing language and literacy skills also shaped clan members' ability to decode the communications that paper brought into their lives. However, as Roy argued, these abilities were not as significant as a deep-seated aversion to engaging with documentation itself. In his view, this unwillingness stemmed from a collective belief that communication on paper was inherently deceitful and untrustworthy and could not be safely interpreted. Engaging with paper also meant entering a space of threat:

> Well, when you hear them discussing paper and … forms … it's not necessarily all to do with literacy. It's to do with I don't like being near documentation. I don't know what to do with it. I find it's not truthful. It's [a] pervasive [response]. I don't know what people really want from it … It's there to trick me. Or I'm going to get it wrong. I'm going to get myself in a mess.
>
> (Roy, interview, 3 November 2013)

A primary mechanism for reconnecting refugee arrivals with state and non-state services involved form filling, a recurrent and unavoidable activity which clan members and agency workers identified as foreign, alienating and problematic for refugee arrivals. Forms were often linked to databases designed to capture, monitor and, under certain circumstances, share clients' information and agencies' decisions. The predominance of form filling in Australia as a means for communicating with services and activating resources was contrasted with its absence in South Sudan. Michael, who resettled over a decade ago, noted that 'Australia is very, very, very formal in term of doing things on the papers'. Simon's younger cousin, Lucas, reflected on the contrasting administrative regimes of post-industrialised Australia and South Sudan's newly independent civil society:

> In South Sudan, actually, we don't have such things like fill in the forms and sending bill and all these things … since is a young country and things are going to be established now. We don't have them there … So it was different when I came here … [E]verything is forms. You have to fill [in the form]. You have to get the letter. You have to read … But filling of form, giving of letters, is not there in Southern Sudan.
>
> (Lucas, interview, 5 July 2013)

Benjamin, a cousin of Lucas and Simon, was sponsored here from Kakuma and since his arrival had been employed in a large regional meatworks. Like most clan members,

Benjamin experienced the emphasis on written information exchange as a clear break in cultural practice. Form filling stepped in between a problem and its solution, becoming a problem in its own right, rather than the agency that enabled a problem's resolution:

> Practical. You do thing by your hand. So before … there is no lot of school. Mostly … we are the farmers. Because no boys go to school … [Y]ou just go to farming. You … go to cattle camp. That is it. You go to hunting … That's what we do before. But here we have a lot of paperwork. We have at meatwork, you get it. If you work, like, and have some injury so you go and do the paperwork. So instead of getting something [to fix it], you get a lot of paperwork. Nothing easy.
>
> (Benjamin, interview, 5 July 2013)

For Benjamin, 'paperwork' was distinguished from 'practical' activities which produced an immediate outcome that directly contributed to the needs of everyday life: 'So everything [here] is do the paperwork. But back there, there is a lot of practical. You do things practical. Not the paperwork'.

The cultural break in communication constituted via form filling began for clan members as soon as they arrived. In recognition of this, Joanna's agency's system for meeting new entrants on arrival at the airport was designed to support them in navigating the information exchanges embedded in forms. Joanna explained how:

> … our team goes in the back door of Customs. We actually get to meet them at the plane and take them through that Customs process, because there's forms and declarations … From the very beginning [we] come in and walk them [through]. That's a massive, scariest [thing] … Welcome to Australia! We're starting with forms in hour one. And it's going to continue for the rest of your life here.
>
> (Joanna, interview, 6 August 2013)

Agency workers discussed how government and non-government services and commercial enterprises used administrative forms to establish the terms on which consumers of services obtained access to resources. Forms enabled the interaction necessary for service delivery via the question-and-answer sequence of a form's design. However, this interaction was undertaken from differing positions of power and cultural familiarity and within regimes of regulation which could exclude an applicant from a desired space of entitlement as much as provide approval for entry. Joanna described refugee arrivals' confusion in engaging with the labyrinthine complexities of these formalised methods of information exchange and their bewildering repetition of requests for personal histories:

> And the *forms*. My goodness, in Australia we have so many forms … to sign and sign and sign again. School enrolments, there's about twenty pages just for one school enrolment … They say, but I've already signed

> this. What's this for now, [they ask], when we get to the third or fourth page of the form.
>
> (Joanna, interview, 6 August 2013)

Administrative processes based on forms were also experienced as sites of risk and resistance. Non-compliance with a form's requirements or failure to provide the right information at the right time could jeopardise an application's outcomes. As an agency worker, Adam argued that the densely bureaucratic forms of major government agencies were not simply the benign effect of poorly designed paperwork. Forms such as these contained an implied threat of punishment for non-compliance with the rules for receiving entitlements and enabled the state's real aim, which in Adam's view was to 'cut people off', to be achieved. The risk of being cut off simultaneously engendered a form of self-discipline:

> They make it complicated. Simply because the people … employed by the government to design these forms are really sending a message that we have to frustrate these people. Because if they are getting money for free we must give them a lot of thinking [*laughs*]. A lot of work. And with the threat, if you don't fill out this form and bring it on time, we will do this and do this. We will cut you off. This is what it is all about. This all about stopping the money if you don't do it.
>
> (Adam, interview, 4 May 2013)

For clan members, the exchange of information via administrative forms enabled the establishment of a new relationship with the state and community as residents entitled to receive the support of services. However, forms also played a part in the construction of the South Sudanese diaspora, as clan members struggled to escape their condition of refugee exception through resettlement and rebuild lives scattered yet connected across time and space.

Among the many forms that clan members engaged with in undertaking settlement, the most pivotal and high-stakes documents were the application for third country resettlement and, once settled, the application for family sponsorship, which, if successful, could help reunite a family and rebuild a community. Both forms placed pressure on clan members to construct a life story within categories of information that satisfied the decision making criteria of an opaque and distant immigration authority. Constructing the narrative that would bring about the desired outcome of resettlement required identifying trusted expertise in form filling and activating information resources spread across the diaspora. While Benjamin's sponsor was a cousin living in South Australia, Isaac, who lived in Queensland, completed Benjamin's sponsorship form:

> I fill so many [sponsorship] form. Even the form for Benjamin, I was the one filling it. I made the life history but I wasn't the sponsor for him. Was another cousin is now in [South Australia]. So I made the full made-up history for Benjamin. The thing that he put in was his own date of

> birth. But the full life history that he came into Australia was made up by me … I just put in whatever I can imagine make sense.
>
> (Isaac, interview, 6 July 2013)

Putting in 'whatever I can imagine make sense' constituted a micro-site of resistance against the erosion of commitment to refugee protection within Northern receiving countries and the growing cynicism about asylum seekers' claims. As outlined in Chapter 1, refugee protection globally operates within increasingly hostile and punitive regimes of exclusion. In these environments of deterrence and disbelief, the information placed in an application for resettlement or sponsorship had to be considered with care, as Isaac emphasised:

> …[I]s something you have to think about it carefully … Because is better to [write] something that will motivate someone to … read it. Oh, Isaac has been in this situation. Is better to give him this chance to come to Australia. So you have to think that if I write this one, that will make sense and then … it will give you a chance of getting here.
>
> (Isaac, interview, 6 July 2013)

In 2003, Isaac accompanied a relative and her children to Australia. His relative's lack of English reading and writing meant that another Kakuma resident completed their application for resettlement. From this experience, he came to understand the implications of information for resettlement decision making, which set for him the logic for constructing a narrative of displacement within sponsorship application forms he filled out later in Australia:

> My [relative], she doesn't speak and she can't read English, so our form was fill by some of the guy in the refugee camp that we thought was expert in filling forms. So when he filling in, I get all the information what the Australian Embassy require to go to Australia. So I compare my form that I came to Australia and that's how I write the form for Benjamin. So I knew what the Australian Embassy after … for the person to come to Australia.
>
> (Isaac, interview, 6 July 2013)

As displaced people who had crossed undocumented into another territory's sovereignty and thus entered the condition of statelessness, clan members had engaged with administrative processes through which they redefined themselves as 'refugees' to gain international protection and support. They were also acutely aware of the arbitrariness of states' decision making and the chances of an application for re-entry into citizenship via resettlement being accepted. Through these multiple re-identifications, they had encountered the power of information to radically determine their life chances. Thus, the deployment of information via the mechanism of forms was imbued with a life-or-death quality from which there was little chance of going back, as Isaac explained:

> If you said [on the application form], my dad and mum, they are the richest people in south Sudan and I want to come to Australia, [they will say] what the point of you coming to Australia? Your dad and mum are the wealthy people in that country so you can't come here … There's a hundred per cent sure I can't come to Australia. But if you think, I lost my mum in that time of the year, hopefully, they will give a person [a chance]. You have to give the accurate information that will attract the reader. If I put this thing in, oh, yep, it make sense.
>
> (Isaac, interview, 6 July 2013)

For clan members, providing information via forms was set against long experience of refugee camp bureaucracies which contained little juridical space for appeal against decisions, as outlined in Chapter 4. These experiences of protection administration, as well as the limited possibilities globally of gaining a resettlement place, led to the development of a nuanced understanding within the community of the value of personal histories, as well as a diasporic network of shared expertise in engaging with bureaucratised information exchange. Second-guessing what authorities were seeking in resettlement forms also led to the creation of a meta-narrative of displacement that would increase the chance of gaining access to a new life elsewhere. This meta-narrative, developed and circulated over time across the clan's diaspora, contained an arrangement of facts and details that constructed a 'true life story' which it was hoped would be more acceptable to Australian immigration decision makers. Isaac argued that:

> In real sense, actually, most of the Sudanese who came to Australia, especially those who came in 2005 after the ceasefire, their life story is not accurate. Is not the true life story. It was the life story of the first people that [came here before] them. Because, like, if I think Australian people require these people [to be in this] situation, that's what [I will put on the form]. Because we talk to them when they were in Kenya. [They] ask me, Isaac, when you went to Australia, what did you write in your form? I have to explain it to them. So another person will get that information and then say, alright, that's how I'll write my life history to get into Australia.
>
> (Isaac, interview, 6 July 2013)

Members of the clan drew on this meta-narrative to respond to the power relations embedded in application forms they completed, for themselves and their families, in attempting to escape the precariousness of their refugee condition. The origins of the 'true life story' lay with those who had arrived first and whose success in gaining resettlement provided a template for the strategic deployment of personal accounts of conflict and flight, as Isaac explained: '[We] pass it on. Pass it on. So those who came from the very first time, they were really having the true life story. But the people who came after, they were just passing the information on. The conditions to make people to come to Australia'.

7 Reframing information: culture, status, gender and trust

7.1 Introduction

Chapter 7 concludes Part 2 of the dissertation, which has outlined this study's findings concerning information literacy practices within refugee settlement. The chapter builds on the discussion in the previous three chapters in Part 2 to consider the factors that shape refugee communities' capacity to comprehend the information they encounter in rebuilding lives and communities. These factors also affect their capacity to maintain the relationships established for them, as new residents, with the state and wider society. The chapter explores the roles of cultural expectations of a new life and the intersections of information, power and community allegiances in practices of gatekeeping. It also considers how the value of time, as well as affective states such as trust and fear, contextualise and reframe information in the lives of refugee arrivals.[8] The discussion draws on the insights and experiences of both clan members and agency workers who contributed to this study and concludes by considering how these cultural practices influence the ways in which settling communities verify information's value and accuracy and place them at risk of information poverty.

7.2 Cultural expectations: 'Did they got it? That's the question'

Clan members' experiences in engaging with and managing information during the early period of settlement were situated within cultural expectations and priorities that guided their interpretations of it and reframed its meaning. For Adam, as a refugee entrant but also as an agency worker, settlement placed unexpected pressures on his community from the 'new things' they encountered, which could leave its members stranded liminally between old and new worlds of practice and meaning: 'We are experiencing a lot of pressures because there are a lot of new things that came up in my family … I'm still living in the old days that we used to do things this way. Now the new situation'. Michael argued that these 'new things' included ideas, activities and systems that Australian-born residents took for granted but refugee arrivals could find incomprehensible and out-of-scale in terms of their meaning and significance:

> These are … the little thing … that people just take for granted. How could someone not know what the Yellow Page is? … Because some people have no idea. Turn the light off. Turn it on. They have no idea … These [are] very little things, simple thing, but they mean something. So the information … are they really comprehending? Did they got it? That's the question. It's a small thing but it's a huge thing … But for born Australia people, it's just nothing. It's just nothing. Part of life.
>
> (Michael, interview, 20 December 2013)

Michael, who, like Adam, viewed settlement personally as a refugee but also professionally as an agency worker, recognised the priority given within settlement systems to providing information to new entrants. However, in his view, while the

[8] Gatekeeping is defined as actions which enhance or inhibit the flow of information into and across communities. Its role in information production was discussed in the review of information science research in Chapter 2.

newness of this information was problematic, as Adam argued, its comprehension among communities was the more serious concern: 'And that is the key to the door for any refugee … To get the information and get it right. So that you won't fall along the way'. For Michael, the inability to create meaning from what they were hearing, seeing and reading placed settling communities, as well as those refugee arrivals working on their behalf, at risk of misinformation: 'Very high. Very high. Especially with the community that is trying to help themselves … [Y]ou try to help … But you need help, too [*laughs*]'.

For all clan members, their connectedness via extended family lineages and a shared history of displacement provided the context within which to 'help themselves' to develop meaning. Simon argued that meaning making began with 'your relative', many of whom he had lived with 'since we were a kid' in southern Sudan and Ethiopia, as well as later in Kakuma in Kenya. Of all the relationships mediated through information, those within the clan could be relied upon to give accurate news, as well as trusted advice in interpreting its significance, whether in Australia, South Sudan or elsewhere and irrespective of its content. Information from outside the clan, in Simon's view, brought with it the risk of spreading destabilising misinformation about community concerns:

> It start with your close relative. So the clan people you rely on them *a lot*. All the time. These are the most people that can give you reliable information you want … So you need to talk to your relative. These people will be very, very kind to you. Tell you exactly what is happening. If you just ask other people, you get the wrong information. They have different agenda. They want to make propaganda. They don't want to be sincere. So that if you believe what they say … you can come and give it to everyone in your community.
>
> (Simon, interview, 25 January 2013)

Within Dinka culture, membership of the clan extended beyond the biological unit of parents and child, as Adam pointed out: 'What you call … extended family, that is an immediate family in our culture … And the people that [you would consider] are not really related to us are our relative to us'. Clan structures and relations were maintained through a range of practices which, in Matthew's view, ensured that the clan could 'stick together' and maintain their cultural integrity as Dinka speakers from the Bor region: '… we want to do that the way we do it back home, we do it here. It will take time for us to forget our culture'. These practices included recitations of complex polygynous family lineages that began at an early age under elders' instruction and continued into adulthood with marriage. Rachel explained that 'You have to know your family, your dad's side, your mum's side, then yours … Then when I get married I have to know my husband's side and my husband have to know mine. Oh, it's a lot'. Matthew's responsibilities as a father included establishing his daughter's place culturally as a Dinka Bor child through her understanding of her clan links and her relationships within them. This required detailed and accurate knowledge of multi-generational consanguineal and affinal alliances:

> We can say our family name back, back, back in the generations. My name, my father's name, his father's name and on and on. My daughter, I will teach her all of this when she is about four or five. As soon as she

> start to speak and learn this. I will say to her, what is your name? And she will say [her name]. And I will say, then your family. She will tell me what it is. And I will say to her, no, no, that's wrong. It's this person. And then she will learn. Back and back and back. All the generations. Our family.
>
> (Matthew, interview, 19 July 2013)

Clan membership provided a large kinship-based world of information within which to develop knowledge of Australian life. However, traditional protocols for communication within this information world shaped its dissemination across the community. Simon described how relationships across the clan's subdivisions of sections, which themselves intersected with practices of gender and marriage, governed interaction and the content of conversations: 'You are taught all the sections ... So if you like a girl … you have to ask her … [w]hat is your name? What is your father's name? What is your mother's section? If the mother is from your section, then you say to the girl, oh, I'm sorry, we are related. We can't talk together'.

While many clan members affirmed the need to maintain cultural practices that preserved Dinka collectivity, some expressed concern that younger generations were reframing information circulating within the community in ways that broke with these traditions of obligation. Adam worried that expectations of reciprocity within extended families were weakening through settlement and thus the responsibilities for remitting across the diaspora would end with his generation: 'The generation that is born here or … come here at a young age … and go to Australian schools … will be adapting that individualistic system. But my generation, we will die with this supporting the people'. News about relatives in South Sudan and the reciprocities this would trigger were avoided or ignored by younger members of Sarah's family, as she outlined through Simon, her interpreter:

> When [people in Africa] try to call [young people here], they say, okay, this is what I want. This is what happening. And they call maybe three to four times and there is no response from these young kid … [who] say, okay, what can *we* do? … They don't respond. Also kid, here, when you ask them today and tomorrow and tomorrow, they get fed up. They don't want to listen to a lot of problems every day. By saying I need this and this is what happened. They get sick of it. Of all this every day. So they start ignoring the phone. And if they see this phone [call] is from overseas, they ignore it. But for her, she can't ignore the phone. Because these are her sisters. Her brothers. Her daughter. So she can't ignore any call. But the kid, he say, no, too much.
>
> (Sarah, interview, 10 March 2013)

Agency workers were aware of the obligations these kinship connections placed upon new communities undertaking resettlement and the effect these had on access to information. James argued that obtaining the advice necessary for constructing a new life was often reprioritised according to more immediate family concerns. This reprioritisation narrowed the information base within a settling community by preventing participation in agencies' systems for disseminating new knowledge:

> [They say], I want to learn … but, um, I've got a real problem with my uncle's daughter and there's a family conference. That's *really* important for them. And I know here I can learn … but I've just got to go and do this first. And then they come back and [say], oh, yeah, um, can you tell me about it? [And we say], but we had an information session.
>
> (James, interview, 12 July 2013)

Information was reframed within new communities to fit within culturally-derived expectations of life in Australia, in particular in areas such as education and employment. Joanna discussed how aspirations regarding careers in certain occupations in Australia, such as medicine, made it difficult for refugee families to envision other forms of employment for their children, despite information about labour market options that was made available to them as part of settlement. The difficulty in making meaning of this information was compounded by the opaqueness of job descriptions in some fields of employment:

> … some parents are oh, all my kids are going to be doctors … And the kids, the teenagers, are [saying], oh, I just want to be a gardener … How do I tell mum and dad that? Mum and dad want me to go to uni now and I want an apprenticeship. It's really challenging … We can't all be doctors. But there are other [occupations] … [such as] nursing, support worker, carer … Like, in Australia you can be anything. It's not just doctor, lawyer. And that's hard to grasp. That's a really hard one to grasp. Like my job. What do you call settlement services? What's that? They're kind of made up jobs almost. And in Australia there are some jobs that aren't the normal title … So in adverts, looking in the paper, what does that actually mean? What is that position? … We don't have such a clear cut [description].
>
> (Joanna, interview, 6 August 2013)

Past experiences among settling communities which paralleled aspects of life in Australia also recontextualised information encountered following arrival. Catherine recalled her efforts to change the views of teaching as a profession in Australia held by students who had undertaken this role within refugee camps. Their perception of teaching as an occupation here was based on the expectation that it would require the same professional expertise as it had in the camps they had lived in:

> … with a group who had been mocking a teacher because they had been teachers in the camp. And they had been to school for six years in a refugee camp and then became the teachers of the younger ones. And so they knew that they were teachers. And they [thought] they had what it took [to be a teacher]. And that teachers didn't need anything additional … as an education. And sitting down with them and saying, look, this is what's required [to be a teacher here]. These are the qualifications. You need not only your teaching qualification. You also need your postgraduate studies … That actually would take you four years. And that

> bit would take you another year minimum … So going through [how] twelve years of education [at school] isn't even enough to become a teacher. Really? [T]hat misinformation is *so there*.
>
> (Catherine, interview, 9 September 2013)

Olivia also encountered cultural reframing of information about the links between education and employment, in which decisions about educational pathways in Australia were based on normative constructions of social status in the country of origin. In working with a young refugee client who 'wanted to be a mechanic', Olivia found herself caught in a 'cultural vacuum' in which the information she conveyed about the nexus between education and employment here had little power to recontextualise the production of meaning:

> … one of these, kind of, cultural vacuums that you end up in, with a boy who had come here with his older sister and a younger brother … [H]e wasn't motivated at all about his English. Even his speaking wasn't all that wonderful and reading and writing just was not happening at all. And so we started talking about a vocational pathway for him rather than an academic pathway. Because he was already in a grade that was four years younger than his chronological age. Which was a bit demeaning for him. But that was more or less where his skill levels were at. And he wanted to be a mechanic. So we thought, right, we'll do some work on that. Well, when we went to talk to the sister about it … she wouldn't have a bar of it. She said, no, he has to finish … Year 12 because then he'll get a good job. And trying to explain to her that that is not how it works in this country. That you can do Year 12 and you won't necessarily get any job. And particularly if you don't have literacy … [She said], [n]o, he has to get his [Year 12] and then he'll get a good job if he has Year 12. And I got the interpreter and trying to explain that in this country, this is a much better pathway for him. That he starts doing a trade. That he learns it and he'll get paid while he's doing it. No, he has to finish Year 12. Because in the Congo, if you finish Year 12, that was it. You were in the higher echelons of society … She was absolutely determined he would do Year 12 and it wasn't the best thing for him at all.
>
> (Olivia, interview, 9 September 2013)

As clan members and agency workers have outlined, the bewildering 'new things' that humanitarian arrivals engaged with during settlement were mediated via the complexities of kinship lineages and their structuring of communication protocols, as well as cultural expectations of life in Australia. However, cultural reframing of information also arose through the intersections of information with age, status and community allegiances. These intersections enabled gatekeeping of information, which limited its circulation and negated its legitimacy and believability. While they were aware of the effects of age and status upon the absorption of information within settling communities, in some instances agencies also reframed information, shaping their understanding of new communities and the programming that would meet their needs.

7.3 Status, allegiance and legitimacy: '… this man is right'

In Dinka culture, as Jason explained, 'we depend on someone who is old' for guidance because 'they will give you the exactly information. They will not maybe deceive you'. Elders achieved positions of status, respect and authority through their family lineage, chronological age and place within the age mate system. Age was attached culturally to wisdom, authority and integrity in decision making. For some clan members, this contrasted with 'the Western world' in which age appeared to play a more limited role in shaping community opinion, as Simon outlined:

> In Dinka culture there's—and is sometimes not that good—people are being respected according to their age. People believe them even though they are saying nonsense, I'm sorry to say. People still respect them because this word was from the senior people and the Dinka respect it. So people might just undermine you because of your age even though you are saying the right thing. And they try to believe the word from the elder person as very, very reliable information, because it come from the older person. So we have a problem with the age here. People believe the older over the younger people, which is not here in the Western world. Here everyone have right to say anything. Everyone can lie, everyone can say the right information. So most of the time, if there is older people, people believe them.
>
> (Simon, interview, 25 January 2013)

In Simon's view, the cultural status accorded to age within Dinka tradition meant that information was often assessed by community members not on the basis of its relevance, significance or accuracy but on the views of its legitimacy expressed by community elders. This invested elders with the capacity to influence the acceptance of information across the community, as well as the reputations of members who expressed contrary opinions about its value:

> Because there are some people are being valued in the community. When they start talking about it, people say, this man is right … Before even they sit down and see exactly what he say. Or ask, is he right? Has he got right information? … Because they know him. He's a famous person … They say, we'll go with him. If you have a problem with the seniors, make sure it's a big one. It's not a simple thing … [H]e start to talk about you that you are a bad boy, make sure the whole community will say, yes, he is a *bad* person.
>
> (Simon, interview, 25 January 2013)

In agency workers' experience, the legitimacy of information was routinely reframed within these structures of age, authority and opinion forming within communities, in preference to more external meaning-making contexts. This reframing shaped how communities responded to information they received from all government and non-government entities. Jennifer reflected that agency information 'would still be overridden by what the elders in the community would say, too. Because their

responsibility is to them first and to us next. Or any other government department, I would think'. In Roy's experience, a 'community leader, in inverted commas, can cut [information] off at the pass and decide that's all *he* needs to know … And he may then decide or not decide [to pass it on]. Or he may have a conversation [about it] and feel that the information has been relayed. But it hasn't got any further'. Angela argued that collectivity itself constructed community elders' cultural authority over information, in particular the risks that losing membership within it posed for personal survival: 'They obey to the elders and what they've been told to do. If they don't they are out of the group and they don't want to be out of the group because they can't function as an individual'.

Olivia encountered the capacity of cultural authority to displace information's legitimacy in her work with a young African-community client facing homelessness because of family health problems. In seeking support for her client within his community, Olivia was unable to counter the reframing a church elder made of the young person's circumstances. Her client's precarious position was converted by the elder into a potential disruption of relationships within the community, which gave grounds for refusing support:

> … this young boy whose mother upped … and left him stranded. And I went with him to see one of the elders in the Congolese community to say, he was fifteen and he was on his own in [town], with no money, no nothing. And I went to this elder and said, what can we do? Is there someone in the community who will take responsibility for him? … And he said, he should go home to his mother. And I said, well, he can't go home to his mother because he doesn't know where his mother is … And he was lecturing this child about how he shouldn't have left his mother … And I'm sitting there thinking, this is a completely illogical conversation. I am saying to this gentleman, this lady has up and left [and] won't tell her son where she is. And he's telling him he should go home to his mother … And it was as if he couldn't acknowledge that the mother had done the wrong thing by abandoning the child. So he had to tick off the child for not being with its mother. And I thought, this is a very different way of looking at the world, you know … I later found out that his position was that, if anyone else in the community took that child in, that it was like an implied criticism of the mother. So you can't do that because that would disrupt all the adult relationships with that mother if they took in her child … But me not understanding his world and him not understanding my world, the world that we had to operate in, was … It was like being in a movie. Catch 22.
>
> (Olivia, interview, 9 September 2013)

In response to the cultural liminality that emerged for her as a caseworker in this situation, Olivia concluded that her only option was 'to take a purely Western view and just find somewhere for him to live … [in] emergency housing'. For her, the frames of meaning within which the facts of her client's circumstances were being reinterpreted were 'not working' for her as a caseworker: 'I can only use my system in these circumstances. Having thought I was doing the right thing'.

The alienness of information encountered as part of settlement also had the potential to disturb and distort these structures of influence within communities, creating tensions over who had the authority to determine information's veracity and control its effects. Roy argued that information within the context of lives undergoing the process of rebuilding had the potential to be 'destructive', presenting challenges for a community's identity and cohesion:

> We assume in settlement that information is a good thing. But information can be destructive. It can change relationships within the family, even break them up. It can change people's status. The head of the family is seen to be the man but during settlement the state takes over with allowances to men, women and even young people, and the information about this spreads through the community and changes people's status. Information gives people access to resources in ways that are radically different from what they have known. Then they are left with the problem, how do we hold all this together? How do we stay who we are?
>
> (Roy, interview, 3 November 2013)

While information's acceptance within settling communities was influenced by authority figures, in particular traditional elders, Sharon noted that the link between English language proficiency and the development of knowledge about Australian life also altered family power relations, in which children could act as gatekeepers over the movement of information within the home. In entering the school system, children gained English language skills and local knowledge more quickly than their parents:

> … and in the end the power in the household gets transferred from the adult to the child. And if the child wants to spread their wings and wants to do things that the adults [don't want them to], they actually hold the power in the home … [F]or instance, mum needs to go to the doctor and quite often the child takes the mother to the doctor and the child does the interpreting. That takes a lot of power away from the mother. Or if dad needs to go to Centrelink or … get his [driver's] licence, it'll be the fifteen-year-old who knows all about it because all their … friends are doing it … And that's one of the biggest sources of conflict in the families of refugees is the shift of power from the person who doesn't have the skills to the person who does … The kid … ends up with the power … because of the ability to access knowledge.
>
> (Sharon, interview, 23 October 2013)

In establishing information relationships with the state for newly-arrived refugee communities, agency workers grappled with the outcomes of conflicts within groups over the role of community authority figure. A question for agencies and communities alike concerned who was authorised to act as a community's leader and advocate for its concerns in the interface between government services and new arrivals. Catherine argued that pre-existing authority structures did not translate easily as communities

relocated: '… if you have a couple of leading families from back home settled in the same location. They may not have been in the same community back in Africa … but now they're all here and it might [be] competition for the [role of] authority figure'. In Jennifer's experience, conflicts over leadership were as problematic within communities as they were for agencies working with them: '… and they're bringing the same cultural domination or fear or whatever it is with them. And there's several factions trying to get to the top of the pile and the people underneath are struggling with that'. Anthony argued that the problems of communicating information were complicated by changes in community leadership that agencies were not always aware of: 'I'm talking to this person. I thought he was a leader. But he is no longer. Information is not filtering through … And suddenly you don't know the personalities of the people coming in. So you don't know how to work with them'. These problems were magnified by community factionalism, which placed limits on how information would be shared across shifting networks of allegiance:

> So, now, how do you link up with your identified communicators within one community, when there are so many groups? So you have to deal with, for this particular group, this is the guy. For this particular group, that's the guy. So if I send out information, I'll send it to this one, this one, this one … If I send it to the leader, proclaimed to be, not necessarily he will pass it on. Because he will pass it to his people that are around him or people that are close to him.
>
> (Anthony, interview, 18 December 2013)

In the struggle within settling communities to establish a leadership structure which could liaise with outside organisations on their behalf, information and, in particular, the relationships that were formed through its production acted as a strategic resource which could amplify status. Information also gave community leaders access to opportunities in areas such as education and employment that other community members might not hear of. In James' view, the knowledge vacuum that opened up for new arrivals gave power to those with closer connections to information sources and the ability to interpret it on others' behalf: 'If you've got a problem, come and see me. Because knowledge is power. Knowledge is situational. I am that situation. You are one of my people. I will help you. If you are not one of my people, you're not getting anything from me. And I have everything [in terms of knowledge]'. Roy argued that the reciprocal need for agencies to provide information and for communities to receive it, in the interest of bringing about effective settlement, made both sides vulnerable to the relationality of information being manipulated as a marker of status, rather than information being deployed widely and equitably as an essential resource:

> But, usually, they're more interested in the relationship that they're having with *you*. That you're giving *them* the information. They therefore have the status to receive that information. But there's never been a succinct agreement about how that information is going to be processed past you telling them … They see it as something which is important to them or something which builds up their status. I know because I have

> spoken to this person. He speaks to me … therefore I am important, although what I'm being told is of no significance to me. I have this relationship [with him] and he believes that, by speaking to me, he is speaking to many others. But, in fact, he's not really. He's just speaking to me. And I can tell others that I know this person. And then if I want to, when I really have an issue or someone who's a friend of mine has an issue, I can say—and it makes me feel really important—go and speak to Roy. So it's unclear who's using who.
>
> (Roy, interview, 3 November 2013)

While most agencies felt, as Roy had concluded, that 'tribalism is one of our biggest problems with getting information out. And there's lots of forms of that', Anthony argued that information's capacity to enhance status also increased tensions within communities when it was routinely disseminated via particular community members. This status effect then presented problems for leadership programs in which, as Anthony explained, 'you're trying to develop those people that can pass that right information [into the community]. And also trying to establish that link wherein you can get feedback to you about what's happening':

> Because sometimes in some communities there will be jealousies. Oh, how come he is the only one getting that information? So I don't want to talk to him … If, say, [our agency] is always talking to some person, he is the important guy. And … if he's got good relationships with his community, then they will talk to him and follow him … Otherwise they will isolate themselves and say, eh, he's the one getting money, you know … He is getting all these privileges. He's getting employment. His family is getting all these things. [He's getting] first information out.
>
> (Anthony, interview, 18 December 2013)

Conversely, community members with a close relationship to external sources of information and a capacity to control its movement internally could also be blamed for agencies' decisions and changes in policy. Jennifer argued that agencies' practice of employing cultural liaison workers who were drawn from within settling communities' language groups was a 'mixed blessing', as new arrivals could avoid or resist the information provided via these workers. New communities often associated an agency's information with the cultural liaison worker who had communicated it and not with the system that produced it: 'And they're saying, well, why should [the cultural liaison worker] be telling me what to do? … Then we say, well, no, that person's not telling you. They're actually the channel to give you the information. They haven't made that decision. But no amount of telling them will change that'.

Scott's organisation changed its arrangements relating to childcare following 'reports of people rorting the system around family day care'. This change affected those families from within settling African communities who were engaged in providing family day care, by reducing their income. As Scott recounted, this policy change was attributed by these communities to the agency's African cultural liaison worker rather than the agency itself. This misplaced attribution was exacerbated by the interplay of

community factionalism with new arrivals' limited understanding of decision making processes within Australian governmentality:

> … it's got caught up … in community politics … In the community, that turned into … our community liaison [worker] … has personally cancelled family day care because he's trying to destroy the community. And it turned into an absolute campaign against [him], because he was the man who sold the message to the community. That he was responsible for it. Therefore, the fact that this woman over here didn't have any money because she wasn't getting her twenty dollars a day anymore and that family was starving was his fault. And it turned into quite a campaign against him … [E]veryone ran off to their most trusted elder in the community who happened to be on the other side to [him] and so it turned into quite a poisonous little [situation].
>
> (Scott, interview, 28 August 2013)

Cultural differences in how new arrivals formed community groups, as well in as how they associated in public, and the role these practices of association played in the production of knowledge also shaped how settling communities engaged with information. Community associations formally incorporated under Australian systems of governance provided a contact point for agencies with new communities. However, other forms of association based on cultural status and customary practice, such as traditional courts of justice, also operated within communities. Simon described how clan elders were responsible for adjudicating certain types of community disputes, including 'some of the traditional stuff inside [the community] which are not relevant to the constitution of [Australia] or the way people judge [the law] here … If there's a case [and] this issue is not going to be resolved so we just look at [it and say] you are wrong, you are right'. Roy argued that these groupings formed 'coalitions of problem-solving' which were not recognised by agencies as easily as formally incorporated community associations, with their public profile and identified office bearers, but were active in mobilising communities and resolving problems: '[T]hen you hear that a group of people … had gathered together for some event which they had arranged and there were dozens of people there … And there are people who can bring along families and family groups and clan members. There are people who, with a click of the fingers, can make that happen'. However, as Jacob described, other forms of association, such as clan members gathering in public spaces to exchange information via culturally familiar interactions, could themselves be reinterpreted by authorities, such as the police, as threatening and suspicious:

> [I]f you go out here in Australia and thirty people sitting there, they say, these people, they are doing something wrong. And that is our culture. We can sit together as men and talk. Chat. Play game. Or whatever … [I]f you walk four or five [together], they say that these people they mean [to do] something. So the police come fast around you … and check you. Check your licence, your name. So this is not good. We say this is our culture, understand now. So that is very hard here.
>
> (Jacob, interview, 20 July 2013)

In engaging with newly-arrived oral culture communities, James focused on working with traditional forms of sociality because of their cultural primacy in the development of knowledge. In his experience, sociality as a medium for information production was underestimated by those agencies who failed to see the value in delivering programs based on people gathering together in public 'to chat'. James' efforts at obtaining funding within his own agency for an information program based on this model of interaction had met with little success. The program's approach did not accord with his agency's conventions regarding service delivery, as well as normative constructions within the broader community of appropriate association in public:

> And there is no money for socialising. I applied for [funding] to … [get] all the Sudanese ladies in and we were going to go to the park … [to] make food and then tea and they could all come and children play. And then they chat and our cultural liaison officer, she can chat to them … Two problems. One, the [agency] said, oh, you're asking for money so people can have a tea party. Not gonna happen. But it is to address this problem. Well, can't you have information sessions? There's no understanding of it. And then my boss said, no, we can't do that. He said, can you imagine the phone calls we'd get? What phone calls? He said, we'd get [phone calls that] there are a whole lot of blackfellas in the park. That would really alarm the public. You realise that you are trying to corral the whale. So you just walk out and say, oh, well, there's no reasoning. There is *no* reasoning [*laughs*].
>
> (James, interview, 12 July 2013)

Decisions within communities to participate in structured information events organised by agencies were influenced by long-held disputes within countries of origin. Roy argued that the effect of conflict and cultural difference upon communities' engagement with information also placed pressures on agencies' capacity to develop nuanced and inclusive programming that could accommodate these histories and distinctions, within the inflexibilities of settlement funding:

> So people are making decisions on how they access information according to these sorts of affiliations. Rather than saying, well, I really need to know about this. I'd better get there. They seem to be saying instead, well, that person working on that thing, organising that thing, is not like me therefore I won't take advantage of what's offered. Those differences take precedence over need. So they miss out … We try to take these things into account when we're planning programs. Like, what are we going to run and who is it for. But often it's just not possible for us to employ workers from every division of culture or language background or even just historical experience. There aren't the resources for that. Or that kind of flexibility in the system in terms of funding and how that works.
>
> (Roy, interview, 3 November 2013)

Joanna outlined how the structuring effects of conflict, religion and ethnicity were taken into account in information sessions her agency delivered across all newly arrived groups, to help promote inclusivity as an aim of settlement: ' … in our workshops we don't control what clients come in when, so there's always a mix. So it's not just your cultural group only. So we talk about respecting one another. That we're all in Australia now. That we're all here in one space'. Scott described how, from experience with communities who were settling with a shared history of civil conflict, these backgrounds became a consideration in his agency's response to new communities as they arrived:

> But it's the change in nationalities that's the issue to look at. How they're going to get along. This room here, last time we had a punch up [on site] was in this very room here … 'Cause we had a cultural mix that didn't work … and for some reason, half a dozen people wound up in here … and the place was trashed. Chairs upside down. Table smashed. So we're really thinking ahead for that all the time. Thinking, okay, if it's the Iraqis and Afghanis who are coming next, we get the heads up [that] this many is being settled. This is when they arrive and this is what we will expect to be looking for.
>
> (Scott, interview, 28 August 2013)

The production of knowledge within newly-arrived refugee communities and the circulation of information that underpinned this process were shaped by the cultural authority within the community to adjudicate information's legitimacy and truth. However, while information was reframed according to status and authority, it was also formed within normative constructions of gendered power relations, within families and across wider social groupings.

7.4 Gendering information: 'You know you are a girl'

Within the clan as a settling community, the divisions of gender placed significant limitations on how information circulated within its collective. Gender practices within Dinka culture divided sociocultural agency, responsibilities and domestic and communal space within families and the community. As a young Dinka Bor woman, Rebecca felt that 'Sudanese women … [are] not involved in decision making. We don't do that. We just sit there and men do it for us. We just help out. We feed them'. Judith explained that important decisions, such as where they would live as a family, would be made by her husband, Elijah: 'He will make the decision where we will live. In Sudan, the man makes the decision'. In Rachel's view, these distinctions were clearly articulated within daily life, such that 'You know you are a girl. You are not a guy'. For her, the defining difference between men and women in Dinka culture was located in the agency available through gender and the cultural consequences that followed from its enactment:

> But in our country girls and boys are not the same … [The] boy can do whatever he like. But if you are a girl you can't do whatever you like. Because you know that your family are looking toward what you gonna do and whether you're gonna do good … But if a guy do something really terrible [with a girl] they'll take it on the girl. And say, oh, yeah,

> we know you do this and this. But if you a guy and you do something bad, nobody cares.
>
> (Rachel, interview, 16 February 2013)

Agency workers were aware of these culturally gendered differences within personal and communal life and concerned about the effect these had on information flows across communities. Angela observed that '[m]en expect to get the information first, most of the time … [and] … don't see the need for the woman to know. And that's a big issue'. In encouraging women from new communities to take part in information workshops, Roy found that '[t]he women would not make a decision for themselves [about participation]. Even if they were speaking some English, they still wouldn't make the decision. So decision-making around information is still pretty well in various little boxes, like gender'. Control over how information was used and who had access to it also challenged gendered arrangements within families for relating to outside authorities, as well as for regulating privacy, as Jennifer noted: 'Because the women wouldn't speak, wouldn't talk, unless the men [allowed them to] … Like, we would have men coming in, slamming their fists on the desk, forbidding us to pay money to their wives. Demanding that we tell them what's on their wives' records'.

Control over information access along gender lines also intersected with elders' capacity to arbitrate the legitimacy of information that agencies provided and influence how community members responded. Catherine described how gender, status and authority operated in conjunction to form a community's consensus on appropriate behaviour among newly-arrived entrants who were taking part in a settlement program on water safety in Australia:

> Prior to [the program] occurring, the wife had come in very upset saying, I can't go on the excursion. My husband's going but I'm not allowed. And so we asked, well, why aren't you allowed? I'm not allowed because it's not appropriate for a wife to go to the beach. It's not appropriate for me to go into the water. And so we asked if it was okay if we spoke with her husband, who also was one of our students. And it was okay. So we went in and had a chat with him about … if we have her properly attired—we had access to appropriate swimwear—and would it be alright? And he said he was going to go away and talk to the community about it. And he went to whoever they go to and sought permission or sought feedback as to whether or not it was the right thing to do or not … So then he came back in and he said, I give permission for my wife to attend. And we thanked him profusely and appreciated that he felt that way. And then we were able to then organise for the appropriate clothing … You know, us saying, it's fine for you to go to the beach and there is no problem, meant nothing. Well, I don't think it meant nothing but I don't think …
>
> (Catherine, interview, 9 September 2013)

Roy argued that the locus of cultural change within settling communities could be found in issues that affected family and domestic life, making this domain the focal point of a considerable amount of agency work: '… a lot of the work you are doing surrounds

managing family life … Because that's where cultural change is taking place. Things like tenancies, leases, safety in the home, use of electricity, parenting children, nutrition, intergenerational relationships … and gender relationships'. However, in Roy's experience, the gendered nature of information which separated knowledge into spheres of public and private life meant that communities attended information sessions on the basis of these cultural binaries and not on the information's relevance or utility:

> … anything to do with parenting, we'd love to get the father to come along but they usually don't because children are women's business. Anything to do with nutrition, well, that's cooking, that's women's business. Anything to do with schooling, in a sense, that's women's business, although it would depend whether it's a son or a daughter. So getting men to participate in services is difficult in certain sorts of programs. They will tend to be keen to participate in information on employment or work or driving or finance or business skills. But in any programming around what I would call cultural change, gender, domestic work roles, parenting, not their business. And they would prefer that we don't make it their wives business, either. Because many of them have a fear that their women might end up with a little bit more information than they do. And it makes the situation in the home a bit more difficult.
>
> (Roy, interview, 3 November 2013)

Agency workers expressed concern about settling communities' fear of the reconfiguration of gendered power relations within homes during the process of resettlement and how this prevented the acquisition of new knowledge among women, in particular of Australian laws relating to family violence. In Catherine's experience, family violence was a difficult issue to discuss with new communities as 'it's very much under cover. Very, very under cover, unfortunately … [B]ecause the communities deal with it themselves … rather than going to the authorities'. Catherine recalled a two-day workshop on domestic violence that her agency delivered during settlement orientation, which included a video in which a young woman 'ended up in a wheelchair as the result of a beating she received because she didn't want to go out with this boy anymore'. In the discussion which followed the video, participants acknowledged the laws within Australia regarding violence and gender. However, among some young men, this recognition was withdrawn on the following day, as Catherine recounted:

> The next day, a couple of … the young males had come in and when they were asked to talk about the day before, they were, no, we've changed our mind. She deserved it. She should have actually died. And, if she'd died, it would have been better because she wouldn't have been a burden on society. And it's all because she was a bad one for walking away … [S]he doesn't get that choice. It's his decision whether she walks away and not hers. And we spent a bit of time talking about … why have you come to this decision? This wasn't where you were at yesterday. And they'd actually talked to the elders and had recognised the error of their ways the day before. So we bought back one of the male police officers

> who had been working with them and who they'd really bonded very well with. And they said all the right things to him, in terms of where they were at and what they saw. But we're not really sure if that's what they believed. I'm not sure they believed him. I still think that they [believed domestic violence was okay]. For us, you know, we were weeping. We felt incredibly disturbed that it was so ingrained … [T]hat, whilst they were there and seeing it and seeing the girls around them and seeing how things were, that they were totally on board with it. But then once they were back amongst others, older people that they respected …
>
> (Catherine, interview, 9 September 2013)

Joanna's agency attempted to counter these limitations on newly-arrived refugee women's access to information with visits to homes of families 'where the male holds all the information and the woman doesn't come along to any of the workshops'. These visits were also 'very mindful' of cultural differences in gender that female agency workers themselves presented, as Joanna pointed out: '… not coming in as a Western woman telling them how to do things … Sometimes it works and sometimes you just need to respect that and step back and in time… [I]f people aren't ready to engage just yet, we'll give them a bit of rope and then we come back to them a bit later on'.

Agency programs responded to these gendered differences in how information was controlled and legitimated within new communities with a variety of strategies employed to maximise its access. However, practices of orality within the threshold space which culturally differentiated 'stranger' from 'friend' also shaped how information was received, through differences in communication and personal introduction and the intersections of these with the value and use of time.

7.5 Thresholds of difference: 'Are you one of us?'

In previous chapters, clan members discussed the difficulties they encountered in negotiating meaning with limited and heavily-accented English language skills, as well as a preference for personal contact, within information environments which prioritised English literacy and self-administration of services. Many also expressed their awareness of the physical and cultural difference they embodied in seeking support with information from those outside their community. Rebecca recalled her consciousness of embodied difference when she first arrived and what this would mean for her capacity to interact with others. For Rebecca, interaction with others within the wider community was the necessary prerequisite for making meaning of her environment and creating a sense of belonging:

> As soon as I got there, I just [had] the need of having a sense of belonging. My first day at school, I saw a lot of girls that reminded me of proper Barbies, right. Blue eyes. Blonde hair. Like, perfect hair. And I had this big Afro thing happening. And I thought, okay, this is it. This is not a movie. It's a true story. And I felt like I needed to make friends very quick just so that I know what I'm doing. Because it's important to know what you're doing, like.
>
> (Rebecca, interview, 6 July 2013)

In Rebecca's experience, cultural differences in interpersonal communication directly affected the acquisition of information and placed pressure on her community to modify their communication styles: 'Not to come across wrong. 'Cause, see, our cultures are very different. Like, with the Dinka people, we don't say please. We don't say thank you. We might say something polite in a context when we ask for things but we don't actually say thank you'. The differing use of facial expressions as symbolic markers of personal dignity and respectability within Dinka communication caused confusion when misinterpreted by those outside the community:

> 'Cause some people think, oh, my God, Sudanese people are so rude. And I say, they're not rude. It's just a cultural difference, you know. And we as Westerners, we tend to think a smile is a symbol of acceptance. Like, we accept smile means friendliness. But in Sudan, we don't smile a lot, laugh a lot. It's really tacky. It's not a good thing. That's why Sudanese women look so serious when they shop. They don't have that expression [of smiling]. Like, I work in a [shop] and they say, oh, my God, Sudanese women, they're so rude and they never smile. And I say, it's not that they're rude, it's their culture. Because if you smile too much, you're considered cheap. Very cheap, like a prostitute.
>
> (Rebecca, interview, 6 July 2013)

Rebecca argued further that poorly understood cultural differences in interpersonal communication reduced clan members' access to everyday sources of support from those around them. This complicated the process of settlement through misperception of others' actions and intentions and an unwillingness by community members to engage with people they did not already know:

> So I find that these sort of things can get people into [trouble]. Like somebody might wanna help you but they might hesitate because you're not willing to accept [their help]. They think you don't want their help. Like, my mum's always serious in public. And she's lost and somebody says, would you like some help? She doesn't actually say, yes, please. So they think, don't go near her, she's cranky. They react to her immediately … At Coles, [when the Dinka] stand in a queue, it's like they're mourning someone's death.
>
> (Rebecca, interview, 6 July 2013)

In Olivia's experience, Australian cultural practices through which civility, courtesy and respect were conveyed differed markedly from those used among new communities. These differences in communication produced threshold states in which the intersubjectivity needed to create meaning and consensus was difficult to establish:

> They didn't like being asked questions in our very direct Western style. This wasn't something they [liked]. Particularly the Sudanese families. And I think particularly Muslim families tended to be more—it seems like a generalisation—but more, sort of, reserved. More self-contained …

> They expected a higher kind of standard of behaviour with civility. A more refined kind of way of doing things. And, even if they had been quite humble people in their lives, they still had this, kind of, civility and politeness and courtesy which were important.
>
> (Olivia, interview, 9 September 2013)

James argued that, for oral culture peoples, intersubjectivity within direct communication was constituted through the community affiliations of those they were dealing with, rather than their official role and status. In his experience, the emphasis within cultures of orality on direct communication as the medium for knowledge production prioritised knowing '*who* I am, not *what* I am' when engaging with others. The credentials which established authority but also safety within a situation lay in individuals' personal connections rather than the systems they represented. The significance of affiliation for refugee arrivals was also set against past experiences of governmentality under conditions of civil war and tribalised structures of official power, in which authority was overlaid with ethnicity and violence. In James' view, these differences in the locus of authority presented considerable challenges for agencies who worked from within a cultural frame in which authority derived from organisational rather than communal alliances. These differences affected the terms on which information would be negotiated:

> As [an agency worker], I wear a uniform. I am [that uniform]. I can talk to another [worker in the same uniform] as an acquaintance without having any idea who they are. Take that to the South Sudan, it doesn't matter what uniform I wear, they want to know *who* I am, not *what* I am … So when you go into a household and say, I'm [agency worker] Bloggs, they know what you are, they can see it. They don't know *who* you are. And they're not going to talk to you until they know who you are. 'Cause they have no idea, if you've got a uniform on, whether you're a good guy or a bad guy. Are you one of us? Are you one of them? Are you one of them over there? They just don't know.
>
> (James, interview, 12 July 2013)

Angela argued that the threshold of cultural and physical difference which separated new communities from those around them was negotiated through personal introduction. For new communities, these practices of formal presentation derived from traditions of personal endorsement in their country of origin and, in Angela's view, began here with the settlement worker who first met them at the airport. The person facilitating the first hours of contact with Australian life invoked community elders' authority to enable relationships with strangers: 'The first contact is … like the chief of the village, the elder. So if this person introduce them to someone else, okay, the contact is made and it's much easier'. In contrast, Australian services connected clients with systems through referrals by workers to other agencies, as well as through self-referral. In Angela's view, these practices of referral and self-introduction did not meet refugee arrivals' cultural expectations of how contact with strangers was made and limited their capacity to engage with services beyond those involved in their initial settlement and with whom they had experienced relationships of personalised service:

> [It's] much more difficult for them then to access a second service or referral or whatever because they need to be introduced. They need to be in confidence to access it when they need [it]. Even if they know that the service exists, [that] they can access it … they haven't been introduced to the place. They haven't been introduced to people. They wouldn't feel comfortable to go. And then it's a question of building a relationship between this new support worker and the family or the individual.
>
> (Angela, interview, 29 November 2012)

Celia's awareness of cultural differences in navigating thresholds of difference through personal introductions led her to accompany refugee clients on visits to agencies with which they had not yet developed a relationship: 'And if they need to go to a specialised area I usually go with them. I make the appointment and I go with them, until they feel [confident]. Sometimes I have to go with people a lot. Sometimes people let go my hand and step out on their own'. James noted that differences in practices of introduction and invitation which enabled entry into an unfamiliar setting also shaped how refugee arrivals negotiated cultures of association within the workplace:

> And it happens in factories where they won't go and join the group at smoko unless they're invited. [P]eople there think he's an arrogant prick and doesn't want to associate with them … Then … someone says, you just go and sit down there. Ah, yeah, but they don't invite me. Just go and do it. Then they go and sit down there and off it goes. It's fine. It's a fundamental difference of culture. One is invite me into your family and the other one is suit yourself, mate [*laughs*].
>
> (James, interview, 12 July 2013)

During the process of settlement, cultural differences in the meaning and use of time created a threshold state in which information was provided but not always received. Agency workers and clan members alike struggled with the capacity of time to determine information's value through deadlines, appointments and starting times of events. Olivia and Simon outlined in Chapter 6 how failures by settling communities to provide information to agencies at required times brought about a loss of essential services, such as Centrelink payments, as well as weakened their information relationships with the state as emerging citizens. Differing constructions of the value of time also led community members to arrive late at settlement information sessions, as well as during their education. Celia described her efforts to impress upon students from African backgrounds the need to arrive on time for classes:

> Nothing, *nothing* starts on time in Africa … Everyone knows that. But they just can't see that. And it's so hard … I get them together the week before [the course] and I literally put the fear of God into them [*laughs*]. I rant and I rave and *I go on and I go on and I go on* about coming on time … And last year I actually used to phone people. Where are you? Oh, I'm in town. You better get here quickly … And then they're half an hour

> late, you know, and they're wandering along. I find them and they're wandering. I used to run up after them and go, 'Run!' [*laughs*].
>
> (Celia, interview, 31 July 2013)

In Celia's view, the role of time management in areas of settlement such as education and employment was difficult to convey to many refugee arrivals because of a deep cultural resistance to reconfiguring the value of time: 'I just realise the *incredible* resistance that you're saying it starts at one o'clock. Oh, yeah? … That doesn't mean you come at one o'clock … And they're not stupid people. Like, they understand the English. They just can't understand deep in them that we *really mean* that'. Celia found that small, everyday practices for managing time were also difficult to translate culturally:

> I remember the look one man gave me when I said, put it on the fridge. He said, 'Put it on the fridge!' Okay, so this is a lesson about fridge magnets [*laughs*]. Just as basic as that. Um, diary? No. Um, where do you write down when your assignments are due? These are people who've done [courses] where they do an entire aspect of planning. It's like, no, that doesn't affect life. I just do it for the assignment.
>
> (Celia, interview, 31 July 2013)

In Angela's experience, cultural differences in 'time management' meant that the majority of her clients had 'an issue with planning [over] an extended period of time'. Angela argued that, for clients from African backgrounds, the value of time was contingent on events in the present moment and the priorities these presented, which could displace the importance of time-based future commitments, such as appointments with agencies: 'Because something more urgent might come up ... Even if I plan an appointment with someone but they have a guest coming they didn't expect, the guest will be much more important than me. Even if they could get a better outcome from the appointment I have with them'. In Carol's experience, differences among refugee communities in planning time inhibited access to health services such as general practitioners: 'Because GPs don't want to take them on. It's too time-consuming. [So] they won't bulk bill. A lot of times clients won't turn up to appointments on time. They're on a different time zone … [and] … GPs are a business'. Jennifer explained how her agency enforced appointment times because of the costs associated when clients arrived late:

> And we actually had to put our foot down and say, you're turning up an hour late for your appointment. We can't see you today. We're going to have to rebook it. And that might mean that you might have to rebook that person three times until they get the idea that, if it says nine o'clock, that's the time you have to be there … Because it's a whole string of things. We have an appointment booked for one hour and an interpreter paid for that one hour and then they turn up five minutes to go. Well, no, sorry, we can't see you. The next person is due now. That still is an issue, mostly in the Congolese and the Dinka.
>
> (Jennifer, interview, 6 September 2013)

Roy argued further that time intermeshed with personal relationships for oral culture communities, such that practices of relationality structured the use of time, rather than the availability of time determining how people engaged with each other. These differing interplays of time and relationality shaped new arrivals' response to the instrumentalist use of time in Australian workplaces: '… even community leaders, who just turn up. And they believe you're just there. And because you've known them and shaken their hands, they … can come at any time. And the idea that you might be doing something or you might be not available or whatever, it comes as somewhat of a surprise'.

In Roy's view, the 'oral culture' of service provision within Australian governmentality was exercised through structured allocations of time such as appointments and meetings. This separation of time into portions allocated to directly engaging with clients and their needs and those allocated to other work could not resonate culturally with communities for whom relationships gave access to knowledge, irrespective of the time in which these were enacted:

> It's very hard to get across the idea of an appointment. That there is time that's just yours, that you own. And all attention will be on your needs and nobody else will be there but you and the person you want to see. Between this time and this time. But outside that time is not your time. It's time for somebody else or something else. And that's when we do *our* oral culture, in set bits of time.
>
> (Roy, interview, 3 November 2013)

The intersections of kinship affiliations, age and community status, as well as cultural constructions of gender and time, framed how clan members and newly-arrived communities engaged with information during settlement. These intersections also shaped agencies' strategies for conveying information to humanitarian entrants. However, affective states such as trust and fear also framed how information connected new residents with the community in which they were being resettled.

7.6 Trust and fear: '… that deep shelter, that protection'

Clan members and agency workers recalled the wide range of affective states that characterised the process of settlement. Affectivity and information within settlement were mutually constitutive, such that information prompted emotional responses while, at the same time, emotion shaped whether and how information would be received. Michael described the combination of excitement and fear he felt as he prepared to leave Kakuma to 'start a life again': 'It was just like two things in my mind, you know. Very exciting that I left that horrible life and I'm in a different world now. And a little bit of fear, you know. How to start a life again'. For Sarah, the excitement of a new life was also connected with constant fears about those left behind: 'I'm worry all the time. Even though I'm here … my heart still back there. Because if they are dead or alive. I don't know what will happen to people there'. Adam reflected on the guilt that many felt at the greater resources now available to them, which arose on hearing bad news from relatives in South Sudan: '[S]ometime people feel guilty because I'm now getting fresh water to drink and fresh water to shower. But the news that I'm getting that one of my family member might have passed away, it could be related to drinking dirty water'. Rebecca

argued that information overload produced a corresponding overload of emotion, in which many 'give up' dealing with the environments around them: '[W]e're bombarded with information. So much to take in. If you can't read or speak the language, you just get numb and you don't wanna try. You just give up sometimes'.

In Carol's experience, emotional difficulties emerged for refugee arrivals after their immediate settlement needs, such as housing and employment, had been met: 'Once you've found a house, you're at school … you've got your Centrelink and food organised, that's when all these problems start to come out'. Joanna argued that new arrivals' capacity to absorb information within the relatively brief period of supported settlement also fluctuated according to the effects of past trauma and 'how they're handling that'. In her experience, '… everyone comes down at some point … [T]here's a bit of a crash and burn and you've gotta scoop [them] up and support [them] to link in'. In Joanna's experience, re-engaging with the agency available to citizens within a sovereign state, which had been lost upon displacement, also proved problematic: '… that empowerment, because they've had it taken from them for so long. [They think] I'll just sit here and someone will do things for me and I just don't have any … To now say, no, you have a choice. And that's huge'.

Of the many affective states experienced during settlement, the interplay of trust and fear most directly affected how new communities engaged with information and managed the relationships mediated within it. Roy argued that trust as an emotion, but also as a 'highly cherished cultural asset', formed the 'bedrock for information in the community'. In his view, trust emanated from within refugee families' experiences of displacement, in which kinship within large clan networks had contributed to their survival. This centring of trust within extended kinship groups contrasted with the interrelated 'safety nets' of government-sponsored welfare systems and smaller, more labile family units operating within Northern states:

> It gives that deep shelter, that protection, that they've lost through displacement. We do it differently. We can split, divorce, re-form and so on with our small families. Our connections can be looser. But they have these deep obligations to give money, micro-loans, a place to live, advice that go on all their lives. They can't get away from it. There's no space outside this that they can go to for that kind of support. In their view, if they fall through the cracks, where else do they go for help but each other? While we have safety nets like welfare.
>
> (Roy, interview, 3 November 2013)

While trust formed an adaptive strategy for survival during displacement, Rebecca argued that experiences of dispossession and instability also generated states of mistrust. In her view, this resulted in an inability within her community to 'accept information from the West' because 'we tend to not trust people. And I think it's to do with us … never having stability in our lives. So we're always troubled. Always going places to get accepted and then finding out later we're rejected again. And we're going to have to move. So I'm saying we have trust issues'. For agency workers, reconnecting humanitarian arrivals with the state required transcending accumulated mistrust of outside authority in order to rebuild, as Roy described, 'that trust in government'. However, rebuilding trust in

the state forced upon refugee arrivals a renegotiation of the sociocultural distance between themselves and state authority. Roy argued that, in exchanging the information needed to re-establish themselves as citizens, settling communities found themselves in the unwanted position of 'coming close to government':

> The majority of their lives has been about getting away from government. The actual desire to be completely away from government and government instrumentalities is so strong that if you come to government, if you are seen by government, you will end up being punished by government. That is so strong in the communities, it's almost instinctive … And that trust in government is really getting rid of years upon years of brutalisation by governments towards these people in other countries. If you're coming out of a civil war, you can see that you're not going to trust organisations. You're not going to trust people who've got authority. You'll be more reliant on things like if someone else you know in your family grouping has done it, you may do it.
>
> (Roy, interview, 3 November 2013)

In the recollections of clan members such as Simon, experiences of displacement during civil war and emplacement within refugee camps altered perceptions of the nature of humanity. Restoring the capacity to trust therefore also required the restitution of membership within the overarching collective of humankind. According to Simon, in refugee camps, people lived 'like animal for the years' and became 'totally wild':

> The culture that he has been staying within the refugee camp is totally different. Is mad. A different world. It's, like, put them in counselling for *years* … until they … will come back into normal life. Because they were just live like animal for the years. So when they are here, to gain that humanity, to feel like he is a human being, you just show him and let him see and let him smell and let him observe. Until he will just come back into normal as a human being … To build the trust and regain that humanity that, oh, people are very nice.
>
> (Simon, interview, 25 January 2013)

In developing strategies for rebuilding trust in government and its services, agency workers encountered contrasting cultural perceptions of the locus of trust. In their experience, settling refugee communities preferred to place trust in people, in particular in those they knew, rather than in institutionalised service systems, making it difficult for new arrivals to move across systems and into unfamiliar service environments. In Sharon's experience, resettling refugees 'would trust only individuals they've developed a relationship with. That they've learnt to trust. And I don't think that they would trust anybody that they'd just met indiscriminately, like we do. We would just assume that … if it's on the Net or on the government website, that's going to be right'. Roy argued that community members 'won't actually say, you must go to this particular workshop or you must go to this particular service. They will say, oh, you can go and speak to Roy or another worker they know. For any issue. For they are to be trusted. They won't harm

you'. At the same time, in the absence of trust, refugee arrivals could provide agencies with misinformation about themselves or their communities, which restricted agencies' ability to provide support. Catherine pointed out that 'based on their past experience … they don't share a great deal and they don't necessarily always tell you the truth. And they … don't want to tell you the information that we might require often'.

Refugee communities' 'fear of authority', in Jennifer's experience, extended across most government services: 'So that would be us. That would be the police. That would be anyone who is controlling money or housing or anything like that'. Roy noted the vulnerabilities that refugee arrivals were placed in because of low levels of trust in government systems and a misunderstanding of how these systems operated: '[There is] a woman here who puts all her money that she earns in a money belt around her waist. She thinks that the tax man won't find it. She also thinks that Centrelink doesn't know that she's got it. And she's making herself vulnerable by having it on her like that'. Catherine described how fear of the authority inscribed in the uniform of ambulance workers, as well as their medical equipment, prevented a refugee student from agreeing to being taken to hospital in an emergency:

> She got that information [about the seriousness of her condition] … but she didn't believe it. She was given that information from everybody who was around her, which was the ambulance officer, her teacher, the cultural liaison officer, our security and first aid officer. All of these people were saying it and sharing that with her. That [going to hospital in the ambulance] is the right thing to do. We knew that, if we asked her husband to say those things to her or to explain it to her, her husband would have been … believed by her. But in that situation, she didn't want to believe us.
>
> (Catherine, interview, 9 September 2013)

In Celia's view, services' capacity to create and manage trust among refugee clients depended on a willingness to develop personal rather than systemic relationships with them as individuals and communities: 'Although the help [for clients] is really good, it's not personalised. Like you go along to [different services], you don't know who you're going to get at the door. You don't have a personal relationship … I just know that it's all personal relationships and trust. And if you've lost trust, they'll vanish'. Jennifer felt that she was 'accepted to a point' but that this acceptance was filtered through the nature of the information she provided: '[I]f I'm saying something that's not what they want to hear, which is quite often, then I'm the enemy. If I'm going out and giving the information that they need, then that's okay. So you've just got to work with it'. Rebuilding trust, in Roy's experience, also required an understanding of the cultural distance between client and government within which refugee arrivals could develop a sense of safety: '… knowing who you are, who you work for, creating a safe space … which is recognisable, not asking too much detail about names and addresses and filling in forms and stuff, is really a passport to some level of success. If you say, please book ahead or please fill in a form …' Olivia argued that consistency and reliability over time helped establish trust and enabled information to be exchanged: '[I]t just took time of you being there consistently. Of you being reliable. Of them actually seeing results from

what you were doing for them, to build up that trust. And then they knew that they were safe with you to have a free exchange of information and to be more friendly'.

For Roy, building personalised relations of trust required patience, as 'it takes a long time, a very, very long time, before they start talking to you about what really is happening'. However, organisations settling refugee clients operated within a tension between the Northern monetisation of time and clients' needs for the patient and personalised service that the restitution of trust entailed. Joanna noted that the intensity of the settlement process was generated partly by the time allocated to it under federal funding arrangements: 'Because we're actively having to engage them really quick. Six months goes so fast. So much to learn. So much to link up with'. Angela argued that the personalised relationships of settlement ended abruptly for clients when they moved to a more impersonal, referral-based experience of mainstream services at the end of this period: 'The first six months to twelve months they rely a lot on the settlement service … It shouldn't stop right [then] and say, 'bye, [support] is over there and there and there. We've made the referral for you over there and there and there and best [of] luck'. In Simon's view, the space of exception which communities had occupied through displacement was beyond the recognition of most systems and required a level of redress that the monetised use of time within depersonalised service cultures would not allow:

> This thing need time. You [can't] rush. You [can't] assume that he will know because he's a human being. I have shown him. He should learn. Give him cultural orientation for one hour, that's enough. That's not enough [*laughs*]. He need to do it then come back and ask the question, yes, how can I do this? And you teach him this yesterday or you taught him some week ago. And he come back. You should not be surprised. Why you come back and I been just taught you last week? And you're asking me again. You need to repeat and repeat and repeat ... In a very calm way, in a very polite way. You need someone who has patience in his heart. Someone who will not give up. Someone who will not feel tired. Oh, I been repeating and repeating and you don't understand. What's wrong with your brain [*laughs*]?
>
> (Simon, interview, 25 January 2013)

The intersections of trust with constructions of gender and race made building personalised relationships with refugee clients problematic. Joanna's agency's access to clients' personal details meant that the information she could give to clients was often more accurate than the advice that clients would obtain from within their communities. However, her status as an Australian-born 'white girl' made it difficult for her, in these situations, to persuade clients to trust her for advice rather than community sources of support:

> And I know that I'm a white girl working with you and I'm saying trust me. I'm not from your culture. And yet someone from your culture is giving you poor guidance. But I'm saying that's not good. Trust me. And that's a real hard one when you know that the information they're getting isn't quite correct. Because we are privy to a lot of their information

> through Immigration … You need to trust *me*. How do you [manage that]?
>
> (Joanna, interview, 6 August 2013)

Settling communities' practice of placing trust in individuals rather than in systems and preference for dealing with people they knew, particularly within their community, led to an insularity within which verification of information was highly restricted. Isaac felt that 'the big problem in the Sudanese, in most African communities, [is] we misinterpret the thing into a different thing. And then that will go on and that will separate or divide the community into sections'. In Roy's view, community insularity reduced access to the means for checking information's accuracy: '… they're very, very insular. They seem to have created a sort of world within … Because they'll always believe what they've been told by a neighbour or friend. There's no way that they can really check it out. They don't independently check out things … They wouldn't know who to go and [ask]'. Olivia recounted how misinformation, which spread 'around the community really, really quickly', created difficulties for new communities and agencies alike: 'So somebody will get hold of some wrong idea and it will be around the community like wildfire and then you have a hell of a job trying to dispel the myth'. Jennifer argued that problems often arose 'because they listen to people in the community … which is often like Chinese whispers … So that by the time they come into us, they haven't done this, they haven't done that', which would lead to a cancellation of services. Olivia argued that without access to independent sources of verification, new communities constructed ill-informed perceptions of a range of issues significantly affecting their capacity to settle, as without verification 'all information is just gossip. And one piece is no more valuable or valid than another piece. So it's like this big pot of gossip … So-and-so is having an affair with so-and-so and the government will take your children away and … potatoes are bad for you is all the same'.

The intersection of insularity and localised trust with a lack of external verification led to imitation, in which decisions in areas such as education, housing and employment were made by copying other community members' actions rather than on an analysis of the options available. Grace argued that 'We Sudanese, we follow the other one. If we see a Sudanese do something we say, oh, see him, he is doing this and this and this and we do it that way. That way we think we are doing it right'. For new communities, the truth of information encountered during settlement lay in its effect on the lives of those around them. Information's relationality provided the clues to its worth and the justification for imitating the choices of others. The question which most consistently framed refugee entrants' engagement with information, as Roy believed, was 'who has done this before. Because if they've done it before and they've got through … then it's possible for me. Because aren't they like me? But if I go to a different pathway I may fall over, because the information has no relationship to me'.

7.7 Conclusion to Part 2

Part 2 of the dissertation has outlined the findings of interviews with members of a South Sudanese clan resettling in south-east Queensland and workers from agencies providing settlement support. The aim of this section of the dissertation has been to consider how the experiences and interpretations of resettling refugees and agency workers can go

some way to answering the research questions outlined at the beginning of this discussion in Chapter 1. This discussion has also been situated within the theoretical context of Agamben's work on sovereign exclusion, to consider how information literacy contributes to the reincorporation of the exiled outsider into the subject position of citizen.

In this section of the dissertation, Chapter 4 outlined the background of historic underdevelopment, civil war and displacement experienced by clan members prior to their arrival as humanitarian entrants to Australia. The chapter also considered how information is produced and circulated in environments of conflict and refugee protection, with limited access to technology, high levels of concern about the welfare of the wider kinship group and fears about personal and collective security. These experiences formed the context within which clan members responded to information within the later processes of resettlement.

Chapter 5 detailed the interconnections between language, literacy and kinship networks, in Australia and across the diaspora, as settlement unfolded. The discussion explored the effects of these dimensions of social life upon the production of information during the settlement period. Chapter 6 broadened the discussion to examine the role of information literacy from the perspective of agency workers delivering settlement services to new arrivals. The chapter canvassed the strategies that settlement agencies developed to build information relationships for refugee arrivals, as new residents and previously displaced people, with the state and the wider community. The discussion in Chapter 7, which concluded Part 2, focused on the role that reframing practices such as cultural beliefs, community status, gender and affectivity played in refugee communities' capacity to maintain the information relationships established for them as new residents. Chapter 8, which follows, concludes the dissertation by returning the discussion to the research questions and theoretical concerns which framed this project.

8 Information relationships and the return from the state of exception

8.1 Introduction

The research discussed in this dissertation has examined the role of information literacy in the resettlement of humanitarian entrants under the Australian federal government's immigration program. Information literacy within refugee resettlement has received little attention in academic scholarship both in Australia and overseas. To help address this gap, the research was designed as a multifocal, interdisciplinary project situated between refugee studies and information science. The questions guiding the research concerned the role that information literacy played in the process of settlement and how refugee arrivals from differing cultural and language backgrounds engaged with the text-dense, digitally mediated and English-language based information environments of Australian life. The research was also guided by the question of the risks that new arrivals faced in developing information poverty over the longer term.

8.2 Agamben and the exiled Other

The study began by situating its theoretical frame within Agamben's theorising of the sovereign's power to exile the citizen. In his seminal exploration of juridical exclusion, Agamben is concerned with the capacity of sovereign power to banish its citizens from the state by placing them outside the protections of the law in a legal non-space of exception. For Agamben, the modern-day refugee represents the exemplar of this form of sovereign exclusion.

In his exploration of sovereign authority, Agamben engages with two schemas concerning the operations of the state: the archaic Roman figure of *homo sacer* and the Aristotelian distinction between natural life and political life. The excluded Other of *homo sacer*, removed from membership of the community by sovereign decree, continues beyond the city walls as mere existence, or 'bare life'. This stateless being can be killed with impunity but cannot be sacrificed to the gods, as only beings recognised in law can be offered up in this way. Thus, in a complex twofold relationship with the law, the exile is cast beyond the law yet continues to exist within it.

Agamben argues that the exilee's equivocal status in law demonstrates the topological quality of the sovereign's power as lawmaker. The power of the sovereign to enact control over a territory depends on the relationship between the 'inside' of the law within this territory and the 'outside' of the law beyond this space, into which the state's citizens can be thrown by decree but in which the state's authority no longer operates. The act of exclusion manifests the sovereign's power over life yet at the same time reveals both its territorial limits and its dependence on the exiled Other for juridical legitimacy. The lawfulness of sovereign power requires a coterminous space of lawlessness, which both defines and challenges the law's authority. Alongside this conundrum, Agamben examines the Aristotelian distinction between the private world of domestic life and the 'good' life found in public political engagement. As the citizen exists in both worlds, as a public actor and a private being, a zone of indistinction arises between the two realms in which the citizen both is and is not a member of the state. For

Agamben, this zone of indistinction provides the space from which emerges the unrecognised Other, who, like *homo sacer*, holds an inside/outside relationship with the law and an ambivalent status within it.

Agamben has been criticised for developing a reified and ahistoric account of the workings of state power and for ignoring the capacity of race, gender and sexuality to segregate and delegitimise individuals and communities. However, his concern with statelessness as the exemplary condition of juridical insecurity gives us a starting point for examining how this condition can be reversed. If the refugee exemplifies exclusion via state decree, refugee resettlement must be the paradigm of re-inclusion. The question then becomes, how does the excluded Other, or refugee, re-emerge from the space of exile beyond the law to become reincorporated into the fold of the state as the lawful subject citizen?

The aim of this study has been to address this question by examining the recuperative process through which formerly displaced populations return from the state of exception and re-engage with the rights and protections of citizenship. To this end, the study proposed the concept of 'information relationship' to consider how information enabled a displaced refugee community to re-establish its connection with the state and become re-incorporated as citizens within its body politic. 'Information relationship' was defined as the interaction and interconnection between social actors, groups and institutions, in which agency is constituted in and through information and its production and interpretation. The study also proposed that the process of refugee settlement for newly-arrived humanitarian entrants was facilitated through the creation of information relationships with a range of service areas by specialist state and non-state agencies working within targeted government-funded programs.

The research took the form of a multifocal and translocal qualitative case study, using semi-structured and open-ended interviews with a purposive sample of study participants. The research was situated within the experiences of resettlement of a Dinka Bor clan from central South Sudan who resettled in south-east Queensland in the early to mid-2000s. The research was also situated within the settlement support provided to newly-arrived communities by workers operating within the settlement sector from within a range of state and non-state services. Using a multifocal and translocal research design enabled the study to also explore the interface of information between settling communities and government agencies as the settlement process unfolded, as well the wider production of information across the clan's diaspora. A total of 31 men and women were interviewed during the study between November 2012 and December 2013, with additional input obtained from conversations with five clan members during a visit to East Africa. Data analysis drew on the inductive, interpretive approach of case study research. The research was formally supported by the clan's community association and by an agency working in refugee services in south-east Queensland.

The discussion which follows summarises the findings and themes that have emerged from the study and concludes that information and the information relationships established during settlement provide a necessary yet contingent means for enabling the return for the displaced Other to citizen subjectivity within the protections of the state.

8.3 Information, displacement and humanitarian protection

As a signatory to the 1951 Refugee Convention, Australia currently resettles around 13,000 humanitarian entrants annually, with support provided on arrival by contracted government and non-government agencies over an eligibility period of from six months to a further five years via a range of funded settlement programs. The primary programs within the federal government's settlement framework are the Humanitarian Settlement Services program, the Settlement Grants Program and the Adult Migrant English Program, with additional support for complex casework and with interpreting and language needs. Across these programs, agencies provide targeted information to new arrivals in areas such as education, employment, housing, financial services, language skills, gender relations, health and the law. The aim of this information exchange is to encourage effective integration into the Australian community and independence in service access. However, providing new arrivals with 'information about information' and how this is produced and consumed within Australia is not currently required within settlement contracts. During the settlement period, refugee entrants also engage with the information worlds of agencies and commercial enterprises operating outside the settlement sector, such as public utilities, banks, medical clinics and real estate agents, as well as church and community groups.

As the accounts of clan members and agency workers documented here have demonstrated, information established them as permanent residents of Australia and emerging citizens within its communities who were entitled to receive publicly available support in undertaking family and community life. In the process of settlement, information gave access to resources such as jobs, housing, health services and education. Both before and following their arrival, clan members provided personal details, such as name, age, gender, marital status, family members, kinship relationships, health status, residential address and financial details, as well as education and employment backgrounds and histories of displacement, to a wide range of state and non-state agencies, organisations and businesses. These information exchanges, conducted in refugee camps in East Africa and in government-designated resettlement destinations within Australia, constructed for them new identities as legally recognised and recognisable members of the Australian community. Agency staff, in their role as settlement support workers, actively facilitated this reconstruction of citizen identity and re-inclusion within the state through the circulation and exchange of information. However, as the recollections detailed in this research have shown, affiliative frameworks of kinship, beliefs and practices of culture, language skills and access to technology, as well as community norms and expectations and the effects of personal histories, including their age at arrival, mediated how these information relationships operated within settling communities and shaped how new residents maintained their rebuilt connections with the state and wider society. The effects of everyday racism and clan members' visible difference as members of the Dinka community also mediated these newly built connections.

Protracted periods of displacement and humanitarian protection during the second Sudanese civil war of 1983 to 2005, as well as limited information infrastructure in the Sudan region, provided the context within which information was used, both during and after the war, to reconnect and reconstruct communities scattered by chronic and devastating conflict. As clan members' accounts have shown, the catastrophic events of

two decades of war generated a disturbing and hard-to-fill vacuum of information about displaced family members and lost homesteads, land and cattle, as well as the region's security and future. In circumstances of flight and dispossession, information was essential for survival and connectedness but its practices also placed lives and communities in danger. Limited infrastructure for mobility and telecommunication, lack of literacy and the risks inherent in using the few communications devices available led to a heavy reliance on the circulation of information via people, through extended clan networks operating within the region and across its borders. Constructed through the repetition of news and messages as individuals, families and communities moved to either join or escape the fighting, these information networks were slow, intermittent, limited and unreliable. Information about family members' whereabouts and the welfare of the clan, as well as the war's progress and its impact on traditional lands and village life, was highly sought after but generally incomplete, out-of-date and unverifiable.

Information was also entangled within the larger workings of biopolitical control found in the region's colonial and post-colonial history. The entrenched legacies of underdevelopment and neglect in the south of Sudan, in particular in areas such as education and administration, the struggle between aid agencies and military commands over control of relief supplies to displaced communities and the authoritarian regimes of refugee camp management generated public service systems that civilian populations experienced as contradictory, unpredictable and restrictive. The Khartoum-based state's failures during the war to provide protection and support in conflict zones delegitimised its sovereign status and framed its functions as weak and unreliable. At the same time, despite its claims for legitimacy as an instrument for national independence and civilian protection, the south's guerrilla insurgency preyed, often violently, upon its own communities. The erratic and uncoordinated provision of international relief during the early years of conflict operated without accountability to client communities or an integrated framework for humanitarian support. Systems of governance associated with state and non-state functions and administered by public officials, military commands, relief workers and camp managers variably proved to be authoritarian, coercive, corruptible and untrustworthy.

Research into displacement in the region has shown how the exercise of authority by state systems, military hierarchies and camp administrations engendered fear, mistrust and avoidance of engagement among civilians, along with distortions in behaviour from institutional rewards for compliance or passivity. In the struggles of displacement, clan members' social and kinship networks, based on bonds of blood and shared experience, provided trusted sources of support, agency and resistance. These bonds of trust and support operated locally within war-affected communities and the confines of refugee camps but were also enacted across the diaspora via information, remittances and sponsorship for resettlement.

After decades of neglect and destruction, the information environments of the new South Sudan are severely underdeveloped in all their systems. While there is increasing use of technology, in particular the mobile phone, great gaps in information access exist between larger centres and the lesser-populated rural areas which make up most of the region. Large-scale information production systems in the form of indigenous newspapers, television channels and Internet sites are limited in their infrastructure, content, use of external news sources and audience penetration. Widespread mother-

tongue illiteracy across a multilingual region, as well illiteracy in English, the region's administrative language, restrict all forms of information circulation. Information moves largely by word of mouth, with endorsement of its place in the community by traditional clan elders. Community broadcasts are heavily dependent on radio, as well as vehicles with loudspeakers, as the most readily available and cost effective information technology. News from across the diaspora moves with difficulty beyond the nation's capital, Juba, and its larger state centres.

For all clan members, resettlement to Australia and the rebuilding of a relationship with the state and its systems took place against this background of chronic underdevelopment, widespread dispossession, rudimentary information technology and strategies for survival developed within trusted networks of kinship. The disparities in literacy, communications technology and information infrastructure between the region of southern Sudan and refugee receiving countries of the Global North, such as the United States, Canada and Australia, also shaped the diaspora that emerged for the clan through civil war, displacement and humanitarian protection. While most clan members repatriated after the war to centres within the newly independent South Sudan or remained in host countries such as Kenya and Uganda for work and education, those who were resettled elsewhere moved deeper into this multi-continent diaspora. Resettlement under state-sponsored humanitarian protection programs moved them away from established sources of information and interpretation that had supported the construction of knowledge. These disparities in infrastructure also shaped the starkly contrasting information environments across which clan members worked, following repatriation and resettlement, to re-establish their connectedness as families and rebuild their viability as communities.

8.4 Information, settlement and the diaspora

Clan members' information priorities in the period following their arrival in Australia centred on 'the basics' of employment, education, housing, income support and health. As information relationships were constructed for them with state and community services, these information needs were also filtered through intersections of age, gender, family responsibilities and emotion. An early focus for clan members was on the information that would enable them to re-establish links with extended family across the diaspora and begin remitting funds to relatives in the south of Sudan and its region.

Clan members had a clear understanding of the information that would help them to make headway in their settlement. They were also acutely aware of the great gaps in knowledge, comprehension and agency that a paucity of information would produce for them as non-English speakers emerging from protracted periods in refugee camps. However, in an anamorphic distortion of perspective and meaning, they could not readily identify where to begin to find the information that was evidently abundantly available around them. For most, direct personal contact, with clan relatives and with individual settlement workers, was their preferred means of obtaining the information they needed to know to settle. This included the need to be shown, through demonstration and mimicry, how to undertake the tasks and activities that settlement required of them and to be taken to services to enter the role of consumer and client. Living with or near relatives was an important resource in this process, which shaped decisions about residency, along with personal connections with agency workers, church groups and

locally-born neighbours. Clan and immediate family members also acted as interpreters for new arrivals as they began interacting with the processes of settlement.

Engaging with information was experienced as a paradoxical flood of difficult-to-deflect communication on the one hand and a vacuum of unforseen social isolation on the other. Information arrived in new entrants' lives as a deluge of facts, concepts and cultural norms, as well as multiple and bewildering rules for engaging with state and non-state systems. The stress of responding to overwhelming levels of information was a cause of concern within the community but also within agencies working on their behalf. Clan members had to counter instances of racism and hostility as they began participating in the differing information worlds that surrounded them, which inhibited their access to information and the means with which to make meaning of it. Interethnic conflict within settling communities also limited the movement of information across family groupings.

In this participation, the practices of research, in which information and its sources are critically evaluated, posed unexpected difficulties for them, particularly within education. As a learning strategy, critical assessment of information obtained independently compared markedly with the practices of education they had experienced during the Sudanese civil war. The southern region's chronically impoverished education systems were based less on the pedagogies of critical inquiry prevalent in the Global North and more on teacher-centred instruction. Education within Sudan's south also functioned within cultures of resistance to institutionalised learning, which was perceived to be a threat to the continuity of tradition and legitimacy of learning within the family and community. Clan members' limited English language skills, combined with the poor uptake of accredited, government-funded interpreter services by organisations outside the settlement sector, created spaces of ambiguity in which meaning could not be made of the information provided to them as clients. While all had learned some English prior to arrival, most also encountered difficulty with Australian accents, which increased these effects of ambiguity and inhibited the creation of knowledge.

In the early period of settlement, clan members wishing to obtain employment or move to new housing after their initial settlement accommodation could not readily provide the information required by recruitment offices and real estate agencies regarding previous employment and tenancy in Australia. As new arrivals, clan members lacked local records of work and rental occupancy. This lack of local experience entangled them in infinite loops of information requirements which they had difficulty escaping. Clan members were unable to evidence the experience that would help them obtain employment or housing but, because of this, could not participate in the work or tenancy arrangements that would produce this evidence. Engaging with information was also caught up in a number of structural intersections, in particular between the pressure to find work and the need to attend classes in which they could learn English. This tension produced groups within the community whose language skills took the form of 'survival' English, with limited opportunity or capacity to increase these skills and a negative effect on their long term options in areas such as employment.

Reconnecting with family and relatives scattered across the diaspora was an immediate priority for all clan members from the point of arrival. The need to rebuild kinship links led to information practices in which the telephone, messages passed across

the community and, to a limited extent, the Internet enabled clan members to build up knowledge of the whereabouts of displaced relatives resettled across three continents. Within these processes of reconnection, the mobile phone was the most commonly used and highly prized means of communication. This device produced an explosion of information within the community which contrasted vividly with the absence of information during conflict, flight and long periods under refugee protection. The relative ease, speed and immediacy of information exchanges via the mobile phone also contrasted with the struggle during those years to obtain reliable information without effective communications technology. Use of the mobile phone produced a connectedness that was intense, constant and grounded in a relentless circulation of troubling updates on family welfare in southern Sudan during and after the civil war, as well as on the region's emergence as a newly created and fragile state. Clan members engaged in protracted, complex and long-distance arrangements to ensure that relatives in and around their home country, as well as in refugee camps in its region, had mobile phones or access to them in order to stay in touch.

While information was relayed directly by the mobile phone, these relays were also mediated via kinship structures and the communication protocols of traditional clan status. The process of rebuilding the clan's networks was slow and frustrating but also a source of joy and renewed hope. However, while the mobile phone enabled reconnection of families and communities, it also generated misinformation about the sociocultural and structural conditions of life in Australia and the relative wealth of clan members resettled here compared with family circumstances in East Africa. Misinformation about the consequences of resettlement placed increased pressure upon families to remit funds to those overseas and proved difficult to counter with a more realistic depiction of life in Australia. News circulating within the community about people's lives and remittance practices shaped their reputations and, from there, their capacity to participate in life-defining events such as dowry negotiations and marriage.

Information and the clan's collectivity were mutually constitutive, through practices in which community members expected and gave a high level of verbal input into discussions of news, events, issues of concern and community decision making. This input in turn helped reinforce the communality of tradition, kinship and culture. Oral communication enabled the rapid movement of information, good and bad, throughout the community and added to the information overload of resettlement. The dense connectedness of oral communication was facilitated by the mobile phone and the high numbers of contact details that clan members had collected there. These personalised databases of reconnection were built partly in the absence of more institutionalised means of finding out how to connect across the community, such as publicly available telephone directories and contact lists.

The intensity of orality was also shaped by cultural expectations about sharing information as a mark of collective membership, as well as by the responsibilities that some clan members had as elders within the community. While clan members shared much sought-after information about resources such as jobs and housing, the intensity of interconnectedness via orality also limited individual privacy, as well as control over community perceptions created through gossip. The ready availability of information shared via the mobile phone could create tensions within families and conflict between couples. Information's immediacy and spread enabled by this technology also shaped the

space within which young women engaged with gendered definitions of acceptable behaviour. Information was exchanged regularly across a wide variety of gatherings, events and venues, but with an inward-looking focus on the practical and cultural concerns of the community.

The sociocultural practices of orality contributed to a resistance to reading as a means for entering the information worlds of settlement. Agency workers and clan members alike reflected on the difficulties oral culture communities faced in engaging with text-based information beyond the immediate task of decoding symbols into words. Related reading practices such as scanning a text, navigating documents, using indexes and identifying the main points of content proved problematic, particularly within education. Resistance to reading affected clan members' capacity to engage in teaching and learning strategies that focused on self-learning and research, which required an engagement with written texts initiated and managed by the independent learner. For clan members, reading failed to engender the believability that was possible with information delivered orally, particularly in person. For them as oral culture people, the believability of information derived from the interpersonal exchange within which it was produced and the credentials, affiliations and mutual trust of those who took part. These complex intersections of information needs, language and literacy practices, cultural expectations and the pressures of settlement presaged the development of information poverty within oral culture and low literacy refugee communities over time.

8.5 Information relationships: connecting with the state

Government and non-government agencies used a range of strategies and technologies to establish information-mediated relationships between settling communities and public services, commercial enterprises and the wider community. These relationships enabled new arrivals to access the resources needed to build new lives and receive the entitlements associated with formalised membership of the state. Within the broad span of settlement concerns supported by casework and community development, agency workers used a multiplicity of channels to convey information to new refugee communities. These included individual communication, group workshops, word of mouth, print materials and digital media. However, the most common form of delivery was via half-day information sessions for nominated language groups on topics associated with settlement. Written materials, such as fact sheets, web pages and brochures, had the potential to penetrate further into communities but were not as effective as face-to-face conversational interaction. Personal interaction situated knowledge within the exchange between speaker and listener and enabled differences in culture and practice to be explored and explained. While this emphasis on face-to-face interaction proved more effective, it also limited information distribution to those who were physically present and raised questions about the risks of misinformation circulating through the community as information moved verbally further from its source.

In engaging with new arrivals, agency workers used communication styles which focused on pictorial content, simple language and conversation and were enhanced by practical examples. Interpreting via accredited language services and community-based support workers was used by settlement agencies but resisted by those outside immediate settlement work, as well as by communities themselves, through fear of loss of control

over the interaction between client and provider and breaches in privacy and confidentiality. However, despite these fears, the ongoing availability of interpreter support at some agencies meant that new communities would routinely seek help from these agencies with concerns that were outside their area of service.

In establishing relationships across government and non-government systems for their clients, settlement workers built networks of communication within the space of settlement programs but experienced less engagement with refugee arrivals' circumstances by mainstream services external to this space. This lack of mainstream engagement set up a dichotomised space of responsibility for supporting humanitarian entrants, which reduced their access to information once they were no longer eligible for specialist settlement support. Agency workers grappled with the problem of conveying personal information about new arrivals' needs across systems which were not skilled in or equipped for responding to refugee arrivals as a client population, while at the same time managing client confidentiality.

Settlement agencies' work in establishing newly arrived residents' connection with the state was situated within shifting and unpredictable national policies on humanitarian protection and fluctuations in the flow of refugee intakes. Inflexibilities within settlement funding contracts inhibited agencies' capacity to respond as information needs emerged within communities yet were not anticipated within contracts. At the same time, settling communities experienced difficulties in maintaining these relationships of citizenship once they were set up. These difficulties stemmed from unfamiliarity with many of the concepts underpinning these relationships, such as rental leases and financial contracts, as well as from not knowing how to approach non-settlement services for help. The widespread systemisation of state services caused confusion, as well as anxiety about surveillance and intervention, among communities unused to the interconnected delivery systems, governance models and business technologies of Northern governmentality. These relationships also depended on the currency and timeliness of information about personal circumstances which refugee communities, as clients, often failed to provide or update.

The move within government, non-government and commercial sectors to self-administered consumption of services also proved problematic for refugee arrivals. Self-administration as a consumer required English language and literacy skills, technical knowhow and Internet access which new arrivals did not necessarily have. Effective self-management depended on an understanding of service systems and the rules, norms and expectations surrounding their processes and how these were to be used. The concept of self-administration was also not congruent with cultural practices of support within collectivist communities, which prioritised personalised, mutual responsibility across extended kinship as a means of sustaining community cohesion and wellbeing.

While a high level of connectedness was maintained within the community through the mobile phone, clan members did not use this communication technology in the same way to obtain information outside the community or to maintain their relationships with services. Thus, while the mobile phone had radically increased information production within the community itself, its presence within clan members' lives had not produced an equivalent connectedness with information worlds outside the realm of family and kinship. At the same time, clan members' preference for face-to-face

interaction with services, rather than communication over the phone or by email, reduced their access to information within the context of self-administered service consumption.

Clan members who were studying in the Australian education system developed a level of familiarity with web-based interfaces on personal computers, laptops, tablets and mobile phones as a means of obtaining information. However, accessing digital information via these media was generally limited to community concerns relating to South Sudan and the diaspora found on websites such as the Sudan Tribune. While government and commercial websites were used occasionally for finding employment and accommodation, as well as immigration advice, information in these areas was generally obtained through clan and community contacts. Web-based information was less commonly sourced by women and older community members.

Sourcing information via web-based technology was limited by the lack of data connections within rental properties, which was the clan's most common form of housing. At the same time, collectivist expectations around resource sharing could inhibit households from connecting with the Internet, either by landline or wireless technology, because of the potential costs of its use by community members from outside the immediate family. Navigating websites to obtain government and commercial information was problematic and the relevance and usefulness of downloadable material, such as forms and fact sheets, proved difficult to decipher and limited by lack of access to printers. The immediacy of the mobile phone and its capacity to enable cultures of orality prioritised this information agency over systems involving reading and writing, such as email and interactive web-enabled forms.

As an everyday information technology, paper presented clan members with an unexpected volume of information delivered via an alien medium. Paper had played a minimal role in everyday life prior to resettlement, beyond significant documents of state and state-like authority, such as ration cards, travel permits and resettlement application forms, and letters exchanged via the International Red Cross family tracking systems. In the process of resettlement, paper provided a physical medium for rebuilding new arrivals' relationship with the state through formalised exchanges of personal and institutional information.

As these relationships of information unfolded, clan members began receiving a troubling and unmanageable mass of paper in the form of letters, brochures, forms and circulars. The radically increased presence of paper in their lives was partly enabled by the unfamiliar frequency and reach of the Australian postal system when compared with postal services within Sudan's south and in refugee camps. Paper as a cultural and material object had little frame of reference within which to respond to it and was generally ignored or disposed of without acknowledgement, until problems associated with its content became unavoidable.

Managing paper and the information it contained was complicated by the lack of culturally relevant taxonomies of meaning within which to categorise, store and retrieve documents. Information markers on agencies' letters, forms and circulars, such as file numbers and client reference numbers, as well as deadlines for communication, were not recognised as signifiers of the relationship with government and a means of both activating its services and complying with its requirements.

While an essential mechanism for recreating clan members' connections with the state and its sectors, the administrative practice of form filling proved overwhelming in

the early post-arrival period and problematic in terms of literacy, comprehension and cultural relevance. Clan members' engagement with forms was also set against earlier experiences of bureaucracies operating within conflict zones and in the management of international relief and humanitarian protection. For clan members as resettled refugees, acts of form filling were imbued with the power to transform their lives and those of their families and community. Administrative forms had formalised their entry into the condition of statelessness through a declaration of their loss of citizen subjectivity within Sudan, their country of origin. This declaration gained for them protection as refugees under the conventions of the UNHCR. Forms also enabled their later re-emergence from this condition through application for resettlement by a refugee receiving state such as Australia.

Across the clan, a diasporic meta-narrative of displacement was constructed and shared over time to help its members negotiate these processes of form filling employed by states to control citizen inclusion and movement. This meta-narrative would also hopefully increase the community's chances of escaping the precarity that dispossession had produced. Successful applications for resettlement and family sponsorship were closely parsed by community members for elements that would satisfy the criteria used by states to construct the terms for escape from sovereign exclusion.

8.6 Information reframed: culture, status, gender and trust

Cultural expectations, community status, networks of allegiance and traditions of gender, as well as affective states such as trust and fear, reframed the information that refugee communities received during the process of settlement and shaped their comprehension of and willingness to engage with new knowledge. The collectivity of clan membership provided a large, familiar and bounded information world within which new arrivals could, with safety, seek the advice they needed. Within this information world, customary clan lineage structures, such as sections, shaped practices of communication via alliances of marriage and channelled information's distribution. Extended kinship obligations often took priority over taking part in information sessions provided as part of settlement support. Within the bounded information world of kinship, expectations of life in Australia, past experiences that paralleled those here and normative constructions of social and cultural life in the country of origin contextualised how information was interpreted and acted upon.

Influence over the circulation and absorption of information within new communities derived from the intersections of age, status and gender which enabled practices of gatekeeping. The cultural authority of elders within communities and practices of seniority, such as the Dinka custom of age sets, mediated the legitimacy and relevance of information provided by agencies. Children's often greater English language and literacy skills also enhanced or inhibited the flow of information within families. Access to information, as well as its content, disrupted power relations within families and altered practices which enabled status and authority within communities.

Information and status during settlement were mutually enacted. Access to information enhanced community leaders' status, while community status, in turn, influenced perceptions of information's legitimacy. The knowledge vacuum that settlement produced in the early post-arrival period opened up opportunities for power relations within families and communities to be reconfigured but also for information to

be misinterpreted and misdirected. Factional conflicts within communities over leadership, as well as control of the interface between services and emerging populations, made it difficult for agencies to reliably communicate information via community authority structures. Relationships with service providers formed in and through information could prove more valuable than the information itself and shape whether it would be circulated outside these relationships' confines.

Perceptions of the advantages that information gave in obtaining resources such as employment, accommodation and support with settlement problems could also engender jealousy and resentment within communities, which further factionalised how information would be consumed. Lack of understanding of governmental decision making meant that community leaders and cultural liaison workers could be blamed by community members for changes in policies and systems that affected them. Use by agencies of traditional forms of sociality, such as large informal gatherings in public spaces, as a means of conveying information and supporting comprehension could be restricted by racialised conventions concerning public association, as well as the acceptability of sociality as a form of service delivery. For new communities, these conventions spatialised information into areas of social and cultural practice from which they could be excluded. Histories of internecine conflict in countries of origin constrained the movement of information within communities, as did differences in religion, ethnicity and language. Information conveyed by cultural support workers and accredited interpreters whose religion or ethnicity differed from their clients could be avoided or ignored. Agencies struggled to design and deliver information services that transcended these structural and cultural divides with inclusive programming that was at the same time culturally nuanced and relevant.

The cultural divisions of gender limited women's access to information and shaped their interpretation of its meaning. The locus of cultural change within new communities often lay in issues that affected family life, such as parenting, gendered domestic responsibilities and women's access to paid employment. Decisions about women's attendance at settlement information sessions were often made by older men within families and with the permission or endorsement of male community elders. New knowledge, such as differing norms and laws regarding family violence, threatened the continued enactment of traditionally gendered relations within families and across communities. Topics covered in settlement information sessions were reframed within cultural notions of gender appropriateness, as much as in their relevance and usefulness for everyday life, which influenced community members' decisions about participation. Female agency workers could face resistance to the settlement information they conveyed to families, in particular to men, because of the filtering effects of gender, as information moved from agencies into communities.

Settling communities encountered thresholds of difference in embodiment, interpersonal communication styles and practices of personal introduction, invitation and civility when negotiating the foreign information worlds in which settlement had placed them. These differences shaped how community members obtained and interpreted information across all domains of settlement. Cultural practices which helped differentiate 'stranger' from 'friend', such as personal introduction through formal presentation, as well as intersubjectivity established through community rather than organisational affiliation, did not accord with Australian business cultures surrounding

customer service. These cultural thresholds particularly inhibited community members' contact with non-settlement services, whose customer support practices were often not resourced to recognise these differences. A preference for face-to-face individualised service from workers they already knew reduced new arrivals' capacity to self-refer to agencies to which they had no personal introduction.

Cultural differences in the value and use of time created a further threshold of difference within which information could be provided but not necessarily received. Agencies encountered deep resistance among communities to reconfiguring time in instrumental rather than relational terms, which could determine the effectiveness of information programs. Differences in practices of timekeeping meant that unfolding events in present time could displace plans or commitments in the future. These differences affected settling communities' capacity to operate within timetables surrounding service delivery, such as meetings and appointments, and in particular to meet deadlines for compliance within formal and informal contracts. Failures in meeting time-based information requirements such as these significantly disrupted the relationships established for refugee clients with state and non-state services and placed them at risk of loss of support. Time itself disrupted access to knowledge gained through relationships with people, by breaking that access into restricted periods of availability in the form of appointments with agencies and their workers, which, if not attended on time, meant a loss of information.

Affective states of trust and fear, as well as past experiences of state intervention, civil war and refugee encampment, mediated new arrivals' responses to services and the information they provided. The locus of trust for clan members lay in personal relationships, primarily within kinship networks but also with individual workers in agencies they had engaged with on arrival, in preference to the depersonalised systems of large-scale networked bureaucracies. Affectivity and information were conjoined in their effects, in that information would generate emotional states such as elation, anxiety or guilt, which in turn produced the need to know more about the welfare of family and the wellbeing of the community. Affectivity also produced mistrust in the form of resistance to information and avoidance of its content as it moved through households, as well as in practices of misinforming agencies or withholding information from them.

The interplay of trust and fear affected how clan members and settling communities managed the information relationships established for them with state services, as well as their capacity to create these relationships with new and unfamiliar service providers. Fear of surveillance and abuse by systems of governmental authority, as well as a lack of understanding of these systems' interconnectedness, shaped new arrivals' perceptions of the safety inherent in differing forms of proximity to the state. Rebuilding trust among settling communities in the protective responsibilities of the state required time, patience and personalised attention, as well as cultural competence and language skills, that agencies outside the settlement sector were not necessarily equipped to provide.

The interplay of trust and fear also contributed to an insularity within settling communities which reduced their capacity to assess the value of information and verify its accuracy and claims. Internal arbitration of information's credibility was preferred to that provided by external sources, including those with specialist knowledge of and responsibility for its content. This insularity in turn produced practices of imitation, in

which decisions about life events, such as education, employment and health, were made by copying the choices of others rather than on analysing the merits of information essential to these events. The interplay of trust, fear and insularity prevented communities from becoming well-informed, placing them at risk of information poverty and the reduced personal and social agency this would produce.

8.7 Conclusion: information and the return from the state of exception

As a category, information is ontologically mutable and fugitive. While information circulates as a multi-modal and externally observable 'thing', on the page, the body and elsewhere in the environment, its interpretation in the development of knowledge occurs under the changeable conditions of culture and history. These conditions affect the equity within which social actors engage with information in the construction of agency.

As the accounts of clan members and agency workers documented here have demonstrated, information enabled a displaced community's status to transform from one of stateless refugees to that of legally recognised members of a sovereign nation-state. Information established clan members as permanent residents of Australia and emerging citizens within its communities who were entitled to receive publicly available support in enacting family and community life and to participate in the rights and obligations of citizenship. Information enabled a sequence of events which moved clan members from the juridical interstitiality of statelessness and the precarity of refugee encampment to restored citizenship within spaces bounded by sovereign law.

Displaced communities' experiences of biopolitical control and discipline as refugees under international protection are illustrative of Agamben's state of exception. Refugees resettling in Northern receiving countries bring with them practices, memories and beliefs fashioned within these exceptionalised spaces of experience. As formerly displaced people, resettled refugees return from these states of exclusion having engaged with the irregular and unaccountable uses of power by institutions entrusted with their wellbeing and ostensibly acting on their behalf. Rebuilding relations with the state and its systems of service is central to refugee resettlement. Rebuilding these relationships creates a space for the emergence of the exiled Other from within the threshold between political life and natural life posed by Agamben's theorising of sovereign exclusion.

A number of overarching themes emerge from the summary of findings outlined above which return this discussion to the question of Agambenian re-incorporation. The first of these is that information, about the self, the community and the state, is constitutive of the re-incorporation of the exiled Other as a subject citizen under sovereign law while, simultaneously, displacement and re-emergence from statelessness are themselves acts of information. Information about where and how to flee, as well as about the welfare of those who would provide support through the ties of kinship, ensures survival during displacement. Information about the loss of state protection transforms the displaced into recipients of shelter under the aegis of the UNHCR. A meta-narrative of information is used to help bring about a further transformation into resettled refugee and legally recognised resident of a receiving state. Information penetrates the interstitial space to which the displaced Other has been banished, with knowledge needed to reinstate selfhood within the law. Thus, the relationality of information, in the circulation of personal details, needs and commitments, plays a constitutive role in the re-inclusion of the refugee within the sovereign state.

A second theme stems from how, in regaining citizen subjectivity, the displaced Other engages with information in threshold spaces of ambiguity in which meaning cannot easily be derived from information's intention and content. Cultural and physical difference, practices for distinguishing friendship from enmity, lack of language skills, an avoidance of text and a preference for interpersonal exchange with known and trusted others can create multiple liminalities in which the meaning of information is reframed, reinterpreted and often lost. This loss of meaning leads to a breakdown in information's capacity to form relations between those who are re-engaging with the status of citizen and the state within which they have been resettled.

In enabling the return from the state of exception, information facilitates the interplay of power with age, gender, race and social status. This third theme concerns how information's production of new knowledge works to enhance yet also disrupt traditions of status and the arbitration of culturally acceptable truths. Information also works to create heterosexualised binaries of male and female and from there the varying opportunities for agency that these entail. Information can both reinforce and unsettle these binaries as communities grapple with an unfamiliar normativity around the rights and responsibilities of gender within family and social life. A further theme concerns the effect of emotion on the need for information but also on how it is responded to once it is received. Affectivity simultaneously shapes and is shaped by information and contributes to practices through which it can be resisted and avoided. Affective states such as trust and fear filter where information will be sourced and how it will be interpreted and acted upon.

Finally, information is entangled in practices which promote insularity within communities who are encountering ideas, circumstances and compliances that challenge pre-existing traditions within which meaning had been made. Insularity produces the safety and reassurance of a familiar world view but can diminish the capacity to test the assumptions upon which information that moves into a community is understood. An inability to evaluate information creates misinformation which reduces social agency and generates entrenched inequity in life choices.

These multiple thematics of information's potency in shaping agency and opportunity, the interstitial nature of citizen re-incorporation, the interrelatedness of information, culture, power and emotion and the limiting effects of insularity upon knowledge production raise the question of how fully the exiled Other has gained re-inclusion within the communality of the state. While information enables the return for those displaced from the state of exception that dispossession has produced, this return remains partial and incomplete wherever the threat of information poverty is present. This return also remains contingent upon cultural frames, skills and resources that resettling communities may not possess. Thus, while in the juridical sense of Agambenian exception the displaced Other, as resettled citizen, may no longer occupy a state of exclusion, the agency that information provides the citizen cannot yet be said to be fully available. The paradox of resettlement as the return from displaced exception is that information as the essential medium for the transformation of refugee statelessness may prove elusive and opaque once this reinstatement has been realised.

INFORMATION LITERACY AND REFUGEE SETTLEMENT

Interviews with South Sudanese community

INTERVIEW GUIDE

Background

1 Can you tell me about yourself: how long you've been in Australia and about working and studying?

Part A Needing information

2 When you first arrived here, what were the most important things you needed to find out?

3 When you first arrived, what were the most important things you needed to know about South Sudan?

Part B Seeking information

4 In general, what is the easiest way for you to find information here? What is the hardest way?

5 Can you tell me about how you keep up with what's happening in South Sudan?

Part C Exchanging information

6 In general, who do you rely on most of the time for information to help you settle here?

7 Who do you stay in touch with the most to get information about what is happening in South Sudan?

8 Can you tell me about your experiences with filling in forms after you came here?

9 Can you tell me how you manage all the pieces of information and paper that you need to keep safe?

10 What information do you need to send money or things back to your community in South Sudan?

Part D Improving information access

11 What do you think are the biggest differences between getting information in South Sudan and here?

12 Are there ways to make it easier for people who are settling here to get the information they need?

13 Is there anything else that you would like to add?

Thank you very much for your help with this project.

Appendix A

INFORMATION LITERACY AND REFUGEE SETTLEMENT

Interviews with agencies supporting refugee settlement

INTERVIEW GUIDE

Background

1 Can you tell me about your role in providing services to new refugee settlers?

Part A Seeking information

2 From your experience, what are the most important things that people need to know when they first arrive?

3 From your experience, how do people find the information they need? What seems to be the easiest way? What is the hardest way? What are the factors that affect this?

Part B Exchanging information

4 In your experience, who do people rely on most of the time for information to help them settle here?

5 Are there difficulties in:
- asking agencies for information
- providing information to agencies?

Part C Improving information access

6 From your experience, for new arrivals what would be:
- the differences between getting information where they have come from and getting it here
- the strengths they bring to dealing with information here
- the risks they face in dealing with information here?

7 What would make it easier for people who are trying to settle here to get the information they need?

8 Is there anything else that you would like to add?

Thank you very much for your help with this project.

Appendix B

Details of interviews and personal communications

A summary of the demographic details of those who contributed to this study through interview and personal communication is given in Chapter 3.

This Appendix lists the names (de-identified), dates and locations of interviews, with brief biographical details. The de-identified names, as well as dates and locations, of personal communications are also listed.

INTERVIEWS (Location of interviews: south-east Queensland) (N=31)

Name	Date of interview	Biographical details
CLAN MEMBERS (N=17)		
Benjamin	5 July 2013	Age 35 years. Sponsored here from Kakuma seven years ago. Currently working and planning to study.
Elijah	24 February 2013	Age 36 years. Sponsored to Australia two years ago by his wife, Judith, after they were married.
Grace	9 February 2013	Age 35 years. Arrived from Kakuma eight years ago with her husband, Jason, and his sister, Rachel. Currently working.
Isaac	6 July 2013	Age 33 years. Resettled from Kakuma as a teenager, with adult family member. Working and studying part-time.
Jacob	20 July 2013	Age 35 years. Arrived from Kakuma seven years ago. Currently working.
Jason	9 February 2013	Age 43 years. Arrived from Kakuma eight years ago with his wife, Grace, and his youngest sister, Rachel. Working and studying.
Judith	24 February 2013	Age 31 years. Resettled from Kakuma nine years ago. Sponsored her husband, Elijah, here after they were married.
Lillian	13 April 2013	Age 28 years. Sponsored here two years ago by her husband, Stephen.
Lucas	5 July 2013	Age 33 years. Resettled from Kakuma eight years ago. Now married with children, working and studying.
Matthew	19 July 2013	Age 34 years. Arrived from Kakuma eight years ago. Now married, with a small child. Working full-time.
Rachel	16 February 2013	Age 20 years. Arrived in Australia from Kakuma with her older brother, Jason, and his wife, Grace. Now married.
Rebecca	6 July 2013	Age 30 years. Arrived in Australia as young girl. Now has young children and working part-time.
Sarah	10 March 2013	Age 68 years. Arrived in Australia from Kakuma in early 2000s. Sponsored by her daughter, Rebecca's sister.
Simon	25 January 2013 20 September 2013	Age 43 years. Resettled from Kakuma nine years ago. Currently working.
Stephen	13 April 2013	Age 41 years. Resettled from Kakuma seven years ago. Working full-time and studying part-time.

Appendix B

Susannah	20 July 2013	Age 60 years. Arrived in Australia from Kakuma in mid 2000s.
Thomas	20 February 2013	Age 25 years. Arrived in Australia as young boy. Now working.
SOUTH SUDANESE COMMUNITY MEMBERS (N=2)		
Adam	4 May 2013	Arrived in Australia from Kakuma in early 2000s. Has experience in settlement work.
Michael	20 December 2013	Resettled from Kakuma ten years ago. Has experience in settlement work.
AGENCY WORKERS (N=12)		
Angela	29 November 2012	All agency workers engaged with resettling refugee-background communities in their work roles, including South Sudanese Dinka speakers.
Anthony	18 December 2013	
Catherine	9 September 2013	
Carol	16 October 2013	
Celia	31 July 2013	
James	12 July 2013	
Jennifer	6 September 2013	
Joanna	6 August 2013	
Olivia	9 September 2013	
Roy	3 November 2013	
Scott	28 August 2013	
Sharon	23 October 2013	

PERSONAL COMMUNICATIONS (N=5)

Name	Date of communication	Location of communication
CLAN MEMBERS		
Mark	28 December 2012	Nairobi, Kenya
Moses	22 December 2012	Juba, South Sudan
Nathan	23 December 2012	Juba, South Sudan
Samuel	22 December 2012	Juba, South Sudan
Timothy	23 December 2012	Juba, South Sudan

References

Abatneh, A & Lubang, S 2011, 'Police reform and state formation in southern Sudan', *Canadian Journal of Development Studies*, vol. 32, no. 1, pp. 94–108.

Abdelkerim, A & Grace, M 2011, 'Challenges to employment in newly emerging African communities in Australia: a review of the literature', *Australian Social Work*, vol. 65, no. 1, pp. 104–19.

Agamben, G 2005, *State of exception*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

——1998, *Homo sacer: sovereign power and bare life*, California: Stanford University Press.

——1995, 'We refugees', *Symposium*, vol. 49, no. 2, pp. 114–9.

Ager, A & Strang, A 2008, 'Understanding integration: a conceptual framework', *Journal of Refugee Studies*, vol. 21, no. 2, pp. 166–91.

Ahmed, A 2007, *Sudanese trade in black ivory: opening old wounds*, United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization.

Aleinikoff, T 1992, 'State-centered refugee law: from resettlement to containment', *Michigan Journal of International Law*, vol. 14, no. 1, pp. 120–38.

Akuei, S 2005, 'Remittances as unforeseen burdens: the livelihoods and social obligations of Sudanese refugees', *Global Migration Perspectives*, Geneva: Global Commission on International Migration.

——2004, Remittances as unforeseen burdens: considering displacement, family and resettlement contexts in refugee livelihood and well being. Is there anything states or organisations can do? available at <http://www.unhcr.org/40b1ea8a4.pdf>, accessed 14 February 2013.

Allen, T & Turton, D 1996, 'Introduction: in search of cool ground', in T Allen (ed.), *In search of cool ground: war, flight and homecoming in northeast Africa*, London: James Currey Ltd.

Aly, A 2012, 'Fear online: seeking sanctuary in online forums', in A Hayes & R Mason (eds), *Cultures in refuge: seeking sanctuary in modern Australia*, London: Ashgate.

Andersen, J 2006, 'The public sphere and discursive activities: information literacy as socio-political skills', *Journal of Documentation*, vol. 62, no. 2, pp. 213–88.

Andersen, J & Skouvig, L 2006, 'Knowledge organization: a sociohistorical analysis and critique', *Library Quarterly*, vol. 76, no. 3, pp. 300–22.

Anderson, D & Browne, A 2011, 'The politics of oil in eastern Africa', *Journal of Eastern African Studies*, vol. 5, no. 2, pp. 369–410.

Arnold, M & Alden, C 2007, *This gun is our food: demilitarising the white army militias of south Sudan*, Security in Practice no. 3, Oslo: Norsk Utenrikspolitisk Institutt.

Ashutosh, I & Mountz, A 2012, 'The geopolitics of migrant mobility: tracing state relations through refugee claims, boats, and discourses', *Geopolitics*, vol. 17, no. 2, pp. 335–54.

Atwell, R, Correa-Velez, I & Gifford, S 2007, 'Ageing out of place: health and well-being needs and access to home and aged care services for recently arrived older refugees in Melbourne, Australia', *International Journal of Migration, Health and Social Care*, vol. 3, no. 1, pp. 4–14.

Augoustinos, M & Every, D 2007, 'The language of "race" and prejudice: a discourse of denial, reason, and liberal-practical politics', *Journal of Language and Social Psychology*, vol. 26, no. 2, pp. 123–41.

Australian Survey Research Group 2011, *Settlement outcomes of new arrivals: report of findings*, Canberra: Department of Immigration and Citizenship.

Bailes, M, Minas, I & Klimidis, S 2006, 'Mental health research, ethics and multiculturalism', *Monash Bioethics Review*, vol. 25, no. 1, pp. 53–63.

Bakewell, O 2008, 'Research beyond the categories: the importance of policy irrelevant research into forced migration', *Journal of Refugee Studies*, vol. 21, no. 4, pp. 432–53.

Baker, B & Scheye, E 2009, 'Access to justice in a post-conflict state: donor-supported multidimensional peacekeeping in southern Sudan', *International Peacekeeping*, vol. 16, no. 2, pp. 171–85.

Baker, C 2011, *Sudan since the 2005 comprehensive peace agreement: prospects for peace, lessons learned*, University of Denver.

Barbour, R 2001, 'Checklists for improving rigour in qualitative research: a case of the tail wagging the dog?', *British Medical Journal*, vol. 322 (7294), pp. 1115–7.

Barnett, L 2002, 'Global governance and the evolution of the international refugee regime', *International Journal of Refugee Law*, vol. 14, no. 2–3, pp. 238–62.

Bathelt, H, Malmberg, A & Maskell, P 2004, 'Clusters and knowledge: local buzz, global pipelines and the process of knowledge creation', *Progress in Human Geography*, vol. 28, no. 1, pp. 31–56.

Batley, R & Mcloughlin, C 2010, 'Engagement with non-state service providers in fragile states: reconciling state-building and service delivery', *Development Policy Review*, vol. 28, no. 2, pp. 131–54.

Bawden, D 2006, 'Information literacy: the new knowledge management?', *Journal of Documentation*, vol. 62, no. 4, n.p.

——2001, 'Information and digital literacies: a review of concepts', *Journal of Documentation*, vol. 57, no. 2, pp. 218–59.

Belcher, O, Martin, L, Secor, A, Simon, S & Wilson, T 2008, 'Everywhere and nowhere: the exception and the topological challenge to geography', *Antipode*, vol. 40, no. 4, pp. 499–503.

Benson-Rea, M & Rawlinson, S 2003, 'Highly skilled and business migrants: information processes and settlement outcomes', *International Migration*, vol. 41, no. 2, pp. 59–79.

Berger, L 2001, 'Inside out: narrative autoethnography as a path toward rapport', *Qualitative Inquiry*, vol. 7, no. 4, pp. 504–18.

Bernal, V 2006, 'Diaspora, cyberspace and political imagination: the Eritrean diaspora online, *Global Networks*, vol. 6, no. 2, pp. 161–79.

Beswick, S 2004, *Sudan's blood memory: the legacy of war, ethnicity and slavery in south Sudan*, New York: University of Rochester Press.

Beverley, J 2003, 'Testimonio, subalternity, and narrative authority', in N Denzin & Y Lincoln (eds), Strategies of qualitative inquiry, London: Sage.

Bhuiyan, A 2008, 'Peripheral view: conceptualizing the information society as a postcolonial subject', *International Communication Gazette*, vol. 70, no. 2, pp. 99–116.

Black, A 2006, 'Information history', *Annual Review of Information Science and Technology*, vol. 40, no. 1, pp. 441–73.

Black, R 2001, 'Fifty years of refugee studies: from theory to policy', *International Migration Review*, vol. 35, no. 1, pp. 57–78.

——1998, 'Putting refugees in camps', *Forced Migration Review*, vol. 2, pp. 4–7.

Blommaert, J, Collins, J & Slembrouck, S 2005(a), 'Polycentricity and interactional regimes in "global neighborhoods"', *Ethnography*, vol. 6, no. 2, pp. 205–35.

Bosworth, M, Hoyle, C & Dempsey, M 2011, 'Researching trafficked women', *Qualitative Inquiry*, vol. 17, no. 9, pp. 769–79.

Boyle, P 2002, ‘Population geography: transnational women on the move’, *Progress in Human Geography*, vol. 26, no. 4, pp. 531–43.

Bradbury, M, Ryle, J, Medley, M & Sansculotte-Greenidge, K 2006, *Local peace processes in Sudan: a baseline study*, Rift Valley Institute.

Branch, A & Mampilly, ZC 2005, ‘Winning the war, but losing the peace ? The dilemma of SPLM/A civil administration and the tasks ahead’, *Journal of Modern African Studies*, vol. 43, no. 1, pp. 1–20.

Brangwin, N 2014, *South Sudan crisis*, Research Paper Series 2013–14 4 April, Canberra: Parliamentary Library.

Breivik, P & Jones, D 1993, ‘Information literacy: liberal education for the information age’, *Liberal Education*, vol. 79, no. 1, pp. 24–9.

Britz, J 2004, ‘To know or not to know: a moral reflection on information poverty’, *Journal of Information Science*, vol. 30, no. 3, pp. 192–204.

Broadbent, R, Cacciattolo, M & Carpenter, C 2007, ‘A tale of two communities: refugee relocation in Australia’, *Australian Journal of Social Issues*, vol. 42, no. 4, pp. 581–601.

Brown, J, Miller, J & Mitchell, J 2006, ‘Interrupted schooling and the acquisition of literacy: Experiences of Sudanese refugees in Victorian secondary schools’, *Australian Journal of Language and Literacy*, vol. 29, no. 2, pp. 150–162.

Bruce, C 2000, ‘Information literacy research: dimensions of the emerging collective consciousness’, *Australian Academic and Research Libraries*, vol. 31, no. 2, pp. 91–109.

Buay, G 2012, ‘The color of ethnic domination in South Sudan’, *Sudan Tribune*, Monday 19 March 2012, available at <http://www.sudantribune.com/spip.php?article41947>, accessed 14 February 2013.

Burgoyne, U & Hull, O 2007, *Classroom management strategies to address the needs of Sudanese refugee learners*, Adelaide: National Centre for Vocational Education Research.

Burnett, G & Jaeger, PR 2008, ‘Small worlds, lifeworlds, and information: the ramifications of the information behaviour of social groups in public policy and the public sphere’, *Information Research*, vol. 13, no. 2, paper 346, available at <http://InformationR.net/ir/13-2/paper346.html>, accessed 14 July 2012.

Burns, C, Webster, K, Crotty, P, Ballinger, M, Vincenzo, R & Rozman, M 2000, 'Easing the transition: food and nutrition issues of new arrivals', *Health Promotion Journal of Australia*, vol. 10, no. 3, pp. 230–6.

Butcher, M 2009, 'At the foundations of information justice', *Ethics and Information Technology*, vol. 11, no. 1, pp. 57–69.

Caidi, N & Allard, D 2005, 'Social inclusion of newcomers to Canada: an information problem?', *Library & Information Science Research*, vol. 27, no. 3, pp. 302–24.

Caidi, N, Allard, D & Quirke, L 2010, 'Information practices of immigrants', *Annual Review of Information Science and Technology*, vol. 44, no. 1, pp. 491–531.

Capurro, R & Hjorland, B 2003, 'The concept of information', *Annual Review of Information Science and Technology*, vol. 37, no. 1, pp. 343–411.

Carrington, K & Marshall, N 2008, 'Building multicultural social capital in regional Australia', *Rural Society*, vol. 18, no. 2, pp. 117–30.

Cassity, E & Gow, G 2005, 'Making up for lost time: the experiences of southern Sudanese young refugees in high schools', *Youth Studies Australia*, vol. 24, no. 3, pp. 51–5.

Castells, M 2000, 'Materials for an exploratory theory of the network society', *British Journal of Sociology*, vol. 51, no. 1, pp. 5–24.

Castells, M & Cardoso, G (eds) 2005, *The network society: from knowledge to policy*, Washington, DC: Johns Hopkins Center for Transatlantic Relations.

Castles, S 2003, 'Towards a sociology of forced migration and social transformation', *Sociology*, vol. 37, no. 1, pp. 13–34.

Cerwonka, A & Loutfi, A 2011, 'Biopolitics and the female reproductive body as the new subject of law', feminists@law, vol. 1, no. 1, available at <https://journals.kent.ac.uk/index.php/feministsatlaw/article/view/18/77>, accessed 3 October 2013.

Chan, A & Garrick, J 2003, 'The moral "technologies" of knowledge management', *Information, Communication & Society*, vol. 6, no. 3, pp. 291–306.

Charmaz, K 2003, 'Grounded theory: objectivist and constructivist methods', in N Denzin & Y Lincoln (eds), *Strategies of qualitative inquiry*, London: Sage.

Chatman, E 1999, 'A theory of life in the round', *Journal of the American Society for Information Science*, vol. 50, no. 3, pp. 207–17.

——1996, 'The impoverished life-world of outsiders', *Journal of the American Society for Information Science*, vol. 47, no. 3, pp. 193–206.

Chimni, B 2000, ‘Globalization, humanitarianism and the erosion of refugee protection’, *Journal of Refugee Studies*, vol. 13, no. 3, pp. 243–63.

——1998, ‘The geopolitics of refugee studies: a view from the South’, *Journal of Refugee Studies*, vol. 11, no. 4, pp. 350–74.

Colatrella, S 2011, ‘Nothing exceptional: against Agamben’, *Journal for Critical Education Policy Studies*, vol. 9, no. 1, pp. 97–125.

Colic-Peisker, V 2009, ‘Visibility, settlement success and life satisfaction in three refugee communities in Australia’, *Ethnicities*, vol. 9, no. 2, pp. 175–99.

Colic-Peisker, V & Tilbury, F 2007, ‘Integration into the Australian labour market: the experience of three “visibly different” groups of recently arrived refugees’, *International Migration*, vol. 45, no. 1, pp. 59–85.

——2006, ‘Employment niches for recent refugees: segmented labour market in twenty-first century Australia’, *Journal of Refugee Studies*, vol. 19, no. 2, pp. 203–29.

——2003, ‘“Active” and “passive” resettlement: the influence of support services and refugees' own resources on resettlement style’, *International Migration*, vol. 41, no. 5, pp. 61–91.

Colic-Peisker, V & Walker, I 2003, ‘Human capital, acculturation and social identity: Bosnian refugees in Australia’, *Journal of Community & Applied Social Psychology*, vol. 13, no. 5, pp. 337–60.

Collins, R 2008, *A history of modern Sudan*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Colson, E 2007, ‘Linkages methodology: no man is an island’, *Journal of Refugee Studies*, vol. 20, no. 2, pp. 320–34.

Cooke, R, Murray, S, Carapetis, J, Rice, J, Mulholland, N & Skull, S 2004, ‘Demographics and utilisation of health services by paediatric refugees from East Africa: implications for service planning and provision', *Australian Health Review*, vol. 27, no. 2, pp. 40–5.

Coote, J 2006, ‘“Marvels of everyday vision’: the anthropology of aesthetics and the cattle-keeping Nilotes’, in J Coote & A Shelton (eds), *Anthropology, art and aesthetics*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Courtright, C 2005, ‘Health information-seeking among Latino newcomers: an exploratory study’, *Information Research*, vol. 10, no. 2, available at <http://informationr.net/ir/10-2/paper224.html>, accessed 21 August 2012.

Cranitch, M 2010, ‘Developing language and literacy skills to support refugee students in the transition from primary to secondary school’, *Australian Journal of Language and Literacy,* vol. 33, no. 3, pp. 255–67.

Crisp, J 2006, *Forced displacement in Africa: dimensions, difficulties and policy directions*, New Issues in Refugee Research Working Paper No. 126, Geneva.

Czarniawska, B 2004, *Narratives in social science research*, London: Sage.

D’Andrea, A, Ciolfi, L & Gray, B 2011, ‘Methodological challenges and innovations in mobilities research’, *Mobilities,* vol. 6, no. 2, pp. 149–60.

Daud, A, Klinteberg, B & Rydelius, P 2008, ‘Resilience and vulnerability among refugee children of traumatized and non-traumatized parents’, *Child and Adolescent Psychiatry and Mental Health*, vol. 2, no. 7, pp. 1–11.

Davenport, E & Snyder, H 2005, ‘Managing social capital’, *Annual Review of Information Science and Technology*, vol. 39, no. 1, pp. 515–50.

Day, R 2005, ‘Poststructuralism and information studies’, *Annual Review of Information Science and Technology*, vol. 39, no. 1, pp. 575–609.

——2001, ‘Totality and representation: a history of knowledge management through European documentation, critical modernity, and post-Fordism’, *Journal of the American Society for Information Science and Technology,* vol. 52, no. 9, pp. 725–35.

——2000, ‘The “conduit metaphor” and the nature and politics of information studies’, *Journal of the American Society for Information Science,* vol. 51, no. 9, pp. 805–11.

De Jager, K 2002, ‘Public libraries in Africa: a report and annotated bibliography’, *Journal of Documentation,* vol. 58, no. 3, pp. 330–2.

De Montclos, M-AP & Kagwanja, PM 2000, ‘Refugee camps or cities—the socio-economic dynamics of the Dadaab and Kakuma camps in northern Kenya’, *Journal of Refugee Studies,* vol. 13, no. 2, pp. 205–22.

Deng, FM 1998, ‘The cow and the thing called “what”: Dinka cultural perspectives on wealth and poverty’, *Journal of International Affairs*, vol. 52, no. 1, p. 101–29.

——1984, *The Dinka of the Sudan,* Illinois: Waveland Press.

——1980, *Dinka cosmology*, London: Ithaca Press.

Deng, L 2010, ‘Livelihood diversification and civil war: Dinka communities in Sudan’s civil war’, *Journal of Eastern African Studies*, vol. 4, no. 3, pp. 381–99.

Denzin, N & Lincoln, Y (eds) 2003, 'Introduction', *Strategies of qualitative inquiry*, London: Sage.

—— (eds) 1998, 'Introduction', *Strategies of qualitative inquiry*, California: Sage.

Department of Education and Early Childhood Development 2011, *Refugee status report: a report on how refugee children and young people in Victoria are faring*, Victoria: Department of Education and Early Childhood Development.

Department of Immigration and Border Protection 2014(a), 'Complex Case Support Program', Canberra: Department of Immigration and Border Protection, available at <http://www.immi.gov.au/living-in-australia/delivering-assistance/government-programs/settlement-programs/ccs.htm>, accessed 18 February 2014.

——2014(b), 'Help with translations', Canberra: Department of Immigration and Border Protection, available at <https://www.immi.gov.au/living-in-australia/help-with-english/help_with_translating/translation_help.htm>, accessed 22 February 2014.

——2014(c), 'Australian permanent resident information', Canberra: Department of Immigration and Border Protection, available at <http://www.immi.gov.au/Live/Pages/australian-permanent-resident-information.aspx>, accessed 21 February 2014.

——2013, 'About the Settlement Grants Program (SGP)', Canberra: Department of Immigration and Border Protection, available at < http://www.immi.gov.au/living-in-australia/delivering-assistance/settlement-grants/what-sgp-about.htm>, accessed 24 February 2014.

Department of Immigration and Citizenship 2012, *2012–2013 Settlement grants policy*, Canberra: Department of Immigration and Citizenship.

——2011(a), *Humanitarian Settlement Services: Onshore Orientation Program*, Canberra: Department of Immigration and Citizenship.

——2011(b), *Refugee and humanitarian issues: Australia's response*, Canberra: Department of Immigration and Citizenship.

——2011(c), *Australia's Humanitarian Program: 2012–13 and beyond*, Canberra: Department of Immigration and Citizenship.

——2009, *Fact Sheet 97 – Humanitarian settlement in regional Australia*, Canberra: Department of Immigration and Citizenship, available at <https://www.dss.gov.au/our-responsibilities/settlement-and-multicultural-affairs/publications/fact-sheet-97-humanitarian-settlement-in-regional-australia>, accessed 3 March 2014.

——2007, *Sudanese community profile*, Canberra: Department of Immigration and Citizenship.

Department of Immigration and Multicultural and Indigenous Affairs 2003, *Report of the review of settlement services for migrants and humanitarian entrants*, Canberra: Department of Immigration and Multicultural and Indigenous Affairs.

Department of Industry 2014 'Adult Migrant English Program: other Government language programs', Canberra: Department of Industry, available at <http://www.industry.gov.au/Skills/LiteracyAndNumeracy/WorkplaceEnglishLanguageAndLiteracy/Pages/default.aspx>, accessed 18 February 2014.

Deutscher, P 2008, 'The inversion of exceptionality: Foucault, Agamben, and "reproductive rights"', *South Atlantic Quarterly*, vol. 107, no. 1, pp. 55–70.

Diken, B 2004, 'From refugee camps to gated communities: biopolitics and the end of the city', *Citizenship Studies*, vol. 8, no. 1, pp. 83–106.

Dona, G 2007, 'The microphysics of participation in refugee research', *Journal of Refugee Studies*, vol. 20, no. 2, pp. 210–29.

Downey, A 2009, 'Zones of indistinction: Giorgio Agamben's 'bare life' and the politics of aesthetics', *Third Text*, vol. 23, no. 2, pp. 109–25.

Duff, A 2004, 'The past, present, and future of information policy', *Information, Communication & Society*, vol. 7, no. 1, pp. 69–87.

Dunlop, J 2005, 'Part of society? Refugees in the Australian labour market', in proceedings of the *Hopes Fulfilled or Dreams Shattered? From Resettlement to Settlement Conference*, Sydney: Centre for Refugee Research UNSW.

Dyck, I & McLaren, A 2004, 'Telling it like it is? Constructing accounts of settlement with immigrant and refugee women in Canada', *Gender, Place & Culture*, vol. 11, no. 4, pp. 513–34.

Dyregrov, K, Dyregrov, A & Raundalen, M 2000, 'Refugee families' experience of research participation', *Journal of Traumatic Stress*, vol. 13, no. 3, pp. 413–26

Earnest, J, Joyce, A, de Mori, G & Silvagni, G 2010, 'Are universities responding to the needs of students from refugee backgrounds?', *Australian Journal of Education*, vol. 54, no. 2, pp. 155–74.

Eastmond, M 2007, 'Stories as lived experience: narratives in forced migration research', *Journal of Refugee Studies*, vol. 20, no. 2, pp. 248–64.

Ellermann, A 2009, *Undocumented migrants and resistance in the state of exception*, paper presented at the European Union Studies Association meeting in Los Angeles, California.

Ellis, BH, Kia-Keating, M, Yusuf, SA, Lincoln, A & Nur, A 2007, 'Ethical research in refugee communities and the use of community participatory methods', *Transcultural Psychiatry*, vol. 44, no. 3, pp. 459–81.

Erickson, J & Faria, C 2011, '"We want empowerment for our women": transnational feminism, neoliberal citizenship, and the gendering of women's political subjectivity in postconflict South Sudan', *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture & Society*, vol. 36, no. 3, pp. 627–52.

Evers, C 2010, 'Intimacy, sport and young refugee men', *Emotion, Space and Society*, vol. 3, no. 1, pp. 56–61.

Every, D 2008, 'A reasonable, practical and moderate humanitarianism: the co-option of humanitarianism in the Australian asylum seeker debates', *Journal of Refugee Studies*, vol. 21, no. 2, pp. 210–29.

Fallis, D 2007, 'Social epistemology and information science', *Annual Review of Information Science and Technology*, pp. 475–519.

Faugier, J & Sargeant, M 1997, Sampling hard to reach populations', *Journal of Advanced Nursing*, vol. 26, no. 4, pp. 790–7.

Fisher, K, Marcoux, B, Miller, L, Sanchez, A & Cunningham, E 2004, 'Information behaviour of migrant Hispanic farm workers and their families in the Pacific northwest', *Information Research*, vol. 10, no. 1, available at <http://informationr.net/ir/10-1/paper199.html>, accessed 2 July 2012.

Foucault, M 1990, *The history of sexuality*, London: Penguin.

——1975, *Discipline and punish*, New York: Random House.

Fozdar, F 2012, 'Beyond the rhetoric of inclusion', in A Hayes & R Mason (eds), *Cultures in refuge: seeking sanctuary in modern Australia*, London: Ashgate.

——2009, '"The golden country": ex-Yugoslav and African refugee experiences of settlement and "depression"', *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, vol. 35, no. 8, pp. 1335–52.

Fuchs, C 2010, 'Labor in informational capitalism and on the internet', *The Information Society*, vol. 26, pp. 179–96.

——2009, 'A contribution to the critique of the political economy of transnational informational capitalism', *Rethinking Marxism*, vol. 21, no. 3, pp. 387–402.

Fuchs, C & Horak, E 2008, 'Africa and the digital divide', *Telematics and Informatics*, vol. 25, pp. 99–116.

Fuller, S 1998, ‘Society's shifting human-computer interface: a sociology of knowledge for the information age’, *Information, Communication & Society*, vol. 1, no. 2, pp. 182–98.

Gane, N 2003, ‘Computerized capitalism: the media theory of Jean-François Lyotard’, *Information, Communication & Society*, vol. 6, no. 3, pp. 430–50.

Garner, S 2005, *High-level colloquium on information literacy and lifelong learning*, Alexandria: Bibliotheca Alexandrina.

Garnham, N 2000, ‘“Information society” as theory or ideology: a critical perspective in technology, education and employment in the information age’, *Information, Communication & Society*, vol. 3, no. 2, pp. 139–52.

Gehrmann, R 2012, ‘Ascribing identities and negotiating stereotypes: case study of intercountry adoptees’, in A Hayes & R Mason (eds), *Cultures in refuge: seeking sanctuary in modern Australia*, London: Ashgate.

Gemignani, M 2011, ‘Between researcher and researched’, *Qualitative Inquiry*, vol. 17, no. 8, pp. 701–8.

George, U & Chaze, F 2009, ‘“Tell me what I need to know”: South Asian women, social capital and settlement’, *International Migration & Integration*, vol. 10, pp. 265–82.

Gifford, S, Bakopanos, C, Kaplan, I & Correa-Velez, I 2007, ‘Meaning or measurement? Researching the social contexts of health and settlement among newly-arrived refugee youth in Melbourne, Australia’, *Journal of Refugee Studies*, vol. 20, no. 3, pp. 414–40.

Gill, N, Caletrío, J & Mason, V 2011, ‘Introduction: mobilities and forced migration’, *Mobilities*, vol. 6, no. 3, pp. 301–16.

Goodman, J 2004, ‘Coping with trauma and hardship among unaccompanied refugee youths from Sudan’, *Qualitative Health Research*, vol. 14, no. 9, pp. 1177–96.

Grabska, K 2010, ‘Lost boys, invisible girls: stories of Sudanese marriages across borders’, *Gender, Place and Culture*, vol. 17, no. 4, pp. 479–97.

Granovetter, M 1973, ‘The strength of weak ties’, *American Journal of Sociology*, vol. 78, pp. 1360–80.

Gray, A 2003, *Research practices for cultural studies*, London: Sage Publications.

Gridneff, I 2014, ‘In South Sudan, the rebel-held town of Bor is destroyed’, available at <http://www.ctvnews.ca/world/in-south-sudan-the-rebel-held-town-of-bor-is-destroyed-1.1647144#ixzz31kPVH2A3>, accessed 22 January 2014.

Guerin, P & Guerin, B 2007, 'Research with refugee communities: going around in circles with methodology', *Australian Community Psychologist*, vol. 19, no. 1, pp. 150–62.

Haddad, E 2003, 'Refugee protection: a clash of values', *International Journal of Human Rights*, vol. 7, no. 3, pp. 1–26.

Hafkin, N 2006, '"Whatsupoch" on the net: the role of information and communication technology in the shaping of transnational Ethiopian identity', *Diaspora*, vol. 15, no. 2/3, pp. 221–45.

Haider, J & Bawden, D 2007, 'Conceptions of "information poverty" in LIS: a discourse analysis', *Journal of Documentation*, vol. 63, no. 4, pp. 534–57.

Harrell-Bond, B 2002, 'Can humanitarian work with refugees be humane?', *Human Rights Quarterly*, vol. 24, pp. 51–85.

Harrell-Bond, B & Voutira, E 1992, 'Anthropology and the study of refugees', *Anthropology Today*, vol. 8, no. 4, pp. 6–10.

Harris, A 2011, 'Neir riel (strong girls): transgression and fugitive spaces in Sudanese Australian classrooms', *Qualitative Inquiry*, vol. 17, no. 8, pp. 750–9.

——2010, 'Race and refugeity: ethnocinema as radical pedagogy', *Qualitative Inquiry*, vol. 16, no. 9, pp. 768–77.

——2009, 'Twice forgotten: the "lost girls" of Sudan and performative integration into Australia', in proceedings of the Australian Association for Research in Education Conference, Canberra.

Harte, W, Childs, I & Hastings, P 2011, 'African refugee communities in southeast Queensland: forces of concentration and dispersion', *Australian Geographer*, vol. 42, no. 3, pp. 325–42.

Hashimoto-Govindasamy, L & Rose, V 2011, 'An ethnographic process evaluation of a community support program with Sudanese refugee women in Western Sydney', *Health Promotion Journal of Australia*, vol. 22, pp. 107–12.

Hewagodage, V & O'Neill, S 2010, 'A case study of isolated NESB adult migrant women's experience learning English: a sociocultural approach to decoding household texts', *International Journal of Pedagogies and Learning*, vol. 6, no. 1, pp. 23–40.

Ho, C & Alcorso, C 2004, 'Migrants and employment: challenging the success story', *Journal of Sociology*, vol. 40, no. 3, pp. 237–59.

Horn, R 2010, 'Exploring the impact of displacement and encampment on domestic violence in Kakuma refugee camp', *Journal of Refugee Studies*, vol. 23, no. 3, pp. 356–76.

Horst, H 2006, 'The blessings and burdens of communication: cell phones in Jamaican transnational social fields', *Global Networks*, vol. 6, no. 2, pp. 143–59.

Hugman, R, Bartolomei, L & Pittaway, E 2011, 'Human agency and the meaning of informed consent: reflections on research with refugees', *Journal of Refugee Studies*, vol. 24, no. 4, pp. 655–71.

Hugo, G 2011, Economic, social and civic contributions of first and second generation humanitarian entrants: final report to the Department of Immigration and Citizenship, Canberra: Department of Immigration and Citizenship.

——2001, 'From compassion to compliance? Trends in refugee and humanitarian migration in Australia', *GeoJournal*, vol. 55, pp. 27–37.

Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission1999, *New country, new stories: discrimination and disadvantage experienced by people in small and emerging communities*, Sydney: Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission.

Human Rights Watch/Africa 1994, 'Sudan: the lost boys: child soldiers and unaccompanied boys in southern Sudan', vol. 6, no. 10, pp. 1–28.

Humphreys, S 2006, 'Legalizing lawlessness: on Giorgio Agamben's state of exception', *European Journal of International Law*, vol. 17, no. 3, pp. 677–87.

Hutchinson, S 2001, 'A curse from god? Religious and political dimensions of the post-1991 rise of ethnic violence in south Sudan', *Journal of Modern African Studies*, vol. 39, no. 2, pp. 307–31.

Hynes, P 2009, 'Contemporary compulsory dispersal and the absence of space for the restoration of trust', *Journal of Refugee Studies*, vol. 22, no. 1, pp. 97–121.

Infoasaid 2012, *South Sudan: media and telecoms landscape guide*, available at <http://www.infoasaid.org/guide/south-sudan>, accessed 2 December 2012.

International Development Association & International Finance Corporation 2013, *Interim strategy note (fy 2013-2014) for the Republic of South Sudan*, World Bank.

Jacobsen, K & Landau, L 2003, 'The dual imperative in refugee research: some methodological and ethical considerations in social science research on forced migration', *Disasters*, vol. 27, no. 3, pp. 185–206.

Jaeger, P & Thompson, K 2004, 'Social information behavior and the democratic process: information poverty, normative behavior, and electronic government in

the United States', *Library & Information Science Research*, vol. 26, no. 1, pp. 94–107.

Jamal, A 2000, *Minimum standards and essential needs in a protracted refugee situation: a review of the UNHCR programme in Kakuma, Kenya*, Evaluation and Policy Analysis Unit, UNHCR.

Jeong, W 2004, 'Unbreakable ethnic bonds: information-seeking behavior of Korean graduate students in the United States', *Library & Information Science Research*, vol. 26, no. 3, pp. 384–400.

Johnson, D 2007, *The root causes of Sudan's civil wars*, 4th edn, Indiana: Indiana University Press.

Johnson, R 1997, 'Reinventing cultural studies: remembering for the best version', in E Long (ed.), *From sociology to cultural studies: new perspectives*, Malden, MA: Blackwell.

Johnson, P & Stoll, K 2008, 'Remittance patterns of southern Sudanese refugee men: enacting the global breadwinner role', *Family Relations*, vol. 57, no. 4, pp. 431–43.

Jok, MJ 2011, *Diversity, Unity, and Nation Building in South Sudan*, Washington: United States Institute of Peace.

——1999, 'Militarism, gender and reproductive suffering: the case of abortion in western Dinka', *Africa*, vol. 69, no. 2, p. 194–212.

——1996, 'Information exchange in the disaster zone: interaction between aid workers and recipients in south Sudan', *Disasters*, vol. 20, no. 3, pp. 206–15.

Justice Africa n.d., *Liberating areas, exploiting people: the 'old' SPLA*, available at <www.justiceafrica.org/wp-content/uploads/2008/04/fps_04_old_spla.pdf>, accessed 14 February 2013.

Kapitzke, C 2003(a), 'Information literacy: a review and poststructural critique', *Australian Journal of Language & Literacy*, vol. 26, no. 1, pp. 53–66.

——2003(b), '*In*formation literacy: a positivist epistemology and a politics of *out*formation', *Educational Theory*, vol. 53, no. 1, pp. 37–53.

Karlsen, E 2011, *Refugee resettlement to Australia: what are the facts?*, Canberra: Parliamentary Library.

Karlsen, E, Phillips, J & Koleth, E 2011, *Seeking asylum: Australia's Humanitarian Program*, Canberra: Parliamentary Library.

Kennan, M, Lloyd, A, Qayyum, A & Thompson, K 2011, 'Settling in: the relationship between information and social inclusion', *Australian Academic and Research Libraries*, vol. 42, no. 3, pp. 191–210.

Khawaja, N, White, K, Schweitzer, R & Greenslade, J 2008, 'Difficulties and coping strategies of Sudanese refugees: a qualitative approach', *Transcultural Psychiatry*, vol. 45, no. 3, pp. 489–512.

Kibreab, G 2004, 'Pulling the wool over the eyes of the strangers: refugee deceit and trickery in institutionalized settings', *Journal of Refugee Studies*, vol. 17, no. 1, pp. 1–26.

Koleth, E 2010, *Multiculturalism: a review of Australian policy statements and recent debates in Australia and overseas*, Canberra: Department of Parliamentary Services.

Kuhlthau, C & Tama, S 2001, 'Information search process of lawyers: a call for "just for me" information services', *Journal of Documentation*, vol. 57, no. 1, pp. 25–43.

Kvasny, L & Hales, K 2009, 'The African diaspora, black identity and the evolving discourse of the digital divide', in E Ferro, Y Dwevido, J Gil-Garcia, M Williams (eds), *Overcoming digital divides: constructing an equitable and competitive information society*, IGI Global.

Langley, T 2012, 'Exceptional states', *Interventions*, vol. 14, no. 1, pp. 69–82.

Leong, S & Gong, Q 2012, 'Provincializing Perth? Satellite television and the Chinese in Perth', in A Hayes & R Mason (eds), *Cultures in refuge: seeking sanctuary in modern Australia*, London: Ashgate.

Leung, L 2011, *Taking refuge in technology: communication practices in refugee camps and immigration detention*, Geneva: United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees.

——2010, 'Telecommunications across borders: refugees' technology use during displacement', *Telecommunications Journal of Australia*, vol. 60, no. 4, pp. 58.1–.13.

Levitt, P & Schiller, N 2004, 'Conceptualizing simultaneity: a transnational social field perspective on society', *International Migration Review*, vol. 38, no. 3, pp. 1002–39.

Lienhardt, G 1958, 'Western Dinka', in J Middleton & D Tait (eds), *Tribes without rulers*, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Lievrouw, L & Farb, S 2003, 'Information and equity', *Annual Review of Information Science and Technology*, vol. 37, no. 1, pp. 499–540.

Lipinski, T & Britz, J 2000, 'Rethinking the ownership of information in the 21st century: ethical implications', *Ethics and Information Technology*, vol. 2, pp. 49–71.

Lloyd, A 2006, 'Information literacy landscapes: an emerging picture', *Journal of Documentation*, vol. 62, no. 5, pp. 570–83.

Lloyd, A, Lipu, S & Kennan, M 2010, 'On becoming citizens: examining social inclusion from an information perspective', *Australian Academic & Research Libraries*, vol. 41, no. 1, pp. 42–53.

Luke, A 2003, 'Literacy and the other: a sociological approach to literacy research and policy in multilingual societies', *Reading Research Quarterly*, vol. 38, no. 1, pp. 132–41.

Mackenzie, C, McDowell, C & Pittaway, E 2007, 'Beyond do no harm: the challenge of constructing ethical relationships in refugee research', *Journal of Refugee Studies*, vol. 20, no. 2, pp. 299–319.

Madut Kuendit LA 2010, *The Dinka history: the ancients of Sudan*, Nairobi: Mimic Technologies.

Malkki, L 1996, 'Speechless emissaries: refugees, humanitarianism, and dehistoricization', *Cultural Anthropology*, vol. 11, no. 3, pp. 377–404.

——1995, 'Refugees and exile: from "refugee studies" to the national order of things', *Annual Review of Anthropology*, vol. 24, pp. 495–523.

Malok, E 2009, *The southern Sudan: struggle for liberty*, Nairobi: Kenway Publications.

Malone, C & Elichirigoity, F 2003, 'Information as commodity and economic sector: its emergence in the discourse of industrial classification', *Journal of the American Society for Information Science & Technology*, vol. 54, no. 6, pp. 512–20.

Manderson, L, Kelaher, M, Markovic, M & McManus, K 1998, 'A woman without a man is a woman at risk: women at risk in Australian humanitarian programs', *Journal of Refugee Studies*, vol. 11, no. 3, pp. 267–83.

Mansell, R 2006, 'Ambiguous connections: entitlements and responsibilities of global networking', London: LSE Research Online.

Marlowe, J 2012, '"Walking the line": southern Sudanese masculinities and reconciling one's past with the present', *Ethnicities*, vol. 12, no. 1, pp. 50–66.

——2010, 'Beyond the discourse of trauma: shifting the focus on Sudanese refugees', *Journal of Refugee Studies*, vol. 23, no. 2, pp. 183–98.

——2009, ‘Accessing “authentic” knowledge: *being* and *doing* with the Sudanese community’, *Australian Community Psychologist*, vol. 21, no. 1, pp. 39–49.

McDonald, B, Gifford, S, Webster, K, Wiseman, J & Casey, S 2008, *Refugee resettlement in regional and rural Victoria: impacts and policy issues*, Carlton North, Victoria.

McDonald-Wilmsen, B, Gifford, S, Webster, K, Wiseman, J & Casey, S 2009, ‘Resettling refugees in rural and regional Australia: learning from recent policy and program initiatives’, *Australian Journal of Public Administration*, vol. 68, no. 1, pp. 97–111.

McKinnon, S 2008, ‘Unsettling resettlement: problematizing “Lost Boys of Sudan” resettlement and identity’, *Western Journal of Communication*, vol. 72, no. 4, pp. 397–414.

McMichael, C & Ahmed, M 2003, ‘Family separation: Somali women in Melbourne', in M Leach & F Mansouri (eds), *Critical perspectives on refugee policy in Australia*, Geelong: Deakin University.

McMichael, C & Gifford, S 2009, ‘“It is good to know now ... before it’s too late”: promoting sexual health literacy amongst resettled young people with refugee backgrounds’, *Sexuality and Culture*, vol. 13, no. 4, pp. 218–36.

McPherson, M 2010, ‘“I integrate, therefore I am’: contesting the normalizing discourse of integrationism through conversations with refugee women’, *Journal of Refugee Studies*, vol. 23, no. 4, pp. 546–70.

Markovic, M & Manderson, L 2000, ‘Nowhere is as at home: adjustment strategies of recent immigrant women from the former Yugoslav republics in southeast Queensland’, *Journal of Sociology*, vol. 36, no. 3, pp. 315–28.

McKenzie, P 2003, ‘A model of information practices in accounts of everyday-life information seeking’, *Journal of Documentation*, vol. 59, no. 1, pp. 19–40.

Mehra, B & Papajohn, D 2007, ‘“Glocal” patterns of communication-information convergences in internet use: cross-cultural behavior of international teaching assistants in a culturally alien information environment’, *International Information & Library Review*, vol. 39, no. 1, pp. 12–30.

Miller, K 2004, ‘Beyond the frontstage: trust, access, and the relational context in research with refugee communities’, *American Journal of Community Psychology*, vol. 33, no. 3/4, pp. 217–27.

Mills, C 2004, ‘Agamben’s messianic politics: biopolitics, abandonment and happy life’, *Contretemps*, vol. 5, December, p. 42–62.

Miraftab, F 2004, ‘Can you belly dance? Methodological questions in the era of transnational feminist research’, *Gender, Place & Culture*, vol. 11, no. 4, pp. 595–604.

Mitchell, K 2006, ‘Geographies of identity: the new exceptionalism’, *Progress in Human Geography*, vol. 30, no. 1, pp. 95–106.

Moore, N 2002, ‘A model of social information need’, *Journal of Information Science*, vol. 28, no. 4, pp. 297–303.

Mountz, A 2011, ‘Specters at the port of entry: understanding state mobilities through an ontology of exclusion’, *Mobilities*, vol. 6, no. 3, pp. 317–34.

Muggleton, T & Ruthven, I 2012, ‘Homelessness and access to the informational mainstream’, *Journal of Documentation*, vol. 68, no. 2, pp. 218–37.

Murray, S 2008, ‘Thanatopolitics: reading in Agamben a rejoinder to biopolitical life’, *Communication and Critical/Cultural Studies*, vol. 5, no. 2, pp. 203–7.

Naidoo, L 2009, ‘Developing social inclusion through after-school homework tutoring: a study of African refugee students in Greater Western Sydney’, *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, vol. 30, no. 3, pp. 261–73.

National Health and Medical Research Council 2003, *Values and ethics: guidelines for ethical conduct in Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander health research*, Canberra: National Health and Medical Research Council.

Ndhlovu, F 2009, ‘The limitations of language and nationality as prime markers of African diaspora identities in the state of Victoria’, *African Identities*, vol. 7, no. 1, pp. 17–32.

Neale, A, Ngeow, J, Skull, S & Biggs, B-A 2007, ‘Health services utilisation and barriers for settlers from the Horn of Africa', *Australian and New Zealand Journal of Public Health*, vol. 31, no. 4, pp. 333–5.

Neumann, K 2013, *The resettlement of refugees in Australia: a bibliography*, available at <http://apo.org.au/files/Resource/resettlement_bibliography_10_december_2013_0.pdf>, accessed 14 February 2014.

Ndungi wa Mungai & Pease, B 2009, ‘Rethinking masculinities in the African diaspora', in M Donaldson, R Hibbins, R Howson & B Pease (eds), *Migrant men: critical studies of masculinities and the migration experience*, New York: Taylor & Francis.

Odera, C 2014, ‘South Sudan army says repels rebel attacks on positions near Bor’, *Reuters*, Juba, Sunday 23 February 2014, available at <http://uk.reuters.com/article/2014/02/23/uk-southsudan-unrest-idUKBREA1M09A20140223>, accessed 1 April 2014.

Ochocka, J & Janzen, R 2008, ‘Immigrant parenting: a new framework for understanding’, *Journal of Immigrant and Refugee Studies*, vol. 6, no. 1, pp. 85–111.

Owens, P 2009, ‘Reclaiming “bare life”: against Agamben on refugees’, *International Relations*, vol. 23, no. 4, pp. 567–82.

Palmer, R, Lemoh, C, Tham, R, Hakim, S & Biggs, B 2009, ‘Sudanese women living in Victoria, Australia: health-information-seeking behaviours and the availability, effectiveness and appropriateness of HIV/AIDS information’, *Diversity in Health and Care*, vol. 6, no. 2, pp. 109–20.

Panagakos, A & Horst, H 2006, ‘Return to cyberia: technology and the social worlds of transnational migrants’, *Global Networks*, vol. 6, no. 2, pp. 109–24.

Pantuliano, S 2009, ‘International engagement in fragile states: lessons from Southern Sudan’, *ODI Opinions*, November, pp. 135–136.

Papastergiadis, N 2006, ‘The invasion complex: the abject other and spaces of violence’, *Geografiska Annaler Series B: Human Geography*, vol. 88, no. 4, pp. 429–42

Parham, A 2004, ‘Diaspora, community and communication: Internet use in transnational Haiti’, *Global Networks*, vol. 4, no. 2, pp. 199–217.

Pawley, C 2003, ‘Information literacy: a contradictory coupling’, *Library Quarterly*, vol. 73, no. 4, pp. 422–52.

Perry, K 2011, ‘Ethics, vulnerability, and speakers of other languages’, *Qualitative Inquiry*, vol. 17, no. 10, pp. 899–912.

Pittaway, E, Muli, C & Shteir, S 2009, ‘“I have a voice—hear me!” Findings of an Australian study examining the resettlement and integration experience of refugees and migrants from the Horn of Africa in Australia’, *Refuge*, vol. 26, no. 2, pp. 133–46.

Polikanov, D & Abramova, I 2003, ‘Africa and ICT: a chance for breakthrough?’, *Information, Communication & Society*, vol. 6, no. 1, pp. 42–56.

Porter, E 2000, Setting aside the identity furore: staying her story-course of same-ness’, *Qualitative Inquiry*, vol. 6, no. 2, pp. 238–50.

Porter, G, Hampshire, K, Kyei, P, Adjaloo, M, Rapoo, G & Kilpatrick, K 2008, 'Linkages between livelihood opportunities and refugee-host relations: learning from the experiences of Liberian camp-based refugees in Ghana', *Journal of Refugee Studies*, vol. 21, no. 2, pp. 231–52.

Pratt, G 2005, 'Abandoned women and spaces of the exception', *Antipode*, vol. 37, no. 5, pp. 1052–78.

Pulvirenti, M & Mason, G 2011, 'Resilience and survival: refugee women and violence', *Current Issues in Criminal Justice*, vol. 23, no. 1, pp. 37–52.

Rajaram, P 2002, 'Humanitarianism and representations of the refugee', *Journal of Refugee Studies*, vol. 15, no. 3, pp. 247–64.

Ramadan, A 2012, 'Spatialising the refugee camp', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, pp. 1–13.

Refugee Council of Australia n.d., *2013–14 federal budget in brief: what it means for refugees and people seeking humanitarian protection*, Sydney: Refugee Council of Australia.

——2014, *Welcome*, available at <http://www.refugeecouncil.org.au/>, accessed 22 February 2014.

——2013, *Translating and interpreting*, Sydney: Refugee Council of Australia, available at <https://www.refugeecouncil.org.au/f/svr-tis.php>, accessed 22 February 2014.

——2012, *Job services Australia: refugee community and service provider views*, Sydney: Refugee Council of Australia.

——2011(a), *Myths about refugees and asylum seekers*, Sydney: Refugee Council of Australia, available at <https://www.refugeecouncil.org.au/f/myth-long.php>, accessed 18 February 2014.

——2011(b), *Public discourse on Australia's refugee policies: Australia's refugee and humanitarian program 2011–12*, Sydney: Refugee Council of Australia.

——2010, *Australia's refugee and humanitarian program 2010-11: community views on current challenges and future directions*, Sydney: Refugee Council of Australia.

——2008, *Australia's refugee and humanitarian program: community views on current challenges and future directions*, Refugee Council of Australia.

Renzaho, A & Vignjevic, S 2011, 'The impact of a parenting intervention in Australia among migrants and refugees from Liberia, Sierra Leone, Congo, and Burundi:

results from the African migrant parenting program', *Journal of Family Studies*, vol. 17, no. 1, pp. 71–9.

Richards, W forthcoming (a), 'Trauma, dispossession and narrative truth: "Seeds of the Nation" of South Sudan', in J Goodall & C Lee (eds), *Trauma and Public Memory*, London: Palgrave Macmillan.

——forthcoming (b), '"Now we will live forever": creative practice and refugee settlement in regional Queensland', in J McDonald & R Mason (eds), *Creative Communities: Regional Inclusion and the Arts*, Bristol: Intellect Press.

——2014, 'Trust, learning styles and attitudes to reading in the information literacy practices of resettled South Sudanese refugees in Australia', paper presented at the *Georgia International Conference on Information Literacy*, October 10–11, Georgia Southern University, Savannah, Georgia.

——2013, 'Information literacy and African refugee communities in Australia and the diaspora', paper presented at the 36th AFSAAP Conference *African Renaissance and Australia*, 27–29 November 2013, Murdoch University, Perth WA.

——2012, *AWCODA Guide for African-Australian Youth Mentoring*, Toowoomba: Awulian Community Development Association.

——2011, 'Walking to Freedom: doing justice to displacement', in A Dashwood & J-B Son (eds), *Language, Culture and Social Connectedness*, Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.

——2010, 'Doing justice to displacement: a practitioner's view', paper presented at the *Language, Culture and Social Connectedness in our Diverse Landscape Symposium*, September, University of Southern Queensland, Toowoomba.

Richmond, D 2011, *Review of humanitarian settlement services: performance measures and contract management*, Canberra: Department of Immigration and Citizenship.

Riehl, V 2001, *Who is ruling in south Sudan? The role of NGOs in rebuilding socio-political order*, Studies on Emergencies and Disaster Relief No. 9, Sweden: Nordiska Afrikainstitutet.

Robinson, L 2009, 'A taste for the necessary', *Information, Communication & Society*, vol. 12, no. 4, pp. 488–507.

Rodgers, G 2004, '"Hanging out" with forced migrants: methodological and ethical challenges', *Forced Migration Review*, vol. 21, pp. 48–9.

Rolandsen, ØH 2005, *Guerrilla government: political changes in the southern Sudan during the 1990s*, Sweden: Nordiska Afrikainstitutet.

Roycroft, TR & Anantho, S 2003, 'Internet subscription in Africa: policy for a dual digital divide', *Telecommunications Policy*, vol. 27, pp. 61–74.

Ryan, C 2012, *The children of war: child soldiers as victims and participants in the Sudan civil war*, London: I B Tauris.

Ryan, D, Dooley, B & Benson, C 2008, 'Theoretical perspectives on post-migration adaptation and psychological well-being among refugees: towards a resource-based model', *Journal of Refugee Studies*, vol. 21, no. 1, pp. 1–18.

Salman, MA 2011, 'The new state of South Sudan and the hydro-politics of the Nile basin', *Water International*, vol. 36, no. 2, pp. 154–66.

Sanchez, L 2004, 'The global e-rotic subject, the ban, and the prostitute-free zone: sex work and the theory of differential exclusion', *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, vol. 22, pp. 861–83.

Sanderson, L 1980, 'Education in the southern Sudan: the impact of government-missionary-southern Sudanese relationships upon the development of education during the condominium period, 1898-1956', *African Affairs*, vol. 79, no. 315, pp. 157–69.

Savolainen, R 2009, 'Small world and information grounds as contexts of information seeking and sharing', *Library & Information Science Research*, vol. 31, no. 1, pp. 38–45.

Schmidt, N 1993, 'The future of the book in Sub-Saharan Africa', *Liberal Education*, vol. 79, no. 1, pp. 36–42.

Schweitzer, R, Greenslade, J & Kagee, A 2007, 'Coping and resilience in refugees from the Sudan: a narrative account', *Australian & New Zealand Journal of Psychiatry*, vol. 41, no. 3, pp. 282–8.

Seligman, C & Seligman, B 1932, *Pagan tribes of Nilotic Sudan*, London: Routledge & Sons.

Settlement Council of Australia 2014, *Welcome to the Settlement Council of Australia*, available at http://www.scoa.org.au/>, accessed 24 February 2014.

Sheikh-Mohammed, M, MacIntyre, C, Wood, N, Leask, J & Isaacs, D 2006, 'Barriers to access to health care for newly resettled Sub-Saharan refugees in Australia', *Medical Journal of Australia*, vol. 185, no. 11-12, pp. 594–7.

Shoham, S & Strauss, S 2008, 'Immigrants' information needs: their role in the absorption process', *Information Research*, vol. 13, no. 4, available at <http://InformationR.net/ir/13-4/paper359.html>, accessed 12 November 2012.

Sommers, M 2005, *Islands of education: schooling, civil war and the southern Sudanese (1983-2004)*, International Institute for Educational Planning, Paris: UNESCO.

Sidhu, R & Taylor, S 2007, 'Educational provision for refugee youth in Australia: left to chance?', *Journal of Sociology*, vol. 43, no. 3, pp. 283–300.

Silvio, D 2006, 'The information needs and information seeking behaviour of immigrant southern Sudanese youth in the city of London, Ontario: an exploratory study', *Library Review*, vol. 55, no. 4, pp. 259–66.

Sligo, F & Massey, C 2007, 'Risk, trust and knowledge networks in farmers' learning', *Journal of Rural Studies*, vol. 23, no. 2, pp. 170–82.

Spinks, H 2009, *Australia's settlement services for migrants and refugees*, Canberra: Parliamentary Library.

Spiranec, S & Zorica, M 2010, 'Information literacy 2.0: hype or discourse refinement?', *Journal of Documentation*, vol. 66, no. 1, pp. 140–53.

Srinivasan, R 2007, 'Ethnomethodological architectures: information systems driven by cultural and community visions', *Journal of the American Society for Information Science & Technology*, vol. 58, no. 5, pp. 723–33.

Srinivasan, R & Pyati, A 2007, 'Diasporic information environments: reframing immigrant-focused information research', *Journal of the American Society for Information Science & Technology*, vol. 58, no. 12, pp. 1734–44.

Stake, R 1998, 'Case studies', in N Denzin & Y Lincoln (eds), *Strategies for qualitative inquiry*, California: Sage.

Stehlik, D 2004, 'From "snowball" to "rhizome": a rethinking of method', *Rural Society*, vol. 14, no. 1, pp. 36–45.

Sturges, P & Neill, R 2004, *The quiet struggle: information and libraries for the people of Africa*, Omnie E-Book, available at <http://wwwcgi.reading.ac.uk/ssc/media/ICRAF_2007-11-15/research/ResMetRes/2/docs/The%20quiet%20struggle.pdf>, accessed 31 August 2012.

Sulaiman-Hill, C & Thompson, S 2011, 'Sampling challenges in a study examining refugee settlement', *BMC International Health and Human Rights*, vol. 11, no. 2, pp. 1–10.

Sundin, O 2008, 'Negotiations on information-seeking expertise: a study of web-based tutorials for information literacy', *Journal of Documentation*, vol. 64, no. 1, pp. 24–44.

Szczepanikova, A 2010, 'Performing refugeeness in the Czech republic: gendered depoliticisation through NGO assistance', *Gender, Place & Culture*, vol. 17, no. 4, pp. 461–77.

Talja, S, Tuominen, K & Savolainen, R 2005, '"Isms" in information science: constructivism, collectivism and constructionism', *Journal of Documentation*, vol. 61, no. 1, pp. 79–101.

Tazreiter, C 2012, 'The politics of asylum and identities in exile: negotiating place and meaning', in A Hayes & R Mason (eds), *Cultures in refuge: seeking sanctuary in modern Australia*, London: Ashgate.

Tierney, W 2003, 'Undaunted courage: life history and the postmodern challenge', in N Denzin & Y Lincoln (eds), *Strategies of social inquiry*, London: Sage.

Tilbury, F & Colic-Peisker, V 2006, 'Deflecting responsibility in employer talk about race discrimination', *Discourse & Society*, vol. 17, no. 5, pp. 651–76.

Tilbury, F & Rapley, M 2004, '"There are orphans in Africa still looking for my hands": African women refugees and the sources of emotional stress', *Health Sociology Review*, vol. 13, no. 1, pp. 54–64.

Torezani, S, Colic-Peisker, V & Fozdar, F 2008, 'Looking for a "missing link": Formal employment services and social networks in refugees' job search', *Journal of Intercultural Studies*, vol. 29, no. 2, pp. 135–52.

Turner, D 2010, 'Orally-based information', *Journal of Documentation*, vol. 66, no. 3, pp. 370–83.

Turner, M 2009, 'Adult South Sudanese students in Australia: the significance of congruence between student and teacher expectations', *Prospect*, vol. 24, no. 3, pp. 48–59.

Turner, M & Fozdar, F 2010, 'Dependency, partiality and the generation of research questions in refugee education', *Issues in Educational Research*, vol. 20, no. 2, pp. 183–97.

Turton, D 1996, 'Migrants and refugees: a Mursi case study', in Allen, T (ed.) *In search of cool ground: war, flight and homecoming in northeast Africa*, London: James Currey/Africa World Press.

Uhegbu, A 2004, 'Constraints on the formulation and implementation of national information policy for Nigeria', *Journal of Information Science*, vol. 30, no. 1, pp. 41–7.

United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization 2011, *EFA global monitoring report. Building a better future: education for an independent South Sudan*, Paris, UNESCO.

United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees 2013, *UNHCR Global Trends 2012*, Geneva, Switzerland: United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees.

——2006, *UNHCR Master Glossary of Terms*, June, Rev.1, available at <http://www.refworld.org/docid/42ce7d444.html >, accessed 19 September 2012.

Urban, E 2008, '"Bird in a cage": exploring transnational immigrants' identity negotiations', *International & Intercultural Communication Annual*, vol. 31, pp. 197–225.

Urbis Keys Young 2003, *Report of the review of settlement services for migrants and humanitarian entrants*, Canberra: Department of Immigration and Multicultural and Indigenous Affairs.

Urquhart, C & Yeoman, A 2010, 'Information behaviour of women: theoretical perspectives on gender', *Journal of Documentation*, vol. 66, no. 1, pp. 113–39.

Urry, J 2000, 'Mobile sociology', *British Journal of Sociology*, vol. 51, no. 1, pp. 185–203.

Valtonen, K 2004, 'From the margin to the mainstream: conceptualizing refugee settlement processes', *Journal of Refugee Studies*, vol. 17, no. 1, pp. 70–96.

Van Maanen, J 1988, *Tales of the field: on writing ethnography*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Verdirame, G 1999, 'Human rights and refugees: the case of Kenya', *Journal of Refugee Studies*, vol. 12, no. 1, pp. 54–77.

Vertovec, S 2004(a), 'Migrant transnationalism and modes of transformation', *International Migration Review*, vol. 38, no. 3, pp. 970–1001.

——2004(b), 'Cheap calls: the social glue of migrant transnationalism', *Global Networks*, vol. 4, no. 2, pp. 219–24.

Voutira, E & Dona, G 2007, 'Refugee research methodologies: consolidation and transformation of a field', *Journal of Refugee Studies*, vol. 20, no. 2, pp. 163–71.

Walraet, A 2008, 'Governance, violence and the struggle for economic regulation in south Sudan: the case of Budi county (Eastern Equatoria)', *Afrika Focus*, vol. 21, no. 2, pp. 53–70.

Webster, F 2005, 'Making sense of the information age', *Information, Communication & Society*, vol. 8, no. 4, pp. 439–58.

——2000, ‘Information, capitalism and uncertainty’, *Information, Communication & Society*, vol. 3, no. 1, pp. 69–90.

Werker, E 2007, ‘Refugee camp economics’, *Journal of Refugee Studies*, vol. 20, no. 3, pp. 461–80.

Wilding, R 2009, ‘Refugee youth, social inclusion, and ICTs: can good intentions go bad?’, *Journal of Information, Communication and Ethics in Society*, vol. 7, no. 2/3, pp. 159–74.

Wilding, R & Baldassar, L 2009, ‘Transnational family-work balance: experiences of Australian migrants caring for ageing parents and young children across distance and borders’, *Journal of Family Studies*, vol. 15, no. 2, pp. 177–87.

Williams, R 2009, ‘Place attachment, sense of belonging and identity in life history narratives of Iranian Baha’i refugees’, *Baha'i Studies Review*, vol. 15, no. 1, pp. 3–18.

Williamson, K & Roberts, J 2010, ‘Developing and sustaining a sense of place: the role of social information’, *Library & Information Science Research*, vol. 32, no. 4, pp. 281–7.

Woon, CY 2013, ‘For “emotional fieldwork” in critical geopolitical research on violence and terrorism’, *Political Geography*, vol. 33, no. 0, pp. 31–41.

Wun Fung Chan 2010, ‘A shared or multicultural future? Community cohesion and the (im)possibilities of hospitable social capital’, *Space and Polity*, vol. 14, no. 1, pp. 33–46.

Wyatt, S, Henwood, F, Hart, A & Smith, J 2005, ‘The digital divide, health information and everyday life’, *New Media & Society*, vol. 7, no. 2, pp. 199–218.

Xie, B 2012, ‘Improving older adults' e-health literacy through computer training using NIH online resources’, *Library & Information Science Research*, vol. 34, no. 1, pp. 63–71.

Young, J 2003, ‘Sudan: liberation movements, regional armies, ethnic militias and peace’, *Review of African Political Economy*, vol. 30, no. 97, pp. 423–34.

Yu, L 2010, ‘How poor informationally are the information poor? Evidence from an empirical study of daily and regular information practices of individuals’, *Journal of Documentation*, vol. 66, no. 6, pp. 906–33.

Zambakari, C 2012, ‘South Sudan: institutional legacy of colonialism and the making of a new state’, *Journal of North African Studies*, vol. 17, no. 3, pp. 515–32.

Zembylas, M 2010, ‘Agamben’s theory of biopower and immigrants/refugees/asylum seekers: discourses of citizenship and the implications for curriculum theorizing’, *Journal of Curriculum Theorizing*, vol. 26, no. 2, pp. 31–45.

Zhao, S & Elesh, D 2008, ‘Copresence as “being with”’, *Information, Communication & Society*, vol. 11, no. 4, pp. 565–83.

Ziarek, EP 2010, ‘Feminine “I can”: on possibility and praxis in Agamben's work’, *Theory & Event*, vol. 13, no. 1.

——2008, ‘Bare life on strike: notes on the biopolitics of race and gender, *South Atlantic Quarterly*, vol. 107, no. 1, pp. 89-–105.