

MIGRANT SECURITY: 2010

Refereed proceedings of the national symposium titled
Migrant Security 2010: Citizenship and social inclusion in a transnational era

Hosted by the
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15-16 July 2010

On the lands of the Giabal and Jarowair

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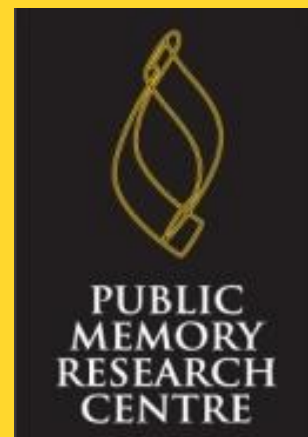


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Migrant Security 2010: Citizenship and social inclusion in a transnational era

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**Public Memory Research Centre
Faculty of Arts, University of Southern Queensland**

The symposium convenors would like to acknowledge the Traditional Custodians,
the Giabal and Jarowair, on whose land this meeting takes place.
We pay our respects to Elders past and present.

The national symposium ‘Migrant Security: Citizenship and social inclusion in a transnational era’ was hosted by the University of Southern Queensland’s Toowoomba campus on the 15th and 16th July 2010. The symposium attracted delegates from across Australian universities, as well as delegates from New Zealand, the United States and Europe. In addition, presentations and papers were provided by governmental and non-governmental bodies affiliated with the provision of services for migrants and refugees. The conference proceedings that follow offer a selection of some of the over seventy papers presented during the two days of the main symposium. Each of the papers included in the proceedings have been double peer-reviewed in their entirety, prior to acceptance in this online collection.

Migration has been central to Toowoomba’s history for thousands of years, with a major Indigenous meeting place located close to the city. More recently, Toowoomba has welcomed large numbers of African refugees from various backgrounds. Indeed, twenty five per cent of Toowoomba’s overseas population has arrived within the last decade. The new presence of these visibly different and culturally diverse groups has prompted large proportions of the city to recall and to question the historical and contemporary nature of whiteness and blackness in the Darling Downs region and south-east Queensland. As such, it was particularly apposite that the symposium was hosted at the University of Southern Queensland.

The symposium probed new formulations of migrants’ experience of community and individual security through their engagement with civic life. It drew particular attention to the changing nature of belonging in modern societies, and the implication of this for citizenship. Contributors proved especially interested by the various forms of insecurity that prevented migrants from attaining a sense of inclusion and belonging, and how local and transnational networks might mitigate this. Key themes that are explored in the proceedings include the nature of inclusive education, the role of interculturality in the modern society, and ways to develop meaningful forms of cultural security and social.

An Interdisciplinary Culturally Responsive Methodology: A Samoan Perspective

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Abstract

This paper describes a methodology developed to examine the state of educational achievement in reading comprehension for a group of students within the general Pasifika group in New Zealand. The methodology seeks to reflect aspects of culture that are responsive to the examination of Pasifika people, their way of life and the sustaining of that life. There are existing culturally responsive methodologies for the indigenous *tangatawhenua Kaupapa* Maori research in New Zealand. The focus of such studies, and how to approach them, are thought of initially from the Pasifika perspective and culture. Such focus on those who are not Maori, who might want to conduct effective research on Maori. The methodology described in this paper aims to extend the notion of culturally responsive methodologies to the Pacific and its people living in New Zealand for those who are not Pasifika but want to do research on Pasifika and its people. A Samoan riddle was used to capture the cultural essence of Pasifika and to reflect the responsiveness of the researcher to Pasifika by trying to guess what the answer to the riddle was. The riddle speaks of different lands occupied by different inhabitants, who have their own functions and roles to play in ensuring that, when brought together, one outcome and one entity results. Riddle guessing is one of the old Pasifika family pastimes. The coconut, as the answer to the riddle, was most appropriate in creating a model that would examine education for Samoan students because of its different layers. It is a methodology that holistically examines in the most culturally responsive way, the different areas of academic achievement for Pasifika and the factors that enhance or hinder that achievement. The prediction is that the 'coconut model' will be particularly effective and relevant in research work in any discipline because of its cultural responsiveness.

Keywords

Pasifika research methodology; culturally responsive methodology; Pasifika research model; Pasifika people

INTRODUCTION

In this study, the researcher chose to examine the Samoan bilingual students' reading comprehension achievement using a framework that was culturally responsive and one which allowed the voice of Pasifika to emerge within a bigger study (McNaughton,

MacDonald, Amituanai-Toloa, Lai & Farry 2006). The framework of the riddle examined the extent to which Samoan people comprehend texts in general and particularly Samoan students in bilingual classes in New Zealand comprehending texts in both Samoan and English.

As a Samoan researcher and educator I am well aware of my cultural roots and routes, especially regarding relationships between people within the work environment. This is made more important in research work as diversity of participatory populations increase. The author has previously described elsewhere (see Amituanai-Toloa 2002) my initial preparations for research endeavours, particularly the need to be culturally aware, and to walk the process, of the research mentally before the actual activity takes place. In particular, and in terms of people as participants, relationships between people are crucial to the success of any research hence, the concept of *va-tapuia* (sacred space) which is the cornerstone of all Samoan relationships (Amituanai-Toloa 2007) is to be observed at all times. It was appropriate therefore, particularly for research on one's own people, that a methodology be designed to take into account a process where prominent aspects of cultural problem solving (akin to all people) would be necessary.

The term 'culturally responsive' has not been standardised in its definition and it is not possible to define this term adequately in a few words. Rather, many explanations of cultural responsiveness are expressed in general terms which may not clarify how specific concerns of cultural responsiveness go beyond, the choice of a methodology or ideas about reflective teaching, active pedagogies, or general professional ethics. There is, therefore, a need to address what the term 'responsiveness' signifies and why the word 'cultural' is used in the phrase (Stewart 2009).

There are a number of areas where the term, 'cultural responsiveness' is found, such as health, justice and social policy. In education, the term 'cultural responsiveness' has been used internationally for many years (Stewart 2009), although dominant labels such as

'multicultural/bicultural' have been more commonly used until recently. Though different terminologies, the term refers to the underlying issue of equity for students from non-Western ethnic groups, which formed the rationale of current research projects on non-Western groups such as the Pasifika group.

Addressing this issue is evident in Maori research in New Zealand where Maori researchers attempt to change the Western thinking about doing research. Maori researchers attempt this change by conducting research on their own people which reclaims their cultural way of problem solving and their way of life. However, as Smith (2004) finds, it is in the process of reclaiming that difficulties present themselves. One of the difficulties identified by Smith (2004) when researching Maori as indigenous peoples of New Zealand has been identity as a Maori in a Western society. She explains that the Maori struggle against a Western view of history is complex given Maori researchers are involved with that view. Hence, she mourns the telling of their histories as insiders. Yet she also mourns the retelling of the same histories as outsiders by others, given this negates indigenous views and asserts colonial ideology. Smith explains:

[...] indigenous peoples have struggled against a Western view of history and yet been complicit with that view. We have often allowed our "histories" to be told and have then become outsiders as we heard them being retold (2002: 33).

Smith's (2002) pledge is to reclaim history and to tell it from an indigenous viewpoint with indigenous tools – the tools of the oratory tradition that acknowledges the knowledge of our ancestors, do justice to that knowledge and bring forth indigenous aspects of the cultures into the written tradition for the purpose of remembrance of culture, custom, history and knowledge. She adds that every indigenous female researcher, like herself, has many cultural roles to fulfill all of which have their own stories to tell and ways to tell them. As a grandmother, mother, daughter, granddaughter, sister and so forth, Smith (1999) points us to a crucial component of being true to all these roles and the many relationships these roles entail so that we do not neglect a part of the whole person in the different roles we are defined as.

Further to Smith's work, Bishop and colleagues' (2001) work in the Te Kotahitanga study of Maori students in secondary schools further strengthens the cultural responsiveness code by suggesting that relationships between teachers and students in secondary school settings must be

seen by Maori students as respectful, genuine and caring (Bishop, Berryman, Cavanagh, Tom, Teddy & Lani 2009). The Maori and their practices, like Pasifika, are founded on relationships. As such, every relationship needs to be nurtured simply because without relationships, the kinship will not exist. It is the same with schools, and Bishop and colleagues' argument is that Maori children in schools can achieve highly when relationships between teachers and students are founded on care. Both Smith and Bishop argue from the viewpoint of Maori; an indigenous perspective that uses indigenous tools of the rich oral tradition. This paper adds to Bishop's and Smith's pledges to be culturally responsive by using the Pasifika indigenous tools, such as the tools of the oratory tradition by extending the notion of cultural responsiveness to Pasifika – in this specific case, Samoan. The riddle as a tool of the Samoan oral tradition is used here as a remembrance of culture, custom, history and knowledge of our forebears to retell through the practicalities and methodologies of research the olden ways of socialisation and problem solving. In this way, the responsiveness is geared towards culture in order to accentuate those aspects of culture most associated with Samoan identity (including the personal, cultural and gender perspectives). In other words, cultural responsiveness is when group processes in a particular society are dealt with in a holistic way, rather than the individualistic thinking of psychological influences that is particularly dominant in education

The methodology used in the study mentioned here was an attempt to be culturally responsive to the Pasifika people, their practices and their ways of problem solving. More importantly, to respond to Western educationalists view of doing research – a view that is usually constructed through deficit theorising which places blame on Pasifika people, their language and their culture. The methodology's aim was to look holistically at the problem so as to be seen as culturally responsive to all people in the learning community and not just one individual. For example, in the last ten years, the comparatively low academic achievement of Pasifika students in New Zealand has finally begun to receive attention from both research and intervention programmes (McNaughton, MacDonald, Amituanai-Tolosa, Lai & Farry, 2006; Coxon, Anae, Mara, Wendt-Samu & Finau 2002; Education Review Office 1994, 1995; Elley 2001). Yet, as early as 1981, Ramsay and colleagues found that the academic achievement of Pasifika children in South Auckland, particularly Mangere and Otara, needed to be addressed. They added a warning then that any efforts to address this

issue 'might be too late' (Ramsay, Sneddon, Grenfell & Ford 1981).

The Pasifika children from different Pasifika island groups, such as Samoa, Tonga, Cook Island/Maori, Tokelau, Niue and Fiji, are second and third generations descendants of Pasifika people who first migrated to New Zealand in the early 1950s and 1960s to settle. A large proportion of these children can still speak their traditional language, in addition to English, and are known as language minority students who are not achieving as highly as other students in mainstream schooling. Historically, both in New Zealand and in other countries, the blame for language-minority educational failure has been placed on students, their families, their languages and cultures, rather than on the failure of the education system to cater adequately for them (Alton-Lee 2003; McCaffrey & Tuafuti 2003; Cummins 1989).

A lack of research about Pasifika education in general and particularly a lack of research about the different ethnic groups (such as Samoan, Tongan, Cook Island/Maori, Niuean, Fijian, Tokelau and other smaller groups), is a problem. There is little information on how these students' language use in either English or Samoan interacts with their educational achievement. As a result, in the light of low achievement, there is a lack of understanding about the developmental patterns and relationships in bilingual and biliteracy development (Amituanai-Tolosa, McNaughton & Lai 2009).

In New Zealand, Pasifika people make up 6.9 percent of the total New Zealand population. Those identifying with Pasifika people's ethnic group had the second largest increase of 15 percent from the 2001 to 2006 Census, with the highest proportion of children (people aged 0-14 years) of all the major ethnic groups, at 38 percent (Statistics New Zealand 2007). The dilemma for both countries is that research on language development for these children and in relation to, for example, instruction of reading comprehension for school age English language learners is relatively limited (Garcia 2002, 2003; Amituanai-Tolosa, McNaughton & Lai 2008). In New Zealand's case, this dilemma appears more limited by the paucity of the ethnic-specific research on which ethnic comparisons between the different Pasifika groups could be based. The little research available is either generalised or, in most cases, does not focus on student achievement of different Pasifika ethnic groups.

Recently, some initiatives implemented to solve the achievement issue of Pasifika students have shown some success (see, for

example, McNaughton et al. 2006, 2008). However, despite the success, Pasifika students were still achieving below national norms on standardised tests, such as Supplementary Tests of Achievement in Reading, (STAR) (Elley 2001). The research study discussed below aimed to address the ethnic-specific issue from a perspective of problem solving in the Samoan context by examining the low achievement of Samoan students in bilingual classrooms in mainstream schools in South Auckland. A culturally responsive methodology and a model to guide this examination would be needed.

THE MALAE

Problem solving in Samoa begins in the *malae* in a *fono* (meeting) forum. A *malae* is a dedicated specific place in the centre of the village where the *Sa'o*, *ali'i* and *tulafale* (all high chiefs), the *matais* (chiefs) and village people, converge to examine a problem and solve it. Apart from the high chiefs and *matais*, village people would include *tagata matutua*, (elders), *aumaga* (married men who are not *matais*) *taulele'a* (single men), *auluma* (single women), and young people (*au lalovao*). Each group has its own role to play and carry out its functions effectively so that the whole village benefits. Within each group, however, are also subgroups who work together to achieve the same objective of the bigger group and the village. In the research study, a framework to identify the different groups that play influential roles in the achievement of Samoan bilingual students was deemed to be the ideal methodology.

THE SAMOAN RIDDLE AS A CULTURALLY RESPONSIVE METHODOLOGY AND MODEL

It was when reading a book written by a Samoan that the ideal methodology started to emerge. In the book, the topic of 'riddles' nestled between the topic of 'songs' and one of 'proverbs' (Drabble, 2000). The section on riddles was small and the riddles within it were familiar to the researcher except for one. It took several readings of the riddle to understand before it could be answered. Once the answer to the riddle was confirmed correct, it was decided that the riddle was relevant, applicable, appropriate and more importantly, culturally responsive. The relevance of the riddle was in the way it highlights the aspects of the Pasifika way of life that is common to the sustenance of that life. Its applicability lies in the examination of the different 'lands' the riddle refers to. Most appropriate in the riddle, was the descriptions of each layer and how it applies to the description of each part of the study. The riddle was arguably one that was

culturally responsive because it identifies the participants and who they are. It explains the roles of the different participants named in the layers figuratively; the use of each layer in everyday life in the Pacific and the cultural aspects of the different layers from a Pasifika viewpoint. Understanding the cultural responsiveness of the riddle, therefore, optimises the opportunities to understand further the differences between using a Western viewpoint and a Pasifika perspective. This is the gist of the methodology – to bring an approach that is additional and one that is specifically a Pasifika culturally responsive approach to a study on Pasifika people. In addition, the riddle had all the components of a methodology that could encapsulate the requirements of the study. The Samoan riddle goes:

O le tagata e sau i le nu'u o tane, ona sau ai lea i le nu'u o fafine, ona sau ai lea i le oneone uli ma le papa, ona toe sau ai lea i le nu'u oneone sina, ona o'o mai ai lea i le vai.

(English translation: There is a man who comes to the land of men, and then comes to the land of women, then he comes to the land of black sand and rock and then to the white sandy land and lastly goes to the water) (Lutu-Drabble 2000).

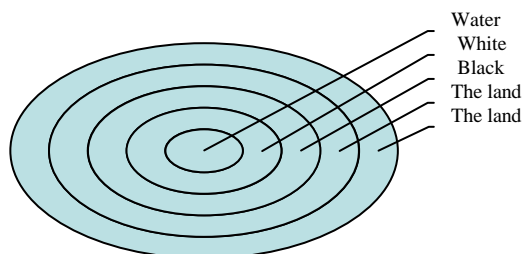
The riddle literally refers here to different lands. In global terms, different lands can be different countries. It can also refer to different races, for example, Melanesians, Micronesians, and Polynesians. It can further refer to different people, for example, Europeans, Asians, Middle Easterners, and so on. In addition, the riddle offers a structure to guide and to make simple how a study should be constructed just as it did for the study mentioned here. For example, the study was structured in seven chapters – the first was to introduce the problem to be solved, six according to the layers in the riddle and the last was reserved for new growth.

THE ANSWER TO THE RIDDLE

The *coco nuciferas* or 'coconut' is the answer to the riddle because the cross section of a coconut reveals the layers the riddle speaks about. In layers from outside in, the first chapter, 'The *Malae*', introduced the study and addressed the 'problem' of low reading comprehension achievement for Samoan students. The second chapter, 'The Land of Men' examined how comprehension is constructed from western lenses and how these constructions have come to form the overarching beliefs about comprehension and

its nature. Also examined in this chapter, were the Samoan concepts of *iloa* (know) and *malamalama* in relation to comprehension and to teaching and learning. The third chapter, 'The Land of Women' looked at how the research was conducted. The fourth chapter 'The Land of Black Rock and Sand' examined and presented the baseline achievement of Samoan students to identify what their reading comprehension strengths and weaknesses are that teachers can build on to enhance comprehension. In this chapter too, the results of the effects of the intervention were presented. The fifth chapter, 'The White Sandy Lands' presents the results of first language oral and reading comprehension of Samoan bilingual students in relation to their English comprehension. The sixth chapter 'To the Water' presents the results of teacher observations and their relationship with achievement. The final chapter, 'The 'O'o'' discusses these findings and answers the research questions. Research is in itself a riddle.

Figure 1: The Different Layers of the Coconut Model



Adopted from Amituanai-Toloa (2005).

The 'Land of Men'

In scientific terms, the 'land of men' is known as the 'exocarp' – the outer kernel of the coconut. It is the hard crust that encircles and hence is difficult to penetrate. It is thus 'the land of men' because it acts as a protective external layer that keeps the contents of the entity enclosed and protected in preparation for new growth. In the context of Education in the study, 'a man' in the land of men could be the government (for example, the Ministry of Education) an educator, a teacher, a researcher (as is my case) or any person examining a particular topic. Each has the power to choose what to examine and what to present.

The 'land of men' in the study was the literature review chapter. This chapter presented issues in reading comprehension generally and more specifically issues for students who speak a language and have English as a second language. From global to local these issues were to be examined and then identify gaps in the literature about what needed to be addressed and how they should be addressed. The latter is where the 'land of women' comes in.

The 'Land of Women'

Just inside the outer kernel is 'the land of women' scientifically called, the inside fibre or 'mesocarp'. The land of women cushions the life that it surrounds with the overarching support of the 'land of men' for further protection and insulation. The 'land of women' refers to the matriarch in Samoa. Like patriarchal roles and functions, matriarchal roles and functions are also distinctly defined.

The methodology chapter of the study was the 'land of women' – it is the strongest fibre of the study because the validity of results and subsequent sections are based on it.

The 'Land of Black Rock and Sand'

The third layer of the coconut model was the 'black rock and sand'. Its scientific name is 'endocarp'. This layer is the hard shell that surrounds the white coconut meat and the water.

In the study, this section represented the English reading comprehension outcomes of bilingual student achievement. That is, the baseline results and the longitudinal achievement results to show the effects of the intervention on student achievement. Together they inform the current status of student achievement. In relation to the riddle, this section provided the strength of the intervention as seen in the increase in gain scores for bilingual students after the intervention.

The 'White Sandy Lands'

Following the 'black rock and sand layer' is the white coconut meat. Scientifically it is called the, 'endosperm' or inside kernel. 'The white sandy lands' in the study referred to the results of bilingual students' Samoan language assessments. Given the paucity of research on language development for Samoan students in New Zealand, these results were considered a 'meaty' diet for further research to understand how Samoan students develop in two languages (Samoan and English). The merging of evidence of bilingual students'

development in the Samoan language, with the evidence of their development in the English language, enabled relationships between languages to be identified. In addition, the development of further research on identified components students were weak on, for example, sentence structure and vocabulary needed to be a specific focus. More importantly, the evidence needed to be blended with the last layer to see what outcomes it might provide.

The 'Water'

The 'water' as the last layer is the clear liquid in the innermost part of the coconut. It is known in some cultures as, 'the drink of the gods' or the 'perfect drink'. As the innermost layer, it is the most protected and most sustained part of the coconut so that when new growth finally eventuates, the white sandy lands and the water merge internally to become what Samoans call, *o'o* (arrival).¹

The teachers who participated in the study were the focus of this layer. The instructional practice needed to be aligned to the student achievement to identify 'what' teachers did and 'how' they did it. More specifically, it was to identify aspects of teachers' pedagogical practice and ideas and beliefs that impacted on their students' achievement. When all these are put together into one outcome and one entity, various discussions occur. These might be making predictions about what the next steps to take would be or hypothesizing about the reasons why students' achievement is the way it is. This was part of negotiating new growth.

The Negotiating of New Growth

This part of the study involved discussions about the effectiveness of the intervention and answering the research questions originally presented in the first chapter, the *malae*. Beliefs and ideas of Samoan teachers from their cultural and spiritual perspectives were included to argue that increases in student achievement scores cannot be attributed to an intervention alone such as professional development for teachers. Rather, teachers' own beliefs and ideas about what comprehension is, and how it should be taught from their Samoan viewpoint as Samoan teachers, play influential roles in the achievement of Samoan students in their classrooms.

¹ A *o'o* is the hardened juice (mixture of white meat and water) of the coconut. This is the part that growth of a new coconut tree originates from.

CONCLUSION

The design using the riddle and the resulting coconut model as the answer to the riddle was a cultural responsive methodology that was most appropriate for the purpose of the study in examining the different stakeholders in the education sector through its different layers. Through the examination, it was evident that in order to get to the 'water' or in other words, solve the problem, there was a process which involves a number of different 'lands' as destinations where one must reach. The riddle, and the answer to it, provided the study with an appropriate context that is culturally responsive to Pasifika people in general and particularly to students and their parents. It gave validation to a methodology that is familiar and through that familiarisation, guided the process of the research clearly and effectively, resulting in a cultural model that can be used in other disciplines (especially with minority groups like the Samoan students and their teachers). It is a model that is comprehensive and holistic in its approach, whereas initiatives in schools have often had narrow foci.

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Learning Literacy; Constructing Identity: Migrant and Refugee Participation in English Language Programs

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Abstract

Arguably the initial primary contact for many new adult migrants and refugees with Australian society is through English language programs. The functional value of these programs is well documented. Mainstream rhetoric argues that these skills are needed for successful economic integration within the broader society. This paper asserts that economically orientated understandings, which underpin the role of English Second Language (ESL) language and literacy programs, neither acknowledge nor value the potential social role that such programs play. This is especially significant in the case of refugees, where learners are frequently negotiating not just a new language but a new skill (literacy) from within a context marked by social and cultural transition.

This paper reports on findings from a research project which explored the factors that contributed to the meaningfulness of learners' participation within an adult English language program. The data revealed that meaningful participation emerges from a combination of complementary factors, which may be broadly interpreted in terms of the acquisition of literacy skills, a sense of social belonging, and the development of cultural knowledge. These factors exist in tension and combine to create a sense of emerging identity, as learners seek to participate more fully within the broader society and express their own sense of self. Balancing previous cultural ways of knowing with new understandings of the self, constructed through engagement with civic society, is central to this process. It may be pertinent to reframe adult English language programs from a functional to a more socially inclusive ideology, and thereby enable those on the cultural margins to develop their own understanding of the broader community and their potential role in mainstream society.

Keywords

Adult literacy, ESL, identity, meaningful participation, refugees,

INTRODUCTION

Adult ESL programs do not simply attend to peoples' language and literacy skills. They are also potential social outlets and a resource for understanding society. This is especially so for pre-literate refugee students who are learning not just a new language but also a new language skill; that of communicating understanding through the written word. On top of the need to learn new linguistic skills,

adult refugees are also traversing very different personal roles as they negotiate the cultural transition between their homeland and Australia. Differences in gender roles, educational approaches, and social and economic values between a western and a developing country add to the complexity of meanings such learners must process. From this perspective an adult ESL literacy program provides a critical space for participants to reflect upon and redefine their own sense of self.

This paper reports on a research project which explored the factors that impacted on the personal and social meaningfulness of learners within an adult English language and literacy program. This program was delivered within a tertiary educational setting in Australia. I propose that the participation of learners is made more meaningful where the social context of learning is acknowledged, and where, as will be shown below, cultural and gender differences between learners are recognised. By way of contrast the functional orientated ESL language and literacy delivery, which characterises many contemporary programs, is partial and favours certain meanings and learners.

This article begins with a short commentary on the contested definition of literacy itself, in order to establish a platform from which to understand the inherent ideological bias and valued meanings of ESL language programs. The potential impact that such valued meanings can have on learners is also briefly discussed.

THE CONTESTED NATURE OF LITERACY

The definition of 'literacy' in adult education, both in terms of delivery and as an object of inquiry, is highly contested (Street 2001). These contestations impact on, and are impacted by, differing discourses about the goals and purposes of literacy programs. These can range from narrow technicist, economic and functionalist aims to ones which are more social, political and humanist in nature (Papen 2005). Broadly speaking, mainstream educational policies focus their literacy definition on the functional skills required to

interpret written symbols in order to actively function within mainstream society (Lonsdale & McCurry 2004). On the other hand the definition of literacy from the perspective of the New Literacy Studies (Barton 2001; Street 2003) is centred on the social practices and bodies of knowledge with which one's world and culture are interpreted. According to this framework, literacy includes multiple variants which have equal validity, derived from the social context in which they are used. Others argue for a definition of literacy that focusses on the manner in which power is distributed and negotiated within society (Stromquist 2005; Prinsloo & Janks 2002). Critical literacy, as this model has been termed, draws its inspiration from a theoretical framework in which literacy may be used to enable people to move out of situations of oppression and reshape their lives.

As argued by Barton & Hamilton (1998) all definitions of literacy are ideologically based and framed by people's beliefs, attitudes and practices. According to Gomez (2004), understandings of literacy, broadly based on one or the other viewpoint, are too simplistic to arrive at a comprehensive understanding of literacy program delivery. In other words, the different ways of analysing literacy and delivering literacy instruction, based on one or another perspective, are always partial and will thus privilege certain kinds of learners and marginalise others.

This latter point, I would argue, is particularly pertinent in the case of refugee learners, who are the focus of this article. Such people have gone through at least two hugely significant adjustments in their lives. One is the time they became refugees and another is the time they came to Australia. While the first transition may, in a physical sense be completed, it can still play an important role in the lives of participants. The other stage of transition is clearly still ongoing. Hence alongside differences in terms of history, gender and culture within a group of learners lie a complex net of social meanings associated with people making sense of (and processing) their rapidly changing lives. This is particularly pertinent in the context of this research as it points to the significance of the social environment for learners.,

From this perspective ESL literacy programs potentially provide a reflective social space for participants to understand the meanings and values of mainstream society and their possible role in that society. Importantly, such programs will impact differently on different people, according to their feelings of identity and the changing and diverse circumstances of their lives. While the meanings imbued within an ESL literacy program can act as a space for

learners to examine their realities and explore and express their own identity constructions, they can also potentially impact negatively on a learner's emerging sense of self by reproducing the dominant social discourse and denying difference (Cooke 2008). This can be particularly acute with regards to gender considerations.

An impact of gender within literacy programs is especially important for people, such as the African students reported below, who are crossing cultural and social borders and hence differences in the way gender is defined and expressed. Women, for example, must frequently delay and defer their educational development until their husbands have acquired enough English to enter the workforce and fulfil their own traditional gender roles in terms of providing for their family (African Think Tank Inc. 2007). In terms of theory and praxis, the lack of recognition of difference between gender roles potentially values these spheres unequally.

An alternative perspective from which to view and therefore construct literacy program delivery is presented here. This perspective is based on the potential for meaningful participation of all learners within such programs. The notion of meaningful participation is discussed below.

MEANINGFUL PARTICIPATION

ESL programs are at a juncture of multiple meanings inclusive of the values of mainstream society, the beliefs of teachers and the needs of students. Understanding the perceived relevancy and significance of literacy programs can be achieved through viewing such programs through a lens which foregrounds the manner in which people engage, contest and assimilate the multiple meanings within their learning experiences.

Within the research project to which this article refers to, the notion of 'meaningful participation' signifies a framework for viewing ESL literacy programs, which encompasses people's sense of connection with the society they live in, their own community and their own emerging sense of self. It is a notion based on a view that literacy itself cannot and should not be defined according to the views of any particular group or be framed by one or the other paradigm. Rather literacy should be seen within a broader frame of reference based upon multiple perspectives of both literacy and development that is inclusive of socially marginalised groups. Within this framework enhancing the meaningfulness of learner's participation requires acknowledging and incorporating the

collective values of people's learning experiences in order to reinforce positive transformation. Understanding and positively facilitating the emerging sense of identity of learners is integral to this process. It also requires strengthening networks into the community and cultivating a feeling of belonging within a learning culture. This latter point is particularly important given the social isolation that and marginalisation that many refugees feel as they attempt to become a part of the broader Australian society.

THE STUDY CONTEXT

The participants of the project analysed in this paper were refugees from Togo and the Sudan, who were studying English literacy within an adult educational setting in Australia (Atkinson 2010). All the participants were, or had been, enrolled in an adult English language and literacy course, delivered through the Australian Federal Government's Adult Migrant English Program (AMEP). Of the ten participants, eight were women reflecting the gender disparity within the classes themselves.

This latter point is particularly pertinent with regards to the study context. Of the 55 students enrolled in the program at the time of the research, 33 had less than six years of schooling. Of these 33, 31 were women. Many of the women in the ESL program had added family responsibilities and frequently came from a situation of economic dependency upon men. They have also not had the same educational opportunities afforded to men in their home country. Upon arrival in Australia many are pressured into finding work by Centrelink. This situation can be at odds with their traditional cultural responsibilities of looking after the family and supporting their husbands. Through not acknowledging the gender of students within the program there is no official provision to acknowledge and thereby take into account the existing constraints of gender upon the learning needs and outcomes of students, the purposes for which they come to learn and the unique educational challenges that they may face.

The AMEP English language course is designed to guide teachers to create and deliver a syllabus that enables students to achieve specified competency outcomes against which a student's progress is measured. The course is not only designed to standardise English language instruction for new migrants but also to ensure a level of accountability to funding authorities and a responsiveness to labour markets. This emphasis on skills for employment is a

continuing trend within Australian English language provision for migrants and humanitarian entrants. As a review of the migrant English language program shows, proposed changes to the curriculum will further emphasise 'employability skills at the higher levels [...] and [...] flexibility for inclusion of new work preparation skills training for lower level clients' (DIAC 2008:25).

RESEARCH DESIGN

The research design was a case study within a phenomenological perspective. In this research project the case is clearly bounded by the experiences of a group of humanitarian entrants participating in an AMEP program delivered in a tertiary educational campus in Australia. A phenomenological perspective highlights the subjective experience(s) of the individuals and their own perceptions of their life and world around them. The focus is on understanding a process from the point of view of the participants themselves, as it is their meanings and their understandings which are important (Mertens 2005).

In this current research project participants wrote about their past, their initial experiences in Australia, their aspirations, the problems they had and how they overcame them. These written stories were shared, and thus provided space for others to further discuss meanings of significance. Asking students to write stories was compatible with the expressed needs of students to build upon their writing and reading skills, and therefore comprised a research data collection tactic 'sanctioned' by the existing curriculum. From the written stories and subsequent discussion a picture emerged characterised by change and aspiration, revealing how the participants negotiated the meanings within the broader society and in their own immediate and familial needs.

Data analysis was grounded in the identification of the recurring topics and themes that emerged from the data. These initial topics were further analysed to identify sub-topics which, once identified, informed further data analysis (Muthukrishna 2006). The next stage involved developing patterns of relationships between the categories identified leading to an understanding of the complex links between the beliefs, experiences, and perspectives of the participants. Validity was enhanced through asking participants to revisit their own construction

THE FINDINGS

Key themes which contributed to the meaningfulness of people's participation within the ESL Literacy Program included the acquisition of functional literacy skills, relationships with teachers and fellow students and the acquisition of and access to (new) cultural knowledge. Within these meanings the duality of the functional and the social was clearly evident. Far from being mutually exclusive, the social and the functional aspects of the learning of students frequently complemented each other. What also strongly emerged was a vision of literacy acquisition as an individual journey, tempered by cultural and social factors which often travelled in parallel with the learners' own sense of connection and adjustment to Australian society and their understanding of Australian culture.

The most obvious sense of meaning emerges in relation to the English language skills students strive to acquire, and especially their confidence and ability to read and write. Indicative of the functional approach of the AMEP program, this was frequently in line with educational rhetoric that emphasised reading, writing, listening, speaking and grammar skills. The relationship between these functional skills and the social may be discerned in the statement below. The following statement expresses the understanding which many students held. For them, English language and literacy skills are essential in order to have access to the opportunities afforded to members of Australian society within the context of employment, further study and social discourse.

English is necessary for speaking to neighbours, for reading things like letters, letters from Centrelink, bills many things, getting a job, talking with my child's teacher. These things we need English for [...]. If we want to do another course, like me I want to do a childcare course. We need English for this. We need to learn how to write (Student N, Sudanese woman, 2009, pers.comm., 11 February).

Alongside the importance of acquiring functional skills lies a sense of personal aspiration and of hope. Acquiring English literacy is not just a means of liberation but also a constraining influence on people in their pursuit of realising and expressing their own sense of identity. From a socially contextual point of view the duality within a student's experience of learning English is reproduced

in terms of concomitant feelings of uncertainty over future options which are held to be dependent upon their English language ability. The following two statements allude to this sense of uncertainty.

I want to do welfare. My writing is not good but I think I can do this course, God willing (Student K, Togolese man, 2009, pers. comm., 11 March).

Without English, without writing English you cannot get a good job in Australia. This is the difficulty I am facing (Student D, Sudanese woman, 2008, pers. comm., 28 November).

In some respects, therefore, the identity of learners is not just in transition but also on hold as they attempt to acquire a perceived satisfactory level of English language and literacy competency and maintain their sense of self-confidence and personal belief.

This feeling of transition and tension is not restricted to English language acquisition, but is rather a key and ongoing feature of their lives; particularly their financial lives as the following statements reveal in different ways. The first statement expresses a student's reflection upon their relationship with the key institution, which controls their financial security, namely Centrelink.

Centrelink is our 'father' (Student V, Togolese woman, 2009, pers. comm., 11 March).

A 'father' is at once a symbol of authority, of security, of control. Humanitarian entrants are deeply thankful for the financial support they are given to settle into Australia. But as the following quote shows this appreciation is hampered by what they see as the unnecessary pressure placed on their lives.

I get a letter every week from Centrelink. Centrelink is wanting me to get a job. But my English is not good enough. If my boss tells me to do something and I do the wrong thing because of English this is no good. Me I don't want to get a job until my English is good (Student R, Togolese man, 2009, pers. comm., 11 February).

Negotiating the institutional meanings which impact on their lives is an ongoing process. The statement below, therefore, is not simply a reference to understanding the meanings of society but also a reference to the deep

feelings of confusion and uncertainty within learners' lives and their need to regain control over factors which so heavily influence their financial and social wellbeing.

You know, with that man when he taught us. I learn so much about Centrelink and money and about payments. This was good. I need this information (Student R, Togolese man, 2009, pers. comm., 11 February).

The man in question in the above statement was a culturally sensitive representative from Centrelink. Through actively listening to the needs of students he provided not only key information but also a sympathetic ear to the feelings of uncertainty and confusion held by students in terms of their dealings with government welfare.

These feelings of uncertainty and disconnection from the meanings within institutions extend generally to the broader society and have a significant impact on people's emerging sense of belonging. This sense of confusion is caught in the following student statement.

What I fear when I leave the house is doing something wrong. I do not mean doing something against the law. I don't mean that. I mean something against the culture, doing wrong things for this culture (Student O, Sudanese woman, 2009, pers. comm., 25 March).

As indicated in the student statement immediately above, negotiating the present meanings of day-to-day existence is an ongoing process. It is also a process of deep personal consequence. These everyday experiences can even affect a student's sense of security and morality. The following statement shows the potential sense of tension within the everyday experiences of learners.

I saw a lady take something from the bag of another lady on the station. The train person asked if anyone had seen anything. I said nothing. My husband said to be quiet. In my country where I come from the police will take me away if I talk to them (Student E, Sudanese woman, 2009, pers. comm., 4 March).

In including this quote I am not claiming that knowledge of the police should be an aspect of adult ESL delivery. What I do claim however is that learners are undergoing a process of rethinking their understandings of how society operates and the rules of society. In other words, learners, in their day to day experiences

are forced to revisit and reflect upon their own understandings and rethink their own roles as part of their cultural adjustment. In an ESL course directed towards the integration of migrants within the broader society, as the AMEP program is directed towards, this is an important, although largely unacknowledged, point.

Of further significance is that this process of reflection is not necessarily an easy one and is, in a similar fashion to a student's existential experiences, often marked by confusion and uncertainty. This is reflected in the following statement:

I need to be quiet. I don't understand this country. If I do something I might do the wrong thing. First we must understand this country. This is why I don't say very much. I want to understand. Then we can know if we do the right thing (Student M, Sudanese woman, 2009, pers. comm., 11 March).

Alongside the sense of difference felt by the participants in this research project, and their sense of vulnerability and their confusion there is arguably another meaning in this statement. The significance of the words in the statement immediately above lies not just in the feeling of difference expressed by this research participant but also in her determination to understand her new environment in order to integrate more fully with it. This is reaffirmed by the statements of other participants which reveal a desire to understand and negotiate wider social meanings alongside an aspiration to develop and extend one's own sense of self within an environment of difference.

What I really must learn. I must learn the cultural rules of this country (Student N, Sudanese woman, 2008, pers. comm., 14 November).

This course, it helps me with my confidence, not confidence in my self. I already have that, but confidence in this society (Student O, Sudanese woman, 2009, pers. comm., 25 March).

It is the desire to extend one's own life that is so important in the context of this research. Each learner must negotiate their own journey of integration and face challenges particular to their own circumstances and the social and cultural contexts of their lives. Their challenge lies in 'merging' their own sense of identity with the meanings of mainstream (Anglo-) Australian society, particularly when they frequently lack the power and the understanding to negotiate the meanings that directly impact on their lives. The following

statements show that this emergence of an increasingly hybrid identity is an ever present dynamic for learners. The statements were expressed within a discussion about raising children, and concern about the role of the participants as both mothers and as members of an ethnic group.

I want my children to succeed in Australia and not forget who they are and where they have come from.

[...] but in this country our children learn new ways. At school they learn new things. They learn Australian ways. They do not listen to adults. What do we do with our children? (Student J, Sudanese woman, 2009, pers. comm., 11 March)

Traversing African and Australian cultural values and negotiating the role of raising children in a new and very different society is intensely difficult. Loneliness, isolation, a lack of English skills, a lack of knowledge of how society operates, pressure from institutions and employment pressures vie with a need to maintain one's own cultural identity within a society that does not necessarily understand or acknowledge the challenge of fashioning an emerging sense of self from within an identity grounded in difference. It is this ongoing dynamic of identity formation combined with a personal appreciation of who they are which appears to be a key (and unacknowledged) component of learner's lives and their meaningful participation in their ESL language and literacy course.

DISCUSSION

As a consequence of this research I was able to identify and act upon a broader student need with regards to understanding the meanings that affected their lives. For example, students repeatedly expressed difficulties they had with Centrelink. As a result, representatives of Centrelink were brought into the program to discuss key issues that students had. Likewise representatives from the state police force, from employment providers, welfare agencies, the education department, and other governmental departments were brought into the program. Particularly important in this regard was addressing the challenge, often raised by mothers, of childcare and the education of children, By enabling participants to access information that was revealed by the research process to be an area of need, space was created for participants to reflect upon and express their own views about matters of identified importance. In other words the identified meaningfulness of the participation of students tentatively moved from a concept

to a process. The following statement reveals the effectiveness of this tentative action for enabling participants to reflect upon and express their emerging sense of identity.

Some people they speak and they say we should do this and this but they don't understand Australian ways. They don't think. They just do something because that is the way Australian people do things. But this might not [be] good for us because we don't understand what we are doing. We need to learn about Australian culture so that we can make a new way. This is what I think (Student J, Sudanese woman, 2009, pers. comm., 11 March).

The statement also uncovers a key priority for this student – to make a new way – which lies beyond the institutional discourse but is nevertheless a vital and integral motivating factor in her learning and participation in the ESL language and literacy course.

An English language and literacy program, as indicated by the above statements, is not simply a place of learning but also a space wherein people can reflect upon and process their own lives. The privileging of economic values as defined by the AMEP curriculum does not expressly enable students to extend their networks or gain an experience of Australian society from the perspective of their own needs. As Kral & Schwab (2003:18) note 'if education is to be successful and to lead to sustainable outcomes, it must be integrated in to the social and cultural framework of the whole community'. From the perspective of 'meaningful participation', if an English language and literacy program is to be effective in enhancing the integration of humanitarian refugees into the broader Australian community then attention must be given to the mechanisms which support local networks between the program and support organisations.

Evidence suggests however that far from being strengthened local support networks between service providers and the ESL student body have been undermined. At the time this research was carried out Centrelink had recently cancelled its multicultural officer position. In addition a high turnover of staff at the organisation, which provided settlement services further reduced network support for humanitarian entrants. The lack of strong links between the ESL Literacy program and outside agencies compromises the support that staff can bring to learners themselves resulting in a lack of provision for learners to gain the

support they need or be put into contact with those who can give this support.

The lack of recognition of the social environment of learners also ignores the importance for learners to rethink and reflect upon their own sense of self within a safe and secure environment. It is hence a serious omission within the context that literacy programs are often a key gateway for students to understand the cultural landscape they have entered and the challenges they face.

CONCLUSION

Arguably, ESL literacy programs are not simply educational programs but also social spaces with the potential to affect the social integration of learners within the broader society in diverse ways. I contend that it is acknowledging and understanding the process of emerging identity, and reconciling this process with the multiple meanings of ESL language and literacy programs, which creates the space for participation to be made more meaningful for learners.

I am in accord with Gomez (2004) who views human beings as diverse and multidimensional rather than acting upon linear, simplistic and reductionist notions. From my experience as an English as a Second Language teacher ESL program delivery is frequently based on mainstream middleclass Western values. This alignment however neither meets, acknowledges nor values the different meanings and diverse needs that migrants and humanitarian entrants bring to Western society.

From the perspective of enhancing a multicultural society it may be time to rethink adult English language and literacy programs, particularly the AMEP English language program. From the perspective of this paper functional English language and literacy skills are essential for learners. However it is also vital that those on the margins of society, such as pre-literate refugees are given the space to augment their own understandings of themselves and their roles in their new society.

An integrated understanding of literacy within an ESL context, must be inclusive not just of functional skills, which are important, but also people's sense of identity. Acknowledging the social needs of students amid the challenge for students of constructing a new sense of identity within a vastly different and alien culture can make a profound impact on their experiences as students. Within this process of rethinking adult literacy and repositioning adult literacy programs, the significance of this paper lies in a more inclusive ideology which

foregrounds the essential aspect of our own humanity.

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Meeting the Stranger Within: Considering a Pedagogy of Belonging

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Abstract

The image of the Migrant is one of the defining motifs of contemporary times and has given rise to concerns for security both for and from the immigrant. The postmodern experience of globalising systems has meant that concomitant ruptures and reformations of anchors of belonging – the disruption of place-based senses of identity – have led to a sense of constancy of transience, of a permanent process of Settling without any real sense of Belonging. The experience of Migrant is one of an encounter with difference and strangeness, dissonance and anxiety for both the Arrival and for those already in Place. How Difference is perceived and received will determine the ease with which the Arrival is admitted to Place. Genuinely critical educative work is a vehicle for the mediation of a prevailing conceptualisation of Difference as deficit and its reformulation in the public consciousness as presenting no barrier to Belonging.

Drawing on Baumann's social commentary and notions of community in the contemporary era and on Giroux's notion of border pedagogies, this paper sketches a possible pedagogy of belonging derived from a shift in focus from the Arrival to those in Place, from the Other to the Self. In this, emphasis is placed on the ideas of zones of difference, community, belonging and the educative imperative of 'turning the gaze' on to the Centre.

Keywords

Belonging, border pedagogy, borderlands, difference, liquid times

I understand that Australians are disturbed when they see boats arrive on our shores unannounced. Australians wanted strong border management and I will provide it.

Julia Gillard, statement on elevation to Prime Minister, 24th June 2010.

PREAMBLE

This paper is based on a claim that there are three distinct but intimately connected features of contemporary society that combine to leave social relationships teetering uncertainly on something of a knife-edge. The three features

are movement, fear, and alienation, and it is the combined effect of these that has led to the degrees of mistrust, protective posturings and social schisming that characterise the most concerning challenges to democratic social relationships and genuine performance of community of current times. In very much summary form, I would like to explain my view of these three features.

It has been much asserted that the current age is one of massively increased and increasing rapidity, and that rapidity is of movement. Things, ideas, currencies, viruses, news, people – all travel the globe at seemingly irresistible rates of increasing speed. The purpose of such movement is not, clearly, to be found in any *kinetic aesthetic*, but in relocation and propagation: objects in movement seek ultimately and repeatedly to root, to bed down in a new locale, however temporarily. Inevitably, this puts the object moving into an impact situation with whatever mechanisms exist to preserve the sanctity of the old/new place. Whether it be the 2009 attempts by the government of the People's Republic of China to prevent the re-stimulation of (not quite) lost memories of the events of Tiananmen Square 20 years earlier through the filtering out of extraterritorial information flows from public television reception or by various physical forms of border security, movement clearly evokes resistance. It is this mission to enter freely – '[these] pressures aimed at the piercing and dismantling of boundaries' – that constitutes, in Zygmunt Bauman's view, the very essence of globalisation (2007: 6).

Movement creates disruption and change, it unsettles. Whether seen as akin to the disarray left in the wake of the animated cloud of dust of any Warner Brothers' Looney Tunes cartoon character or as a bowling ball scattering pins at the local ten-pin alley, movement creates change, either in what is left behind or in what is newly encountered. In the context of migration, the disruption and attendant uncertainty and insecurity flow two ways. What we witness is a growing sense of need for security *for* whilst simultaneously

provoking a growing call for security *from* the Migrant.

This constitutes the basis for the insecurity that underpins a concern to preserve what currently is, in the face of the onrush of what might become. Bauman has argued that the desire to minimise uncertainty, to promote and protect those resident within has been one of the main impetuses for the establishment and development of the city, but that with the development of the 'open society' in the globalised era, 'fear has settled inside, saturating our daily routines' (2007: 9). As a result, technologies of security are increasingly deployed to maintain a sense of safety in the face of the presence of the Other at Home. No longer is the demarcation line between Them and Us, between Self and Other at a distance. It now confronts us in our back yard, and the maintenance of boundary fences – both actual and imaginary – has come to constitute one of, if not the, most sensitive functions of contemporary government:

[T]he modern variety of insecurity is distinctively marked by a fear of human maleficence and malefactors. It is shot through by suspicion towards other humans and their intentions and by a refusal to trust the constancy and reliability of human companionships... From the start, the modern state was therefore confronted with the daunting task of the management of fear (Bauman, 2007:57-58).

Hedetoft argues that boundaries – borders – are being drawn more and more tightly and rigidly in some ways, and have become what he has termed 'asymmetric membranes...allowing exit, but protect[ing] against unwanted entrance of units from the other side' (2003: 151-152). It is in the space around the border that insecurity breeds, but it is in that same space that the potential for greater inter-human understanding and the development of more genuinely democratic and non-exploitative relationships with Difference might be built. The pedagogical contribution to such a project is the focus of this paper.

MEETING AT THE BORDER

Arguably, the dominant motif of the contemporary age is that of the border, but encounters with Others at the border are ancient experiences, ones that have been managed in this country for tens of thousands of years in a spirit of seeming harmony, respect and balance. It is worth exploring the ways in which border crossings were and continue to be engaged in by Indigenous

Australians for what insights these practices might yield insofar as the development of migrant security is concerned.

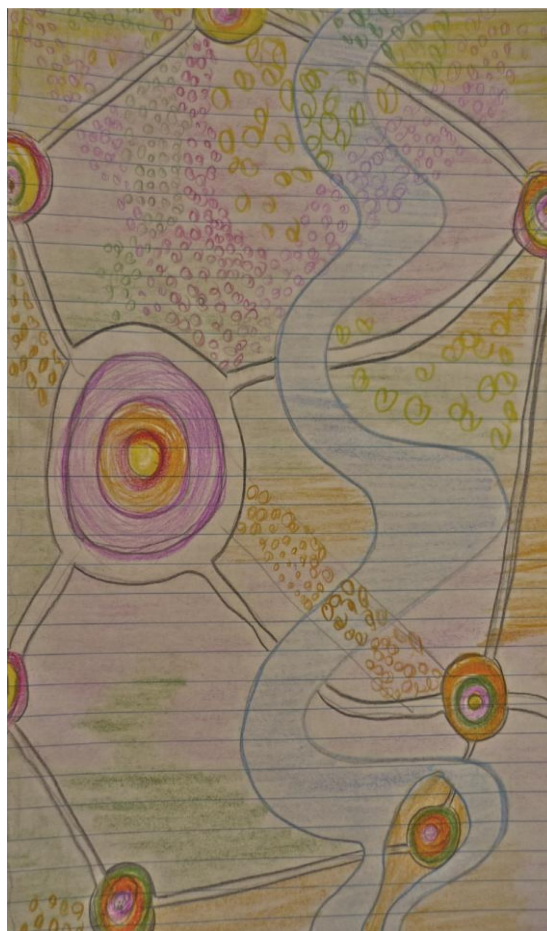


Figure 1: Indigenous Australian country & borders (Donna Moodie 2010, used with permission).

Indigenous or local knowledges carry wisdom about social practices that have served to ensure social, cultural and environmental sustainability for millennia, and currently there is a growing acknowledgement of what has been lost through the devaluation of this wisdom, primarily through mechanisms of primitivising. For the purposes of the current paper, I would like to draw upon one of these practices to establish a base from which to suggest how the question of migrant security might be addressed. This particular aspect of Australian Indigenous practice is derived from the protocols that shaped the visitation, use and settlement of one clan's country by members of another. As a non-Indigenous Australian, I am not, of course, privy to the deeper levels of ceremony, knowledge and practice that are essential for a more comprehensive presentation of the matters at hand here. I have, however, consulted with respected Indigenous Australians and have their approval for the account of very complex and culturally nuanced practices that I am providing here. Any errors in this, of course, are of my own making and responsibility.

It is well-acknowledged that the original inhabitants of what we would now call Australia deployed ways of marking the boundaries of one clan's country from another's that were unrecognisable to the early waves of non-indigenous migrant settlers. Indeed, the perceived lack of any means of marking proprietary relations with the landscape comprehensible to the European migrants in the 18th, 19th and most of the 20th centuries was persistently touted as an indicator of this space being *terra nullius*. In the European imperial/colonial imagination, Australia was a *space* to be claimed and developed. That it was already a *place* of deep and significant meaning was another inconvenient truth (with apologies to Al Gore). It is these two terms – space and place – and politics of identity and belonging that are played out across the borders between the two that assume a central importance in this paper.

Space here is seen as territory we move through; place, however, is where we stop and invest meaning. Through the investment of space with emotional, psychic, social, and spiritual meaning, we make a claim to *belonging*. Typically, the attachments of self that lead to a sense of belonging are shared with and by others, and this is where claims to connection and to sovereignty are based and where the forging of collective identity finds sustenance and takes root.

In this simplistic explanation of the connection between place and identity is to be found the source of many of the concerns over migrant security. Here, it is useful – although doubly concerning – to realise that such concerns over security issues attaching to migrants are as much about security *from* migrants as it is about security *for* migrants, and that the fear or trepidation – at the very least, suspicion – that drenches the encounter with the Migrant or even the very idea of encountering the Migrant, can be traced back to this basic point: migrant security is about questions of who belongs, about the boundaries that are or should be drawn between those in place and those arriving, about border crossing. Accompanying this, though, is a school of thought about what might constitute a borderland that would work to revivify public democratic life instead of smothering it.

Markings of territorial custodianship (as opposed to ownership or control) in Australian Indigenous communities were there for those who knew how to remember, look, and interpret the signs. Frequently such knowledge was the province of certain members of a clan, typically those considered to be wise, the elders. Each clan had its own specific connection to place – to 'country' – and while inter-clan and inter-country contact

was frequent, there were sets of protocols that surrounded such contact. These protocols included such things as the acknowledgement of the sacredness of certain sites and significant features of what white thinking might call the features of the natural environment – a tree, a rock, a mountain could hold major significance for both the demarcation of country and for the preservation of the spiritual boundedness of people and land. Crisscrossing this was / is a complex system of totems, dreaming tracks and songlines that provided for the physical, social and spiritual navigation across and between country and clan (for a useful summary of key features of Indigenous Australian demarcation of country see McDonald 2008, p18ff).

In the diagrammatic representation of county shown in figure 1, a number of borderland areas are portrayed. In these borderlands, movement of people occurred and occurs



Figure 2: Border crossing (detail from Donna Moodie, 2010, used with permission).

largely unchallenged, but always with a requirement, enforced by elders, that the stories of place and of those who come from and belong to that place are respected, remembered, told and preserved.

Figure 2 shows a more detailed depiction of the movement across borders. Allegiances and belonging based on country, skin group, totemic and other markers and reminders of affiliation allow for both the free movement across and respectful use of land while at the same time preserving and maintaining core connections to land, home and clan.

In summary, then, movement across and between borders was typically free and

unfettered as long as the respect due to local totems and spirits was fully, visibly and correctly accorded. The freedom of movement was based upon a connectedness and sense on similarity rather than a sense of difference. While totems and clan and skin groups might provide differentiation mechanisms, the core ethic was one of commonality and the belief in belonging that accompanied a sense of holistic connection to and between Self, others and the land. Belonging connected the Self to the physical, social, cultural and psychic domains. As long as the stories of totem, clan and place remained true to memory, movement of 'outsiders' could and would not be considered to be suspicious or fear-inducing. It was only when the due respect failed to be shown (through, for example, inaccuracies in stories that evinced a sloppiness or disrespect) that border crossing became problematic.

It was the role of the elders in each clan to ensure the accuracy of the local stories of place that were told by those with connection – those who belonged – through the complex layers of multi-dimensional ties that flowed across borders. It was also their responsibility to ensure the correct passing on of these stories. This educative role has relevance for the consideration of a critical educative engagement with migrant security in contemporary times

Indigenous Australian systems of management of migratory activity mediated encounters with Others and difference seemingly harmoniously for tens of thousands of years. Based upon reciprocal notions of obligation to land, spirit and each other, the system was, however, of little use when it butted up against a totally different way of conceptualising borders and boundaries. The proprietary epistemology that drove the Western imperialist adventure saw boundaries and borders in totally different ways: here, they were markers of exclusion and inclusion, the demarcation lines for those who belong(ed) and those who have no place here. Borders were to be struggled over. Borderlands in this view were contested places, places of victory and defeat, life and death.

As a partial aside, it is illuminating to think about the responses of many contemporary Indigenous Australians to the contemporary migrant 'issue'. For many, concerns over population and migration policies and practices are rooted directly in the age-old system of land sketched above:

The Migrant project, like colonisation has been a disabling experience for us. Over the years numerous Aboriginal Australians have

protested about the sheer numbers of people coming to Australia. Seen by many as a conservative stance, the issue has always been about how well the Land (our mother) can support the people. Because the land is living it requires looking after, migrants and non-indigenous Australians don't seem to have a system of nurture and care, just processes of resource use and abuse. For us its the elephant in the room! What further effects will the migrant experience have on us? (Donna Moodie 2010, pers comm., July 1)

It is from a reconsideration of the idea of zones of contact in Indigenous Australian land systems that possibilities of contributing to a more secure migratory experience might be considered.

THE BORDER/LAND

Noted critical pedagogy theorist, practitioner, cultural studies scholar and critical intellectual worker, Henry Giroux, has developed an idea of what he terms a border pedagogy (2005). For Giroux, borders and border crossing are central metaphors and organising devices for any genuinely transformative theory of education and educative practice, and their traversing as terrains of difference crucial to a revived cultural democracy:

The concept of borders provides a continuing and crucial referent for understanding the co-mingling – sometimes clash – of multiple cultures, languages, literacies, histories, sexualities, and identities. Thinking in terms of borders allows one to critically engage the struggle over those territories, spaces, and contact zones where power operates to either expand or shrink the distance and connectedness among individuals, groups and places (2005: 2).

In the context of migrant security, borders assume a literal presence as well as a powerful role in the social imaginary, but in a much broader view, borders metaphorically carve out places of inclusion and exclusion. In Giroux's view, borders are both enabling and exclusionary: they work to sculpt insider places of belonging whilst at the same time throwing up the barriers that attempt to preserve the integrity of the included by marking the territory of the excluded.¹

¹ For an analysis of this in the Australian context, the reader is referred to Ghassan Hage's 1998 book, *White Nation*.

In the idea of the borderland resides the space where difference experiences both similarity and difference itself. This is the zone of contact where Self and Other – regardless of the particular perspective – come head-to-head. It is here that the Stranger meets the Stranger, and it is within this engagement that fear and comfort exist. For Giroux, the borderland is seemingly a dichotomous place where power works to close or to open cultural and political borders, where it ‘operates to either expand or shrink the distance and connectedness among individuals, groups and places’ (2005: 2). In the Indigenous Australian example above, the possibility of closer and more communal ties between clans is the expectation. In contemporary Australian times, the borderlands are the battlegrounds for control rather than for community and borders have come to operate as ‘the primary category for signifying spaces of confinement, internment, punishment, surveillance, and control’ (2005: 2).

The central motif of the concern for security in a migrant context is that of safety, and I would argue that in current times, it is safety *from* that is uppermost in the mind of the community in place, of those who inhabit the side of the border that marks and legitimises their belonging. Difference in the borderland is unthinkingly construed as deficit, as deviance or delinquency and therefore to be expelled, erased and expunged.

At the time of writing, the Australian government is in a neck-and-neck race with its opposition to arrive at a strong enough policy on border security to soothe an electorate portrayed as almost apoplectic over the increase of ‘illegal arrivals’. These arrivals in 2009 resulted in 6206 applications for asylum - South Africa had 220,000; Canada 34,000. In terms of world ranking, these figures placed Australia 33rd in total number of applications, 41st on a per capita basis and 71st in world terms relative to GDP. In total, 3,441 ‘illegals’ were granted asylum status in Australia in 2009 – around 1 per cent of the total number of immigrants to this country for that year (Horin 2010: 9). In purely numerical terms, this does not speak to a flood of difference flowing across the borders but the response to this phenomenon has seemingly entered the public imagination in ways that would presumably see a continuation of the very negative and divisive equating of Migrant with Difference.

To follow Giroux’s line of thinking a little further, what might happen if communities looked to engage in the second of the possibilities outlined above: what if the borderlands were seen to be places where the space between Self and Other, between Those

in Place and Those Arriving, between Those Belonging and Those Yet-To-Belong was progressively narrowed? In this view, the borderland marks the point of engagement for understanding and shared belonging, a place where emancipatory possibilities reside and the opportunities for the reconstruction of genuinely democratic cultural, political and social relationships lie latent in their opposition to extant forces of divisiveness and fear. In Giroux’s view:

there is an increased need for a politics and a notion of border crossing that can work across the fault lines of nations, classes, races, sexualities, and religions as they operate to create new forms of division, demarcation, and separation (2005: 6)

It is through this project that migrant security, in terms of reformulating exploitative, oppressive and exclusionary practices of difference, might be better secured.

IDEAS OF/FOR A BORDER PEDAGOGY: A PEDAGOGY OF BELONGING

Education assumes a primary role in any challenge to bring about a traversing of borders in ways that construct rather than constrain more inclusive notions of belonging and community. A border pedagogy can be conceptualised that draws some of its potency from the experiences and practices of Indigenous Australians and that at the same time merges these with central tenets of the critical education/pedagogy tradition. Giroux has described in some detail a small number of features of what he sees as the core aspects of a border pedagogy. In summary, a border pedagogy:

1. has as its central focus the interrogation of difference with a view to stimulating a reconceptualisation of a democratic public ethic of engagement;
2. prioritises the transformative potential of critical educative work in schools and other sites of education role in the pursuit of a ‘radical democratic society’;
3. seeks to create and draw upon opportunities for students and teachers to collaboratively engage in the experiences of the Other, that is, of border crossing, such that new forms of understanding, solidarity and empathy might flow;

4. works to highlight the partiality of particular discourses of difference – both dominant and subaltern – and come to expose the means by which these have been constructed, valorised and demonised;
5. promotes the importance of working with forms of language that are ‘multiaccentual and dispersed’, and which are seen as always partial and organic;
6. draws on the power of dialogic engagement across difference – of speaking with as opposed to speaking for those who suffer the exclusions of otherness; and
7. pedagogically works against notions of totalising and closed curriculum texts and practices and foregrounds the marginalising effect of these (Giroux 2005: 20-23).

Crucially for my purposes here, the idea of a border pedagogy shifts the focus of education for social harmony away from the more typical focus on the victims of marginalisation and exploitation and repositions it on those for whom the discourses of dominance and belonging have advantaged:

Border pedagogy shifts the emphasis of the knowledge/power relationship away from the limited emphasis on the mapping of domination toward the politically strategic issue of engaging in the ways in which knowledge can be remapped, reterritorialized and decentred in the wider interests of rewriting the borders and coordinates of an oppositional cultural politics (Austin 2005: 22).

The basic intent of drawing upon a pedagogy of the type envisaged by Giroux is to set up the educative conditions that might come to enable citizens to recognise the ways in which they are positioned by dominant social discourses to view the claims of Self and Other – of those in place and those arriving – in particular ways. The ways in which individuals are complicit in the perpetuation of such divisive discourses by virtue of their engagement in daily social practices then presents as a core curriculum component. The effects of the operation of such discourses of division on the Migrant are well-established and documented. The effects, however, on the Resident remain significantly less examined. Arguably, it is this uncertainty over identity and belonging that explains the current sense

of fear and insecurity that attaches to the idea of Migrant in the heads and hearts of many of those already in place; it is the basis of the perceived need for security *from* the Migrant. From a social amelioration point of view, what might a pedagogy of belonging then look like?

There appear to me to be three key elements here. First, a pedagogy of belonging would work to expose difference as just that – difference - as opposed to deficit. This requires an approach to the study of identity in both individual and collective senses that seeks to minimise the space between the self and the Other. This entails the acknowledgement that a zone of contact in a migrant sense is also a zone of difference, the space where discourses of both inclusion and exclusion have the room to play, be interrogated and reconstructed (see Figure 3). It is here that the emancipatory potential of the borderland resides, since it is here that the work of dialogue, understanding and conscientisation are likely to find greatest traction in the task of reducing insecurity and uncertainty. The pedagogical task is to expose the ways in which senses of self are developed and influenced in contemporary social, cultural and political contexts. It is here that the interests of hegemonic forces of influence might be seen at work. It is also here that a commitment to realise the agentic potential of citizens might be aroused. Here, the primary thrust should be to make clear the ways in which individual identity is always the result the multifarious forces acting with greater or

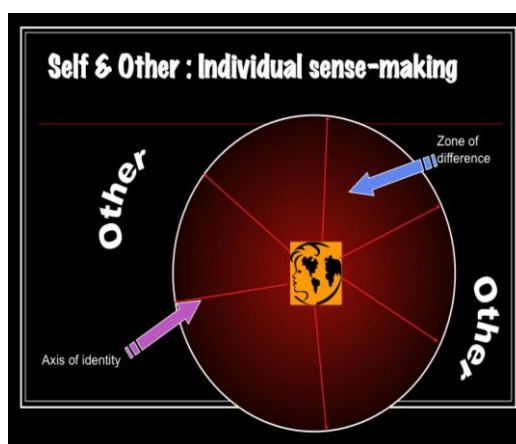


Figure 3: Self, Other, Difference

lesser power to orient citizens towards certain societally-expected positions. Once one understands something of the process of the development of an unthinking acceptance of normality, desirability and worth, then one might better be able to locate those tiny spaces for the operation of agency in resisting or reformulating what is considered to be acceptable or normal. In all of this, difference needs to be conceptualised and engaged as a

relational experience that typically references an invisible, unspoken centre that legitimises and validates the lives, culture and cultural capital of those deemed to belong.

A pedagogy that was looking to contribute to the education of citizens who might hold a view of belonging that was not dependent upon or determined by thin claims to 'acceptability' would look to mine the lines of difference that separate centre from periphery, included from excluded for the opportunities to build the type of border crossing experiences Giroux sees as so crucial. In the migrant context, this might require the experience of the Other to find greater visibility in the classroom. It might require the historical conditions of the development of senses of nationality, national identity and patriotic rites and symbols to be interrogated for the omissions they conceal as much as for the statements they carry about who lives and belongs here. In contemporary Australian settings, this would require a deep analysis of whiteness and white ethnicity, since this is probably the single most invisible component of the Australian identity: the underlying default position of whiteness as a carrier of universality; the invisible marker of superiority, privilege and belonging.

A third aspect of a pedagogy of belonging is a focus on the idea of Home. Here, home needs to be seen as a complex category of affective domain investments, as much as a physical locale. It needs to be explored as having long historical tendrils that variously crisscross and entangle those of others, sometimes sharing a positive history, at others bespeaking a conflict ridden one. Home needs to assume a central place in a concern to remove the worst of insecurities surrounding the potential for contact with difference. It must be seen as being located in places which themselves admit of multiple, often contradictory uses and purposes. Home emits a vibe of both comfort and fear, and this emotional ambivalence presents as a trigger to a consideration of what Gayatri Spivak has termed 'moments of bafflement' (1990: 137), of working through the prime questions: Who belongs here? Whose home is this?

It is in the consideration of the place and reach of Home that Giroux's idea of borderlands emerges, and that the lessons from the practices of border crossing drawn from millennia of Indigenous Australian encounters with Difference might indicate a positive path for critical educative work to follow in undoing the discursively-generated panics attaching to the idea of the Migrant. Such

work, of course, requires the summoning up of another essential quality: that of (civic) courage. Border crossing – both in the ancient sense and that of Giroux – is a courageous act, but then, so is most work aiming at social transformation.

CONCLUSION

That the project of realising communities of harmony and justice is one that is always in process of becoming is readily apparent. This is not a utopian adventure, looking to work from a blueprint of an ideal community. Harmonious, non-exploitative and sustainable communities are by nature emergent communities and the role of education and teaching in this project is an obviously crucial one. But the obvious and the apparent do not necessarily carry with them a sense of the urgent or the imperative. This is the basis for hooks's point that '[w]ounds will not heal if left unattended' (1996: 213).

Realising the potential contribution that forms of educative practice derived from a desire for social betterment might make to the emergence of sustainable communities of care constitutes a crucial step in the process of generating a healing environment. That task is not one that fits happily with currently dominant discourses of education that valorise the technician and the utilitarian. Consequently, educators who see a social transformational role for and purpose in their work will require the resilience that genuine civic courage (Giroux 1988: 142) releases.

An appropriate pedagogical response to the issue of Migrant security is an essential step in the development of some forms of solidity and semi-permanence in Bauman's liquid times. Sustainable, democratic social relationships and the communities of care that might grow out of these require educators to consider their work carefully in the light of the imperative of such a task, lest we find ourselves, Groundhog Day-like, revisiting time and again the question of who belongs.

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Murder, Community Talk and Belonging: An exploration of Sudanese community responses to murder

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Abstract

On 26th October 2009, Alex Ngong Akok Akol, a young man originally from Sudan, was murdered by a group of Australian youths. This paper will explore the narrative responses of members of the Mading Aweil community of Dinka from southern Sudan subsequent to Alex's murder. Through analysing conversations and experiences in the community in the days following Alex's death, I will explore how his murder impacted on senses of belonging for members of the Sudanese community living in Adelaide. I will argue that for members of the Sudanese community, Alex's murder and subsequent reports by the media, emphasised and exacerbated the lack of belonging many of them already felt in Australia as a visibly different minority group.

Keywords

African, Australia, belonging, community, nation, Sudanese

INTRODUCTION

On October 26th 2009 Alex Ngong Akok Akol¹, a young man originally from Sudan, was murdered by a group of Australian youths. This paper considers how Ngong's murder influenced negotiations, desires and exclusions from belonging for members of the Mading Aweil community of Dinka from South Sudan living in South Australia at that time. Through considering academic contexts, media discourse and experiences of community members in the weeks following the murder, I call into question the 'tenacious and fragile desire' (Probyn 1996: 6) to belong.

In the current era of increased global flows of people, money and materials, global uncertainty about economic stability and wars on terror, desires to belong become ever more tenacious, fragile and complicated. As Probyn (1996: 9) suggests 'in a climate marked by a wide-spread politics of polarisation, it is of the utmost urgency that we take into account this

desire to belong, a desire that cannot be categorised as good or bad, left or right – in short, a desire without a fixed political ground but with immense political possibilities'. By considering belonging as not only about membership and identification with certain groups or communities, but also as 'about the social places constructed by such identifications and memberships, and the ways in which social place has resonances with stability of the self, or with feelings of being part of a larger whole and with the emotional and social bonds that are related to such places' (Anthias 2006: 21), this paper considers the experiences of members of the Mading Aweil community as a means of understanding the multiple negotiations of belonging that take place 'and the ways in which individuals, groups, and nations render and live out their specificity as singular: as that which is now, in this way, with this affect' (Probyn 1996: 152-3). A desire to belong, however, is ultimately underscored by a desire to belong to something; a group, a body or a collection of people, a community.

Community 'can satisfy people's needs (or desires) to belong' (Mason 2000: 4). If community is considered as a collective to which members feel an interconnectedness (Kelly 2003), then experiences of belonging are inextricably intertwined with notions of community. However, as Dwyer (1999) suggests, drawing on Anderson's (1983) notion of imagined communities, 'there are no natural or self-evident communities...[i]nstead communities must be understood as always constructed or imagined, produced within particular discursive and historical moments' (Dwyer 1999: 64). While I have labelled communities such as the Mading Aweil community, the Sudanese community and the Australian community, I do so with some trepidation acknowledging that these communities are constructed at a particular moment. Still further I acknowledge that negotiations of belonging within these communities reflect these moments. In addition, I adopt a notion of community that 'acknowledges the diversity of people and their participation in both discursive and extradiscursive relations with the community'

¹ I knew Alex by his Dinka name, Ngong, and will call him by that name in this paper.

(Panelli & Welch 2005: 1592). This paper, however, is not specifically about community, but rather a consideration of the desire of a group of people to belong to certain communities, most particularly the 'imagined' national community. I will consider the nation as a form of 'imagined community' (Anderson 1983; Hall 1993: 355), a macro level of community that centres around the notion of a shared 'imaginary' national identification. Through contemplating negotiations, desires and exclusions from belonging for members of the Mading Aweil community in relation to the Australian nation I will propose that members of the Sudanese community at the time of Ngong's death were positioned 'outside belonging' (Probyn 1996) to the nation.

BACKDROP

Since the mid 1990s, 27,645 people who identify their birth place as Sudan have migrated to Australia (Department of Immigration and Citizenship 2010), with a majority having been resettled under Australia's humanitarian entrant program. The peak years of resettlement of Sudanese born migrants was in the period from 2003 to 2006. These figures do not include the large number of children born to those of Sudanese origin while living in countries of exile such as Kenya, Ethiopia, Egypt and Uganda.

As with many migrant and refugee groups, those originally from Sudan come to Australia with hopes and dreams for a future of safety, security and opportunities for education, employment, housing and stability (Baak 2007; Browne 2006; Huýnh 2004; McMichael 2002; Oikonomidoy 2007). What many did not know prior to their resettlement in Australia was the complicated backdrop of colonial, migration and 'race' history of which they have become a part. As the first-ever large intake of migrants or refugees from Africa to Australia, those from Sudanese backgrounds were rapidly constructed as a visibly different minority group. A brief understanding of Australia's migration history and recent events are necessary to understand the backdrop on which Ngong's murder and subsequent community talk took place.

Australia has been described as 'the product of violent colonisation' with a history of invasion, conquest and dispossession, which is continually expunged in favour of an 'image of harmony, equality, justice and a "fair go for all"' (Matthews & Aberdeen 2008: 89). The colonising process positioned indigenous people as 'object, inferior, other' (Moreton-Robinson 2003: 31) and constructed an image of the Australian nation and its subjects as white Anglo-Celtic.

Migration to Australia has largely been shaped by the *Immigration Restriction Act 1901*, more commonly referred to as the 'White Australia' policy, a migration policy aimed at keeping migrants with skin colours other than white out of Australia (Mares 2002). While the final vestiges of the 'White Australia' policy were removed from government policy in 1973 (Department of Immigration and Citizenship 2009), its legacy has continued through forms of social exclusion and othering. The historical exclusion of Indigenous Australians, recent migrants and people of colour from belonging to the white Anglo-Celtic 'norm' continues through exclusionary practices and the construction of a particular 'Australian identity' today (Ahluwalia 2001; Hage 2000).

Historically, refugees who arrive in Australia have been socially constructed as different, deviant and a danger to 'the Australian nation and national identity' (McMaster 2001: 34). In recent years there has been a rise in what Ang (2000: 5) refers to as 'reactionary identity politics', a fear of threat to the British-derived, white homogeneity that was thought to epitomise Australian identity. This 'reactionary identity politics' is no longer based on appeals to racial supremacy, but rather to 'cultural uniformity parading under the politics of nationalism and patriotism' (Giroux 1993: 5). 'Reactionary identity politics' were exemplified by people such as Pauline Hanson; a politician who incited fear of Aboriginal Australians and migrant groups suggesting that unless white, working-class Australians rallied against migration and what she termed 'the Aboriginal industry', 'we will lose our country forever, and become strangers in our own land' (cited in Ang 2000: 5). These politics have been further perpetuated and linked to the immigration of African refugees, including Sudanese, by people such as Associate Professor Andrew Fraser who commented to the Australian media in 2005 that 'an expanding black population is a sure-fire recipe for increases in crime, violence and a wide range of other social problems' (cited in Dick 2005).

In the two years prior to Ngong's murder, two murders occurred in Australia of young men who were identified by the media as Sudanese. The portrayals of those from Sudanese backgrounds on both of these occasions, situated Africans and most specifically Sudanese, as 'outside the parameters of what is culturally similar (or acceptable)' (Hanson-Easey & Augoustinos 2010: 313) to the Australian norm.

The first murder was that of Liep Gony in Melbourne, Victoria in 2007. The second was the 2008 murder of Daniel Thongjang Awak in Adelaide, South Australia. The media's

response to the murder of Liep Gony is comprehensively considered in Due's (2008) article *'Who are strangers?': 'Absorbing' Sudanese Refugees into a White Australia*. Soon after Liep's murder the former Minister for Immigration, Kevin Andrews, reduced the intake of immigrants from Africa being resettled under Australia's humanitarian entrant program stating that 'some groups don't seem to be settling and adjusting into the Australian way of life as quickly as we would hope' (cited in The Australian 2007). Due (2008) links Andrews' comments and decision to limit intakes of African refugees directly to Liep's murder and further suggests that subsequent media discourses centred on 'whiteness as a normative mode of belonging in Australia' (Due 2008).

Thongjang's murder occurred less than 12 months prior to Ngong's murder and affected the relatively small Sudanese community in South Australia deeply. Thongjang was killed by another young man from the same sub-community of Dinka from Sudan. As reported by one newspaper (see Lower 2008), Thongjang and his attacker were in fact friends only months before the attack. Initial media reports, however, erroneously suggested that the murder was gang related and demonstrated concern at the 'rising levels of violence within the Sudanese community' (Robertson, McGuire & McGregor 2008). Much of the media discourse surrounding Thongjang's murder further centred around the positioning of Sudanese in Australia as a deviant 'other' by suggesting the existence of 'race-based gangs' (see Australian Associated Press 2008a, 2008b; Lower & Akerman 2008).

Media, governmental and academic responses surrounding the deaths of Liep and Thongjang categorised those from Sudanese backgrounds in Australia under the labels of 'Sudanese' or 'Sudanese refugees' suggesting that as 'part of a homogenised moral collective, they share "race", educational deficits and pre-arrival deprivations in common' and this collective group performed 'frequent category-bound asocial and violent acts' (Hanson-Easey & Augoustinos 2010: 307). These essentialising claims which positioned 'the Sudanese' as a homogenous group based on shared culture and ethnicity, meant that all those who could be categorised as 'Sudanese', a categorisation which in everyday life and media discourse invariably took place on the basis of skin colour, were positioned through forms of new/cultural racism as 'other' to the white Anglo-Celtic Australian norm.

These two prior murders and the media discourses surrounding the murders, as well as the complicated background of colonisation, 'race' relations and 'reactionary identity

politics' that shape Australia's history influence the backdrop against which Ngong's murder, community talk surrounding his murder and negotiations of belonging discussed in this paper take place.

THE EVENT

At about 4.30pm on Monday October 26th 2009 outside a sports club in the Western suburbs of Adelaide, Alex Ngong Akol Akol was fatally stabbed. Six young men ranging in age from 15 to 22 were subsequently arrested and await sentencing (Fewster 2010). In the two weeks following Ngong's murder, frequent reports appeared in local newspapers including *The Advertiser* (see Dowdell & Robertson 2009; Fewster & Dowdell 2009; Fewster, Dowdell & Robertson 2009; Robertson 2009), on nightly television news programs, and in online news sources such as AdelaideNow (see Fewster, Dowdell & Robertson 2009; McGregor 2009). The fear that Ngong's murder incited in Mading Aweil community members, as will be detailed later, resulted in an intense concern over how the community was being perceived by the general Australian public. To try to gain an understanding of how they were being perceived, every community member watched the reports that filled the nightly news on every television channel and those who were literate in English would read the newspapers and report on what they contained to other members of the community. In this way, community talk frequently centred on media discourses as an entree into considering how they were being positioned as individuals and as a community.

As is typical in the Sudanese community, in the days after Ngong's death, community members gathered at the home of one of Ngong's relatives in the Western suburbs of Adelaide. Up to twenty women could be found on the nights following sleeping on blankets and mattresses spread across the floor of the large rumpus room at the rear of the home. The largest of the gatherings took place at this home on the Saturday following Ngong's murder. This was the first non-school and work day following the murder, so a special gathering took place. This gathering was referred to by the Arabic word *karama* which literally means 'dignity' but describes the gathering which takes place following a person's death to reflect on and remember their life. The women gathered the night before and early on the day of the *karama* to prepare food, and by mid-afternoon over one hundred community members, predominantly from the Mading Aweil community, had gathered for prayers and reflections on Ngong's life. Also at this time, one of the

youths who was present at the incident that resulted in Ngong's death recounted the events that surrounded Ngong's murder. Community gatherings for refugee and migrant communities are common sites for information exchange and conversation on what has been going on in the community (Guerin, Hussein Elmi & Guerin 2006; Ong 2003). It is at this *karama* where much of the community talk presented in this paper took place.

As a member of the community by marriage, I attended these community gatherings and the *karama*, helping with food preparations and sharing in the grief of other community members at the tragic death of the Ngong we had known. I knew Ngong personally since 2004 when I used to help him with his school homework, gave him driving lessons, had Kiswahili lessons from him and on one occasion drove to Melbourne with him. For six months we saw each other several times a week, but our lives gradually grew apart and I had not seen Ngong for two years prior to his death.

BELONGING AND THE 'IMAGINED' NATIONAL COMMUNITY

In the days that followed Ngong's murder, members of the Mading Aweil community frequently asked the author 'If the Government knew that people didn't want us here, why did they bring us?' Drawing not only on their understanding of the apparently 'racially motivated' murder of Ngong, but also on the media discourse that surrounded Ngong's death, they expressed a sense of exclusion that threatened their sense of belonging in Australia. This section will consider the complexities of belonging to the nation for members of the Mading Aweil community in South Australia by considering the nation as 'a symbolic formation [...] which produced an "idea" of the nation as an "imagined community", with whose meanings we could identify and which, through this imaginary identification, constituted its citizens as "subjects"' (Hall 1993: 355).

I will consider two ways in which Sudanese were positioned as outside national belonging. Firstly, I will argue that by activating 'cultural belonging' as a frame of recognition (Butler 2009), 'Sudanese' were rendered outside belonging to the nation. I will consider how through processes of cultural racism, Ngong was constructed as a 'Sudanese man' and his murder as a 'racially motivated attack'. Secondly, I will consider the ways by which Ngong was constructed as a criminal and the 'Sudanese' as animals, which rendered his life 'ungrievable', as a life that wasn't quite a life

(Butler 2009). Consequently, people from Sudanese backgrounds in Australia were positioned as 'subjects' who were 'not quite recognizable as subjects' (Butler 2009: 4) thereby further rendering them outside belonging to the 'imagined' national community.

As outlined in the background, belonging in Australia is a complex and contested issue. Against a backdrop of colonialism which has historically excluded Indigenous Australians, the Australian national identity was, until relatively recently, considered exclusively of white-Anglo heritage. Belonging to the Australian nation was, and continues to be racialised (Mares 2002; Moreton-Robinson 2003). As Moreton-Robinson suggests '[w]ho belongs, and the degree of that belonging, is inextricably tied to white possession. The right to be here and the sense of belonging it creates are reinforced institutionally and socially' (Moreton-Robinson 2003: 37). What does this mean then for Sudanese, who by nature of their black skin colour are constructed as a 'black', highly visible minority in an overwhelmingly white Australia, where blackness is equated with being outside national modes of belonging?

A 'RACIALLY MOTIVATED ATTACK' ON A 'SUDANESE MAN'

While race as a biological construct has been disproven, rendering differentiations on the basis of 'race' more difficult, many have argued that there have been new forms of 'racism' in the form of 'culturalization of race' and 'ethnicization of race thinking' (Jackson Jr. 2005: 393) (see also Anthias 1992; Balibar 2007; Giroux 1993; Hall 1993; Modood 2005). The dominant theme of these new forms of racism, or what Balibar terms neo-racism 'is not biological heredity but the insurmountability of cultural differences, a racism which, at first sight, does not postulate the superiority of certain groups or peoples in relation to others but "only" the harmfulness of abolishing frontiers, the incompatibility of life-styles and traditions' (Balibar 2007: 84). In the current era of increased global flows of people, money and materials, fears of economic instability and wars on terror, these forms of neo-racism tend to focus on the threat of immigrants to national stability and security (Balibar 2007).

Newspaper reports in the days following Ngong's death repeatedly referred to him as a 'Sudanese man' (for example 'Murdered Sudanese man Akol "Alex" Akok' (Dowdell & Robertson 2009), 'Sudanese man Akol "Alex" Akok was murdered' (Fewster &

Dowdell 2009), ‘a 24-year-old Sudanese man’ (Robertson 2009)). For a young man who spent his childhood years living in Sudan, his adolescent years living in Kenya where he developed strong connections and identifications, and the past six years living in Australia where he was accepted as a special humanitarian entrant and considered himself an Australian, being categorised as a ‘Sudanese man’ does not reflect the complexities of his lived experience. Categorising Ngong as a ‘Sudanese man’ imbued what Hall (1993: 357) has referred to as ‘cultural racism’, a form of racism, which brings together and condenses ‘into a single discourse questions of race and ethnicity with questions of nation, national and cultural belonging: “Cultural belongingness” [...] has replaced genetic purity and functions as the coded language for race and colour’.

Through considering ‘cultural belongingness’ as a frame of recognition through which ‘[f]orms of racism instituted and active at the level of perception tend to produce iconic versions of populations’ (Butler 2009: 24), identification of Ngong as a ‘Sudanese man’ immediately positioned him in terms of ‘race’, ethnicity, colour and gender. The frame of recognition for understanding ‘Sudanese’ had already positioned them as black, as ‘other’, as foreign, as failing to integrate, increasingly violent, members of gangs, from backgrounds of war, trauma and violence and having low levels of education (see Ackerman 2007; Colic-Peisker & Tilbury 2008; Due 2008; Hanson-Easey & Augoustinos 2010; Lehman 2006; Levett 2007; Lower 2008; Lower & Akerman 2008; Windle 2008).

Without explicitly detailing Ngong’s blackness, identifying him as ‘Sudanese’ positioned him as a black man, and in a nation where ‘white skin colour is certainly a valuable capital in claiming one’s belonging to the nation as a governmental White Australian’ (Hage 2000: 57), Ngong and, by virtue of the frame of recognition, other ‘Sudanese’ were positioned on the edge of national belonging. For members of the Mading Aweil community, negotiating belongings in Australia when ‘our belongings are conditioned by our bodies and where they are placed on the globe’ (Rowe 2005: 36), being black in a normatively white nation automatically positioned them outside belonging.

While Ngong was constructed as ‘black’ by virtue of his being ‘Sudanese’, he was further racialised by the reporting of his murder by both the media and in community talk as a ‘racially motivated attack’. Descriptions from the two main articles published in South Australia’s main newspaper, *The Advertiser*,

on the two days following Ngong’s murder quoted witnesses at the attack who suggested that it was ‘racially’ motivated. An article published the day after Ngong’s murder states that a witness ‘described one of the men as brown skinned and said the rest were white’ (Robertson 2009: 15). The second article states that ‘[f]riend Nuar John Ruy said he believed the attack was racially motivated [...] “They were all whites and they came for me first,” he said’ (Dowdell & Robertson 2009: 13). In addition, the recounting at Ngong’s *karama* of the incident surrounding his murder by a young man present at the attack, also constructed a description of a random ‘racially’ based attack.

For members of the Mading Aweil community, these descriptions incited intense fear. Many of the women present at the *karama* described a fear of leaving their homes and repeatedly stated that they had left Africa to get away from danger, if they were going to be killed by people in Australia then they might as well have stayed in Africa. They had been cautioned by South Australian Police representatives not to leave their homes unless completely necessary, and to make sure they travelled directly to and from their destinations. Community members feared that if Ngong’s murder was a random racially motivated attack, more would follow. As one woman described to me in an interview in the month following the *karama*:

Nyalong²: So it’s coming now. It’s not good, you know. Not like before. Not like before.

Mel: I wonder why?

Nyalong: Yeah. Coming now. Aggressive. I don’t know.

Mel: Until people feel scared. Like when I was talking to the ladies at the *karama*, they are really scared.

Nyalong: Yeah it’s true. Now I not safe like before. Free, no.

Mel: They don’t want their children to go to the park or ...

Nyalong: it’s true. Yeah because now, maybe someone can go and hit the child and run.

Mel: No it’s not good for people though. You think you got away from...

Nyalong: there. That’s why, you know, when they talk, I said we are not...like they said Sudanese people are bad. I

² To protect the woman’s identity a pseudonym has been used.

said no, we are not bad, it's only for young people. Yeah.

Mel: And even young people, just only some young people. Not all. Like the same with khawaja [white people], you have some bad ones, you have some good ones.

Nyalong: So now they making something very big, you know. Very big. And they will lose their life you know. They will kill, that is the problem. That's why now we're scared...

(Nyalong 2009, pers. comm., 28 November)

This conversation reflected not only Nyalong's fear of future racially motivated attacks, but also her concern at the positioning of all 'Sudanese people' as bad, suggesting instead that it was just the 'young people' who were bad. I suggested that categorising *all* young people as bad was also not appropriate, that it was only *some* young people who were causing problems. Nyalong seemed concerned not only that some young people would be killed (*lose their lives*), but also that they may be involved in retaliatory attacks (*they will kill*). Nyalong's response reflected the feelings of many other members of the Mading Aweil community at the time who demonstrated concern not only over their own safety from attacks by other 'Australians', but also a grave fear over the possibility of retaliatory attacks by young people from the Sudanese community. They worried that further attacks, whether *of* or *by*, members of the Sudanese community would serve to further illustrate their perceived 'failure to integrate' and their position as deviant 'others'.

THE INDISTINGUISHABILITY OF AN UNGRIEVABLE LIFE

Drawing on Butler (2004, 2009) and Giroux (2006), I propose that media discourses surrounding Ngong's death rendered Ngong's life as ungrivable and indistinguishable through images of criminality and animality. Through the media's focus on Ngong's supposed criminality and ill-considered placement of an article on a page in *The Advertiser* newspaper, it appeared to members of the Mading Aweil community that they were considered undeserving of being considered human or of making lives in Australia.

Media reports such as *The Advertiser's* 'Murdered Man was Facing Court Charges'

(Dowdell & Robertson 2009) seemed to endeavour to justify Ngong's murder by emphasising Ngong's own misdemeanours. An article published two days after Ngong's murder opens with 'Murdered Sudanese man Akol "Alex" Akok was about to face trial in the District Court on serious trespass and assault charges' (Dowdell & Robertson 2009). By focussing on Ngong's supposed criminality, these newspaper articles seemed to suggest Ngong's life, in some respects, was 'already lost or forfeited' (Butler 2009: 31) or 'unworthy of being lived' (Giroux 2006: 180). Through this reduction of his life to a life of criminality, his life was rendered 'ungrievable', 'since, in the twisted logic that rationalizes their death, the loss of such populations is deemed necessary to protect the lives of "the living"' (Butler 2009: 31).



Figure 1. Page 11 from *The Advertiser*, Thursday October 29th 2009 (Reproduced with permission from Advertiser Newspapers Pty Limited).

While the situation is different Giroux' (2006) comments on media reports of looting, crime, rape and murder supposedly committed by a number of black residents of New Orleans following Hurricane Katrina, are no less relevant to the reports made following Ngong's murder. He states that:

[I]t must be noted that there is more at stake here than the resurgence of old-style racism; there is the recognition that some groups have the power to protect themselves from such stereotypes and others do not, and for those who do not – especially poor

blacks – racist myths have a way of producing precise, if not deadly, material consequences. Given the public's preoccupation with violence and safety, crime and terror merge in the all-too-familiar equation of black culture with the culture of criminality, and images of poor blacks are made indistinguishable from images of crime and violence (Giroux 2006: 176-7).

It is this indistinguishability of Ngong's life from that of his alleged criminality that rendered his life ungrievable.

This indistinguishability was further seen in the way in which members of the Mading Aweil community felt that they were equated with chimpanzees through the ill-considered placement of an article in *The Advertiser*, South Australia's main commercial newspaper (see Figure 1). Three days after Ngong's death, *The Advertiser* contained an article explaining how Ngong's murder was being considered as a targeted attack by a gang. This was immediately underscored by a very large photo, originally in colour, of chimpanzees at a chimpanzee refuge centre in Cameroon mourning the death of 'one of their own' (The Advertiser 2009: 11). In the days following the publishing of this page, a number of male members of the community carried a folded up copy of this page around with them in their pockets. They would unfold it and discuss it with every other community member they met. The community talk that took place in the Mading Aweil community surrounding this photo reflected a deep sense of sadness, indignity, despair and injustice. They perceived that this photo rendered them akin to chimpanzees, by seemingly likening their own grief at the death of 'one of their own' to that of the chimpanzees.

Forms of racism that take place through renderings of certain populations as akin to animals are not new (Holland 2005). In 1936, Wyndham (1936: 131) suggested that the Dinka were of a 'purely animal consciousness' and could prove to be 'perfect domestic pets'. What is new, however, is the slightly more subtle ways in which these renderings take place. While the editors of *The Advertiser* could argue that the placing of these two articles was unconnected and there were no ill-intentions, for members of the Mading Aweil community, their placement had a profound effect. Through this apparent construction of members of the Sudanese community as indistinguishable from chimpanzees in their grief, Ngong's life, and the lives of other members of the Sudanese community, were reduced to lives that were not quite recognisable as lives, as lives that were closer to animals than humans.

As Baker suggests 'there can be no genuine sense of community between degrader and degraded or exploiter and exploited – these relationships mock the very idea of community' (Baker 1987: 35). By rendering Ngong's life and the lives of other people from Sudanese backgrounds as ungrievable and indistinguishable from images of criminality and animality, the media ensured the degradation and the exploitation of members of the Sudanese community. The genuine sense of community, the sense of belonging that Sudanese may have felt in the 'imagined' Australian community was killed. The community talk surrounding media representations of Ngong's murder identified a desire to belong, but an ultimate recognition that current media discourse positioned people from Sudanese backgrounds outside of belonging in Australia. The media reports surrounding Ngong's death sent a clear message to people from Sudanese backgrounds in Australia; the Australian 'society neither wants, cares about, or needs you' (Giroux 2006: 188).

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Migration, Religion and Responses by Universities

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Abstract

The process of globalisation, immigration on a large scale, work in other countries and growing international education (study in other countries or students and academic exchange programs) have contributed to direct contact between various cultures, including different religions. Immigrants and international students brought to their new countries religious diversity with introduction of religions and faiths unknown to the local communities. There is a new interest in religion amongst world leaders, politicians, journalists, academics and various professional groups.

The significance of religion in the twenty-first century was anticipated by some well-known figures (Andre Malraux, John Paul II). However, the fact that this eventuated so visibly and so early receives attention in the media, academic writings and the broader community. The state–church relations are continuously reconsidered in many countries and the new practices observed, commented on and widely debated. Religion has a growing role in public and political life.

These developments also have an impact on universities. Even public universities in countries where the rule of separation of state and church is maintained, have been unable to ignore the religious and spiritual needs of students, staff, visitors and the broader community.

This paper notes new developments in relation to religion from a global perspective. The new attitudes towards religion within universities are also analysed. Although the new current policies and practices in relation to religion are very different not only in particular countries but also between particular universities within the countries, a discussion on a more unified approach can be encouraged. Possible future options for dealing with religious and spiritual issues in practice are also partly considered in this paper.

Keywords

Migration, multiculturalism, religion, religious diversity, university

INTRODUCTION

Migration is a factor which has contributed to the changed composition of contemporary

universities in many countries. In Australia, for example, migrants are amongst staff members (both academic and professional) and students. Some of them became migrants because they won their positions based on open international competition; some decided to undertake studies in order to gain local qualifications and some are simply university students. Their presence has changed the racial, ethnic and national composition of universities.

Migration has also contributed to cultural, linguistic and religious diversity on campus. Although international students in Australian universities cannot be classified as immigrants, they are *de facto* temporary migrants, significantly contributing to the diversity of the student population.

The paper notes the growing interest in religion both from global perspectives as well as within universities. This makes the claim of secularisation (understood as a declining interest in religion and religious practices) seriously questionable. This makes the claim of secularisation seriously questionable.

There is also a practical focus on universities' possible response to the growing interest in religion and the religious and spiritual needs of students and staff.

THE NEW CHARACTER OF UNIVERSITIES

In the last three decades, universities became very international and multicultural in terms of their composition, both in relation to students and staff. This is particularly visible in relation to universities in the United States, Australia, Canada, Great Britain and many European countries. From a multicultural perspective it is appropriate to note that the internationalisation of higher education by making university places available for fees to students from other countries, the international exchange programs for staff and students, employment of staff based on international competition, and more generally, globalisation

has made universities very exciting places. The presence on campus of staff and students from other countries creates the opportunity for direct contact with various cultures, languages, styles of teaching, research methods, learning expectations and so on. Students and staff members from other countries also represent different religions, thus contributing to religious diversity within a university.

The aspect of cultural diversity cannot be ignored any more in the university setting. The majority of students from religious minorities are frequently coming from other countries to a university in an often-unfamiliar country, far from their families, communities, religious groups and places of worship. Visiting academics experience similar problems as do participants coming to a university for a conference or other short-term activity. This is a particularly difficult time for people of any minority and in particular for people from religious minorities for whom religious observance and practice is important.

SPECIAL INTEREST IN RELIGION AMONGST POLITICAL LEADERS—SOME EXAMPLES

Interest in religion and speeches with reference to religion by the current and previous presidents of the United States are well known. For example as Hunter (2010) notes:

It is well known that President Jimmy Carter's approach to the Middle East conflict and issues of human rights was to a great extent determined by his deep Christian faith.

Less known are the current religious interests of other world leaders.

Time magazine (June 9, 2008) contained a significant article about Tony Blair. Although Tony Blair was no longer the British Prime Minister, the focus of the article 'Tony Blair's leap of faith' was on his religious views. Michael Elliott conducted an interview with Blair (after he formally unveiled The Tony Blair Faith Foundation in New York in May 2008) and commented:

Faith is part of our future', Blair says, 'and faith and the values it brings with it are an essential part of making globalisation work'. For Blair, the goal is to rescue faith from the twin challenges of irrelevance – the idea that religion is no more than an interesting aspect of history – and extremism. Blair

and those working with him think religion is key to the global agenda (Time, June 9, 2008).

Even more vocal about religion has been the French President Nicolas Sarkozy. Firstly, as the well-known politician and interior minister he wrote a book titled 'The Republic, the Religions, and Hope' with a strong focus on religion. The book was influential and generated interest amongst intellectuals and religious officials, not only in France, but also in Italy where it was later published. Later, as the President of France he made a number of public comments about religion. For example, as *Newsweek* (2008) reported:

He told diplomats in Paris last month that the two most important challenges facing society in the 21st century are climate change and "the conditions of the return of the religious in most of our societies". Last month, he declared to his UMP Party and visiting German Chancellor Angela Merkel that it was "a mistake" to withdraw the reference to "Europe's Christian roots" from the European Constitution.

In December 2007 during his visit to Rome, President Sarkozy made a statement, which was considered by the majority of French people to be very controversial at least. Rather than commenting, it is probably more appropriate to quote (Beer de 2008):

France's roots are essentially Christian... A man who believes (in God) is a man filled with hope. And it is in the Republic's interest that there should be many believers. Gradual emptying of rural parishes, spiritual desertification of suburbs, vanishing of (religious sponsored) youth clubs or shortage of priests have not made the French happier. The school teacher will never replace the priest or the minister when it comes to passing down values or learning the differences between Good and Evil.

It is clear that both Tony Blair and Nicolas Sarkozy have demonstrated a special interest in religion and have articulated this interest in the public domain.

RELIGION IN CONTEMPORARY AUSTRALIAN DEBATE

Brennan (2007) argues that Australians should keep religion in place. Discussing politics and religion, he believes that 'each has its place and each must be kept in place for the good of

us all, and for the good of our Commonwealth' (Brennan 2007:231).

There were significant religious issues in Australian politics during pre-election 2007 public debates. Before Kevin Rudd (2006) became the Prime Minister of Australia, he had written an influential article, full of surprises for some, concentrating on politics and religion as well as more generally about Christianity, encouraging a national, public debate. He wrote that:

In both George Bush's America and John Howard's Australia, we see today the political orchestration of various forms of organised Christianity in support of the conservative incumbency. ... US Catholic, Evangelical and Pentecostal Christians are now engaged in a national discussion on the role of the religious Right. The same debate must now occur here in Australia (Rudd 2006).

Although this statement can be seen by some observers as populist politics, careful and critical analysis of Rudd's articulated supplemented by his demonstrated public behaviour (for example regular church attendance and media interviews close to the church building) tend to support the conclusion that he is genuine about the important role of religion in public life.

RELIGION ON UNIVERSITY CAMPUSES: AMERICAN AND AUSTRALIAN EXAMPLES

Religion has become very popular on campuses of American universities. According to Peter Gomes, who has been with Harvard University for 37 years and remembers the time when students who have been seen as religious were considered as not bright – 'there is probably more active religious life now than there has been in 100 years' (Finder 2007).

Finder (2007) notes that:

More students are enrolling in religion courses, even majoring in religion; more are living in dormitories or houses where matters of faith and spirituality are a part of daily conversation; and discussion groups are being created for students to grapple with such questions as what happens after death...

A survey of the spiritual lives of college students, the first of its kind, showed in 2004 that more than two-thirds of 112,000 freshmen surveyed

said they prayed and that almost 80 percent believed in God.

Nearly half of the freshmen said they were seeking opportunities to grow spiritually, according to the survey by the Higher Education Research Institute at the University of California in Los Angeles.

At the University of Wisconsin, an interdisciplinary program in religious studies was created seven years ago and developed into between 70 to 75 majors each year. The University's officials make links between the attacks of September 11th, 2001 and interest in religion.

In US universities there is not only interest in the study of religion but also in academic research. Although in public universities research investigation involving religious issues was seen as inappropriate, this has changed. A practical shift since the early 1990s has taken place with religion as a research topic. Sometimes research investigations deal with religion and economics, political sciences or history in various university departments, whereas previously religious topics were accepted only in a department dealing with religion. There is a realisation that religious elements help to understand the mechanisms in economics, politics or society.

Clayton (2002) noted some specific examples of American universities and research projects related to religion:

A Santa Clara University economist is using economic tools to study religious extremism. An Emory University interdisciplinary institute is conducting a research project on marriage, sex, and family issues as they relate to Christianity, Judaism, and Islam. And such research is trickling into the classroom, observers say, through courses with words like "God" or "religion" in their titles, many of them offered outside the religion department.

Some interesting points in practice about religion in general as well as on campus were made by Stanley Fish (2005) in his article 'One University under God'. He made an interesting distinction between religion as an object of study and taking religion seriously. By taking religion seriously, he understood that religion 'would be to regard it not as a phenomenon to be analysed at arm's length, but as a candidate for the truth. In liberal theory, however, the category of truth has been reserved for hypotheses that take their chances in the "marketplace of ideas".'

FUTURE OPTIONS FOR DEALING WITH RELIGION

Fish (2005), having a long association with the College of Liberal Arts and Sciences at the University of Illinois in Chicago showed the practical aspect of religious interest on campus, noting that on his campus there were 27 religious organisations for students. He made suggestions that:

Announce a course with “religion” in the title, and you will have an overflow population. Announce a lecture or panel on “religion in our time” and you will have to hire a larger hall (Fish 2005).

A group of 25 scholars from different American universities, representing various disciplines wrote *The Wingspread Declaration on Religion and Public Life*. The purpose of the declaration was to rethink the role of religion and colleges and universities in their curriculum and to provide students with, what they called ‘religious literacy’ within not only religious studies but also their total education. The declaration states ‘students must learn the relevance of religion to all disciplines – sciences, humanities, arts, social sciences – and the professions’ (Calhoun 2007).

With an increasing number of international students from Islamic countries, there was recognition in Australia that they should be provided with space for prayers and with halal food.

There were also instances of offering some discrete courses of religion. However, religion in a general sense was not treated seriously in Australian universities. Currently, there are voices in Australia that religion is back in the public space and universities should abandon the commitment to secularisation by incorporating an understanding of religions into teaching programs (Bouma 2007). Limited presence of religion within Australian universities has been the result of secularist tendencies. There is an understanding for secularist positions or presence, however, as Bouma pointed out: ‘Secularists have a right to have a voice in universities but not a voice to denigrate or relegate religions to a non-space’ (Bouma quoted by Horin, 2007). The majority of Australian public universities provide chaplaincy services with a tendency towards a more multi-faith approach to religious services. Religious studies courses are available at some universities. Some universities are making provisions for religious observation time for staff and students, including arrangement for examinations and attendance of classes.

Religion is an important part of culture as it has been argued elsewhere (Batorowicz 2007) and is an important part of life for many people. Religion cannot be ignored by any university, public or private, regardless of whether religious bodies establish them or not. The fact is that there are religious and spiritual needs on campus.

As the composition of the population on campus is constantly changing and there are students and staff coming from different religious backgrounds, the services should try to respond to these changes. The traditional model of chaplaincy (where established and focusing on Christian students and staff) does not address the needs of other religious groups on campus. If special facilities responding to religious and spiritual needs of others such as small mosque or an Islamic centre or a Buddhist centre are added, they may create religious separation and possible conflicts between particular groups. Although a respect to all religious traditions should be given and realisation of different religious requirements, an approach towards multi-faith facilities may be further explored and experimented in practice. Such an approach is currently popular in many universities. However, it requires extensive consultations with particular religious and spiritual communities, their leaders and development on campus inter-religious dialogue and creating culture of mutual understanding between particular groups.

IMPLICATIONS OF THE INTEREST IN RELIGION AND PRACTICAL ISSUES OF RELIGIOUS DIVERSITY IN UNIVERSITIES – A PRACTITIONER’S PERSPECTIVE

There are a number of implications for the increased interest in religion for universities. The first is that religion must be taken seriously by universities. Secondly, in the globalised world and increasingly multicultural and international character of our universities the response should be global. Thirdly, we need to recognise that universities become multi-religious as their students, staff and other clients represent many religions. The challenges are serious and difficult at a practical level.

In consideration of a practitioner’s perspective, some examples addressing a number of practical issues of religious

diversity in universities are identified and discussed. The rationale for presenting these examples is to suggest that universities adopt a more unified approach to the growth of religious and spiritual diversity within their institutions. This of course acknowledges that varying countries differ in relation to policies and practices on religion. Taking this into account a basic model of a multifaith approach is presented for consideration.

Higher learning institutions must begin by recognising that religion and spirituality may be part of student life on campus and making this aspect significant rather than a marginalised issue. Such recognition represents also a more inclusive culture for the student and staff body who identify with religious values.

Development of an official, clear policy on religion adopted by governing bodies in all universities, published and widely available to all is critical in meeting the religious diversity at university level. Having a policy unsanctioned by governing bodies such as the document 'Policy on Religion, Belief and Non-Belief for Students' signed by a staff member of the Equal Opportunity Office at the University of York in the United Kingdom, although well intentioned, falls short of having the impact a policy sanctioned by a university governing body would have campus wide. An analogy which might suit this situation is having a structure without a foundation. Crucial to this point is making an appropriate appointment of a qualified officer, experienced in managing and communicating with sensitivity across the diversity of religions, responsible for the implementation of such a policy.

Creating guidelines for the purpose of being the principle motive for carrying out actions in line with the policy represents sound thinking in support of a policy on religion. Contents of such guidelines should include amongst other things the development of an advisory body to provide ongoing consultation on religious and spiritual needs. Reflecting on the religious and spiritual needs of students and staff, provision for this advisory body to nominate for appointment of chaplains representing the diversity of religions on campus is important. Chaplains will carry out the sensitive work associated with providing support services for those who make up the religious and spiritual diversity on university campuses. The appointment status of chaplains can take the form of voluntary or paid.

The establishment by universities of a central point dealing with religious affairs can be seen as an outcome of policy adoption and provides the university community a place to practice

the diversity of religious and spiritual traditions in a safe and inviting environment. Deliberations should not be made in haste as regards to creation of a facility, which will ultimately represent a place for worship and spiritual contemplation. It is prudent to consider the dynamics of competing needs associated with varying religious traditions that may be required to share space within one structure or the possibility of developing a structure that provides separate areas catering to specific religious requirements. This is of course contingent on availability of institutional funding.

The growth in cultural diversity on campuses around the world commands enhancement to the services provided such as sustenance for the health of soul, body and mind. This can take the form of halals' food being made available and the prospect of religious curriculum development at universities while being sympathetic to religious observances such as Ramadan by rescheduling examinations if they fall within this period. Furthermore, development of specific services responding to the needs of particular religious groups and traditions through consultation and their cooperation and involvement is an essential element.

Facilitation of religious dialogue on campuses through initiation of interreligious programs with the participation of various faith organisations presents the shared commonality of religious support for the institutions' community. Opportunities for religious services, practices and faith development to encourage utilisation of the central point which deals with religious affairs, such as provision of religious and spiritual services weekly, is important and should be promoted widely. Involvement of religious leaders in university life through participation in developing programs and services should be also considered. Supporting religious groups organised by students and provision of information on religious events promote inclusiveness and brings about awareness of the diversity of religions on campuses.

Achieving success in managing the diversity of religions and nationalities on campuses around the world can be problematic but through strategic planning obstacles can be overcome. The University of Southern Queensland for example applies these practical suggestions in its daily operations of the Multifaith Centre. This represents a clear understanding of a number of relevant issues associated with the practicality of the growth in religious diversity at universities. These include but are not limited to acknowledging the importance of supporting the university community's spiritual well being; the

awareness that it is not about tolerating religious diversity as it is of accepting differences; promotion of social inclusiveness which ultimately leads to reduction of isolationism; encouragement of interreligious dialogue that can have a profound positive effect on community members interacting with each other and creation of an outreach endeavour providing positive reinforcement to the local and broader communities of the religious diversity on campus.

Developments in this area are ongoing and a key result of sharing examples of good practice between universities. Communications amongst universities on good practices and relevant outcomes is essential to guide further development of services that will cater to the increasing religious diversity at universities.

CONCLUSIONS

Migration is a factor which contributes to the development of particular countries taking immigrants and has an impact on contemporary universities in terms of culturally diverse students and staff population.

There is a new, growing general interest in religion, including in politics, media, professions and academia. Migration has an influence on the religious composition of societies and this is reflected in universities. Traditionally, internationalisation and multiculturalism play a special role within universities. Multiculturalism within universities is more visible, especially in relation to international students. The religious and spiritual needs of students, staff and other university clients should be addressed by universities. There are number of practical difficulties with supporting religious needs on campus. They should be realised, acknowledged, debated, researched and consulted. Cooperation between universities and promotion of the best practices between universities will benefit all.

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The Condition of 'Permanent Temporariness' for Salvadorans in the US and Koreans in Japan: A Study of Legal and Cultural Citizenship

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Abstract

Immigrants occupy an ambiguous position in contemporary nation states. As states define the criteria necessary for citizenship, immigrant groups are sorted into legal and illegal categories. In cases where 'temporary' migrant communities lived and worked in the host country over generations, questions arise over the disparity between cultural and legal citizenship. What does it mean to be a permanent foreigner? This project analyses the experiences of Korean immigrants to Japan since the 1950s, who are designated by the Japanese government as 'special permanent residents'. These experiences are compared to those of Salvadoran immigrants in the United States since the 1980s who have been granted 'temporary protected status'. The focus is on the shift that occurs as immigrants transition from temporary to permanent settlement even while their legal status continues to define them as 'foreign'. These issues give insight into the process of identity formation, social and political inclusion, and the legal framework that regulates their existence.

Keywords

Citizenship, Koreans in Japan, Legal Exclusion, Permanent Temporariness, Salvadoran Immigration, Temporary Protected Status, US Immigration Policy

INTRODUCTION

The modern concept of citizenship, defined as membership to the state of which you are a national, is fragile (Invernizzi 2008: xii). Within this lies the assumption of a fixed national identity, indivisible sovereignty, and ethnic homogeneity that is described by Sen (2008: 6) as being neither 'possible nor desirable'. Nation states will 'wall themselves,' to use Waldinger's (2007) phrase, from outside immigrants who pose a challenge to the membership of the national collectivity. Yet, just as the boundaries of the state are defined, so are the boundaries of the nation (Waldinger 2007: 137). Coutin describes this process as the 'sorting and removing' of those who do not belong, an attempt to remove pockets of foreignness within the state (2007:

203). However, many 'foreign' groups already reside within the territorial boundaries of the state, creating a 'gap between the people *in* the state and the people *of* the state' (Waldinger 2007: 137).

In defining the criteria for membership, nationals of a state must find ways to allow some people in. The system of *jus soli* defines citizenship as based on the soil you were born on, while *jus sanguinis* defines citizenship based on parentage (Miller 2007: 38). However, the inclusion of immigrants may not always necessarily be justified by *jus sanguinis* or *jus soli* alone, and it is the more nuanced cases where these concepts have failed to adequately account for the social reality faced by immigrants that this paper aims to understand.

A study of illegal and legal immigrants would be useful to understand the paths to citizenship available to immigrants and the implications their presence has on national identity. However, such a division between illegal and legal is not clearly demarcated, and in many instances immigrants are subject to a third, more ambiguous legal situation that contains both elements of illegality and legality. Of interest are the designations carried by Korean immigrants in Japan since the 1950s (referred to as *zainichi* in Japanese) and Salvadorian immigrants in the US since the 1980s who are in some form of temporary legality – the designation of 'special permanent residents' for Koreans and 'temporary protected status' for Salvadorans (Morris-Suzuki 2006: 307).

Such ambiguous legal positions, while attempting to designate Salvadorans and Koreans as 'foreign,' are not synchronous with the place attachment and identity formation that may occur as temporary settlement becomes permanent. What happens when an individual feels integrated into a society, yet is still accorded temporary, foreign status? What does it mean to be permanently temporary? More interesting is the liminal legal distinction both groups carry that both excludes and

includes members already *in* the state. As Menjivar aptly states:

it is precisely the uncertainty of [Salvadoran] immigrants' legality that presents an opportunity to better capture how political decisions embodied in immigration law constrain and enable human action. Examining this ambiguity as directly linked to state power in a time when the nation-state is believed by some to be in decline highlights the central role the state still plays in shaping and regulating immigrants' lives (2006: 1001).

This paper will first consider the political and historical context that came to shape the lives of *zainichi* Koreans in Japan. It will then examine the ways Koreans have sought inclusion into the Japanese state and the implications their status has on the monocultural ideal of Japanese society. Then, the legal history of Salvadorans in the US will be discussed, followed by a discussion of the different forms of cultural integration and exclusion that have marked their experience, followed by a discussion on the effect their presence has on the multicultural US ideal. The development of such modern, legally ambiguous situation is discussed with reference to the discrimination, constraints, and rights accorded to Salvadorans and Koreans by their respective governments. After reviewing the history that created the trajectories of Koreans and Salvadorans, I will discuss the points at which their legal and cultural experiences intersect. How does their 'temporary' status shape the extent to which they seek inclusion into the state?

THE LEGAL EXCLUSION OF KOREANS IN JAPAN

The presence of Koreans in Japan dates back to the annexation of the Korean peninsula in 1910 by the Japanese. By the time of Japan's surrender in 1945, there were nearly 2 million Koreans in mainland Japan who had voluntarily or forcibly migrated, with nearly 1.5 million eventually returning to Korea immediately after the war. The roughly 600,000 Koreans who remained behind in Japan and their descendants would later become *zainichi-kankokujin*, or 'Koreans residing in Japan' (Morris Suzuki 2006, p. 304).

In the post-war period, the Japanese government debated the extent to which Koreans should be included in the state, especially since the Japanese empire, 'once such a source of pride and national self-confidence, had become an embarrassing piece

of the past, to be forgotten as quickly as possible' (Morris-Suzuki 2006, p. 304). One of the most glaring reminders of Japan's colonial past were those Koreans who had remained (Ibid., p. 304-5). The Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers in 1946 suggested treating Koreans as Japanese nationals until the governments of Korea recognised their nationality. When in 1948 the Koreans separated into North and South, both of the new Korean governments recognised Koreans in Japan as their nationals. As such, the expectation in Japan was still one in which Koreans would return to their homeland (Kim 2008: 876).

By the time of the Korean War in 1950, the prospect of returning home diminished for Koreans in Japan who had previously seen their stay as temporary. The Japanese viewed *zainichi* as a subversive element within the state, as an 'enemy' within (Morris Suzuki 2006: 303). *Zainichi* would need to either be expelled or wholly assimilated into society under the new Cold War atmosphere of the early 1950s. With the signing of the 1952 San Francisco Peace Treaty and the Immigration Control Act, 'the Japanese government deprived Koreans in Japan of Japanese nationality without giving them an opportunity to choose their destinies' (Kim 2006: 57). In other words, they were now to be regarded as 'complete aliens' under Japanese law that granted temporary legal status until other laws decided their legality. The San Francisco Peace Treaty defined those deserving temporary legality as those who had resided continuously in Japan since 1945. (Ibid.: 58-60). With these laws we see the creation of a liminal legal situation in which the law inhibits nearly every aspect of the immigrant's life, making them subject to various forms of special approval by the government.

The loss of Japanese nationality for Koreans meant that the government could easily exclude *zainichi* by making Japanese citizenship a prerequisite for opportunity. Perhaps most significant was the 1952 Alien Registration Law. The law required Koreans to register as 'aliens'; renew their Alien Registration every three years and submit fingerprints; and carry their Alien Registration card with them at all times and present it to law enforcement if requested. Failure to follow any of the previous provisions could be punishable by a fine, imprisonment, or deportation. *Zainichi* would also be barred from receiving any social security or welfare benefits, and stripped of any civil service jobs. (Ibid.: 56-61). In essence, these regulations made *zainichi* subject to deportation while still legally allowing them to reside within the state.

A further complication in defining the legal status of *zainichi* was divisions within the group. On one side were Koreans sympathetic to the North Korean regime, organised as *chongryong*, and on the other were those who sided with the South Korean regime, known as *mindan*. A third group also emerged that sided with neither government and instead wished to define themselves as citizens of a future reunited Korea (Morris-Suzuki 2006: 304-5). The Japanese government would deal with these divisions by giving preference to those opting for South Korean identification. When Japan and South Korea normalised relations in 1965, the Korea-Japan Normalization Treaty allowed *zainichi* to apply for South Korean nationality and receive 'permanent resident status' in Japan (Kim 2006: 60). A requirement for permanent status, however, was a continued presence in Japan since 1945 and the adoption of South Korean nationality. Those who had travelled within that period or could not obtain South Korean nationality were excluded (Ibid.: 56-57). Although this signalled a change in the legal inclusion of *zainichi*, several issues remained. Many Koreans who identified with the North refused to apply for permanent status and thus remained 'stateless', unable to travel and stripped of civil rights. Only until the 1981 Immigration Control Act were *chongryong* allowed to apply for a special residence permit (Kim 2008: 877). In such cases, *zainichi* were still regarded as immigrants with loyalties elsewhere, as people who were temporary.

Change occurred during the 1980s and 1990s, as Japan sought to comply with the International Covenants on Human Rights that called for equality in social citizenship rights for citizens and non-citizens, and as a result several measures were passed to legally include *zainichi* into Japanese society. For example, Koreans and other foreign residents were allowed to receive social services like National Health Insurance and Welfare benefits; the Alien Registration Law of 1992 abolished fingerprinting; the 1984 Family Registration Law allowed foreigners to naturalise without having to adopt Japanese names, and nationality could now be transmitted maternally as well as paternally; in 1991 *zainichi* were allowed to work in civil service positions; and in 1995 *zainichi* were allowed to participate in limited local elections. As of today, the Alien Registration Law still requires that aliens carry their registration card at all times and that they present it to law enforcement upon request, with failure to do so punishable by a 200,000 yen fine or one year imprisonment (Kim 2006: 60-65; Morris-Suzuki 2006: 304-7). Slowly, however, the legal framework that defined and controlled *zainichi* existence unravelled, with *zainichi* becoming included into the society

they had now viewed as home. The legal 'foreign' label that had been imposed on them was increasingly seen as removed from the cultural reality that the *zainichi* formed part of Japanese society.

THE CULTURAL INTEGRATION OF KOREANS IN JAPAN

As their settlement in Japan shifted from temporary to permanent in the 1950s, *zainichi* faced numerous forms of discrimination and disadvantages in the workplace, at school, and in government. Interestingly, in order to avoid facing such obstacles, *zainichi* have always had the option of becoming Japanese citizens through marriage or an arduous process of legalisation. Why have Koreans remained a separate group? The answer may lie in the social stakes of the naturalisation process.

Japan has attempted to maintain the notion of a pure, untainted Japanese identity, encapsulated by the notion of *tan'itsu minzokuron* (theories of monoculturalism). The underlying assumption is that nationality and ethnicity are inextricably linked; to be a Japanese citizen means to be Japanese ethnically. In order to allow people into the state as citizens, Japanese society creates markers of Japanese identity that determine inclusion or exclusion into the state. The pathway to citizenship, whether through marriage or paperwork, requires becoming Japanese in the cultural sense in order to remove any possibility of foreignness or difference within this identity. But whereas Japanese nationality is clearly definable, Japanese ethnicity is not (Chapman 2006: 96; Tai 2006: 370-1).

Koreans, regardless of North and South Korean identification, are not so willing to shed their Korean identity and become fully assimilated as Japanese. According to Chapman, 'the choice is either a *zainichi* identity and therefore exclusion, or a Japanese identity and therefore assimilation' (2006: 91). The belief of the Japanese government is that immigration policies are an attempt to erase the Korean cultural presence in Japan—that is, to strip ethnic Koreans of their identification to their heritage. One way this was attempted, for example, was by forcing Koreans to adopt a Japanese name upon naturalisation until 1984, when this requirement was overturned (Chapman 2006: 90).

The most recent movement by *zainichi* groups in the 2000s aimed at accommodating the reality of the *zainichi* experience through the creation of the 'Korean-Japanese' identity. The main assumption behind this term is that nationality does not have to correspond with

ethnicity. It means that Koreans who naturalise as Japanese citizens may retain their Korean name, heritage, and culture (Tai 2004: 370-1). It also indicates that individuals see themselves as belonging to Japan, not because of the 'myth of bloodline', but because of the cultural indoctrination that occurs as settlement becomes permanent (Chapman 2006: 94-95).

Koreans have begun to challenge the ambiguous legal situation accorded to them by the Japanese government, seeing themselves instead as participants in Japan and deserving of the rights and privileges associated with citizenship. In order for *zainichi* to be included in the Japanese state, the standard, rigid notions of citizenship promoted by the Japanese government would need to be dismantled. However, the fluid forces determining their inclusion and exclusion are not limited solely to Japan. Across the world, a group with distinct historical and cultural ties is posing a similar challenge to a host country attempting to include and exclude 'foreign' elements within the state.

THE LEGAL EXCLUSION OF SALVADORANS IN THE US

In the United States, the arrival of Salvadoran immigrants in the 1980s would lead to the creation of policies like those in Japan that restricted the actions of foreigners seeking inclusion into the nation state. In the 1980s, civil war erupted in El Salvador between leftist guerrillas and the US-backed Salvadoran government. A wave of immigrants took refuge in the United States during the 1980s, and by the 1990s nearly one million had made the trek to the north (Menjivar 2006: 1010). Contrary to their expectations, upon arriving to the US, Salvadorans were not warmly welcomed. Though most had fled the country to escape violence, the United States government treated Salvadoran immigrants as illegal economic migrants, not refugees. Vietnamese and Nicaraguan immigrants, on the other hand, were granted asylum at significantly higher rates during the same period in the 1980s. Salvadorans, by being designated as economic migrants, were subject to policies that could potentially deport them back to dangerous conditions in El Salvador (Bailey et al. 2003: 76; Menjivar 2006: 1010-11).

The preferential treatment of Vietnamese and Nicaraguan immigrants in the 1980s by the US government would be challenged by lawyers and civil rights groups representing Salvadoran immigrants. They rejected US immigration laws designed around Cold War foreign policy; US preference for Nicaraguan

and Vietnamese cases was based on the need to maintain the image that the US supported immigrants fleeing leftist governments. Since Salvadorans were fleeing a right-wing, US-backed government, it would be against US interests to recognise them as political refugees from a war the US was funding and supporting.

To counter the unequal application of the law, several events in the 1990s redefined the residence of Salvadorans and effectively create a new class of immigrants within the framework of legal and illegal immigrants. The most significant case was that of *American Baptist Church vs. Thornburgh*, in which the American Baptist Church (ABC) in 1986 called for protecting Salvadorans against deportation. When the case was settled out of court in 1990, the US created a new temporary status, known as ABC, that allowed Salvadorans who had been denied asylum to have their cases re-evaluated, as well as allow any Salvadoran who had entered the US before 1990 to become an asylum seeker. An ABC-class immigrant would be granted temporary legal residence and a work permit in the US. ABC Salvadorans, however, faced uncertainty over how to make their presence permanent, since the expiration of their protection or a rejection of their asylum application would lead to illegal status and possibly deportation (Bailey et al. 2002: 129). In the same year, the US passed the Immigration Act of 1990 that created Temporary Protected Status (TPS) for Salvadorans who arrived before September 1990, protecting them from deportation for 18 months (Menjivar 2006: 1012). TPS was granted to Salvadorans who, because of political conflict or natural disaster, could not safely return to their country. TPS Salvadorans could also apply for ABC, apply yearly for a work permit, and obtain a social security number. TPS Salvadorans had to continually renew their legality through a slew of confusing applications and deadlines. For both ABC and TPS Salvadorans, legal residence was still uncertain, and the prospect of deportation always existed upon the expiration of each of the acts. When the TPS program expired in 1995, Salvadorans became even more uncertain of their legality. However, the 1996 Illegal Immigrant Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act (IIRIRA) extended a cancellation of deportation to those who had resided continuously in the US for ten years. Furthermore, in the same year the Nicaraguan Adjustment and Central American Relief Act (NACARA) provided a cancellation of deportation and conferred a work permit to those who had arrived before September 1990 and had also applied for ABC status. The amount of applications created such a large backlog in the offices of the Immigration and Naturalization Services (INS) that for many

the condition of temporary legal status lasted more than a decade (Bailey et al. 2002: 126-7; Menjivar 2006: 1011-15).

The effects of the aforementioned laws on Salvadoran lives were immense. For one, ABC and TPS Salvadorans were given the right to live and work in the United States, which included paying taxes, yet were prevented from accessing many social services (Menjivar 2006: 1008). Furthermore, as stated by Menjivar, 'immigration law has effectively produced a population of long-time residents with suspended lives' (Ibid.: 1015). Bailey et al. describes the condition of Salvadorans as 'truncated transnationalism,' where 'they cannot formally settle and yet they must prove that they have; [and] they cannot physically return...' (2003: 75). Those who apply for asylum, for example, must stay grounded in the US and cannot visit family members in El Salvador, for such a visit would contradict their claim that it is dangerous for them to return (Bailey et al. 2002: 138-9). This situation, rather than creating temporary immigrants, encourages the transition into permanent settlement.

THE CULTURAL INTEGRATION OF SALVADORANS IN THE US

Salvadorans, attempting to join the path to citizenship, are continually set back by laws placing them in a gray area of inclusion. In fact, according to Coutin, the desirability of citizenship is 'fueled, in part, by exclusionary policies that make citizenship a prerequisite for opportunities' (2007: 205). The rights available for these citizens who form part of the fabric of US society are highly desirable, such as access to education, jobs, and services that require US citizenship. Menjivar states that 'even when immigrants perform tasks through which they participate in and contribute to society (e.g., raising children, working, and paying taxes), they are excluded from full membership if they lack full (permanent) legal recognition' (2006: 1004). For Salvadoran children, for example, it becomes highly desirable to obtain citizenship because universities require legal status in order to grant in-state rather than international tuition. For adults, US citizenship is required to work in civil services. Finally, for most Salvadorans legal status is desirable because it allows for unrestricted travel outside of the US. With naturalisation come an array of opportunities that define inclusion into the nation state. For many who have remained in the US waiting for the INS to process their asylum claims or TPS, the meaning of 'home' has shifted to include the US (Bailey et al. 2003: 76).

The US values the promotion of multiculturalism, in which varying cultures contribute to the national identity. Yet, the notion still maintains that of an assimilation paradigm, where immigrants adhere to the main tenets of American society and shed their former identities. But as the case of Salvadorans demonstrate, a hybrid culture may still emerge. Many of those protected under the legal limbo of 1990s legislations can in fact be considered de facto citizens who live legally absent lives.

TOWARDS A COMPARISON OF SALVADORANS AND KOREANS

Even though there are a host of differences between the cases of *zainichi* Koreans and ABC and TPS Salvadorans, the similarities they share in the challenges posed to the nation state and to notions of citizenship are worth analysing. In other words, in cases where historical, political, and social differences between the two groups resulted in similar legislation that regarded immigrants as occupying the realms of legality and illegality, immigrants became the focus of citizenship discourse.

One of the most significant differences between both groups is that while Salvadorans were immigrants to the US in the 1980s and then began to seek pathways to citizenship, Koreans in Japan had previously been legal Japanese citizens within the Japanese empire. For Koreans, there was a need to regain rights, such as voting and employment in civil service, that were formerly granted before the 1952 Peace Treaty. This contrast would create differing objectives for becoming a citizen. In Japan, legislation was passed that attempted to prevent *zainichi* from regaining Japanese nationality unless they shed their former identity. The purpose was to remove from Japan, to use Coutin's phrase, 'pockets of foreignness' (2007: 203). In the US, however, the main goal of Salvadorans was the recognition that their immigration had resulted from political, not economic, circumstances that should grant them asylum protection. US legislation that granted temporary status to these immigrants was a way of acknowledging the risky situation of return for Salvadorans, and although such legislation granted a potential path towards legality, it did not necessarily grant a path towards citizenship. In other words, the purpose of temporary protected status in the US was not the removal of Salvadorans as a cultural group.

Another key difference is the system of *jus sanguinis* used by Japan compared to *jus soli* in the United States, a contrast also linked to competing views of monoculturalism and

multiculturalism. In Japan, the reason for adopting a system of citizenship based on parentage is related to the need to maintain the 'myth of bloodline' that links Japanese society together. Since in Japan ethnicity and nationality are regarded as one, it was necessary to grant Japanese nationality to those who were of Japanese descent (Kashiwazaki 1998: 282). The same system was also adopted by the Republic of Korea and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea in the 1950s, who used the notion of *jus sanguinis* to grant Koreans in Japan overseas nationality. By using parentage as the bond of citizenship, Japan can uphold its utopian ideal of a monocultural society free from outsiders. A consequence of this system is that the descendants of non-Japanese are to be treated as foreigners as well. For *zainichi*, it means that the legal ambiguity of their residence in Japan is transmitted to their offspring—sometimes to children whose only home is Japan. In contrast, in the United States the system of *jus soli*, whereby those born within the boundaries of the state are granted citizenship, allows for a speedier legal inclusion of the children of immigrants born in the US. Households, for example, will sometimes consist of both parents without legal status and children who are US citizens (Bailey et al. 2002: 136). In the case of Salvadorans, the legal ambiguity of temporary status is erased by the second generation.

The legal frameworks constructed by the Japanese and US governments severely limit human action. For Koreans identifying with the South, unrestricted travel outside of Japan was only allowed until 1965 when the Japan-Korea Normalization Treaty allowed them to apply for South Korean documentation. It was not until 1981 that Koreans who identified with North Korea could apply for travel permits. Similarly, in the US Salvadoran immigrants had to remain in the US because of the travel restrictions of temporary status. Asylum applicants who left the country to visit El Salvador would void their cases for protection. Yet what is the purpose of grounding 'foreigners' to the state? In both cases, national debate has occurred regarding the deportation of these immigrant groups. In Japan, the purpose of removing Koreans would be to create a purely Japanese society (Tai 2004: 357-8). In the US, some have viewed deportation as a method to remove 'criminals' who have broken the law by immigrating. However, the ethical consequences of physically removing a significant number of people who identify with the state reduce calls for the blanket deportation of illegal immigrants. Acknowledging that the presence of these immigrants groups is not necessarily done by choice, the law creates for them a distinction

of quasi-legality. Many Koreans were forcibly brought to Japan, while many Salvadorans saw themselves as having no choice but to escape violence in El Salvador. As a result of conflict in their homelands, they remained in their host countries. Temporary legal status, with perpetual looming deadlines and provisions regulating human action, responded to these fears and essentially linked citizenship with human rights (Menjívar 2006: 1005).

In the US and Japan, people thus categorised still faced similar issues of discrimination. In Japan, discriminatory policies were directly aimed at the Korean minority, such as their removal from employment in civil service jobs. The most blatant instances of discrimination are seen in cases like *Chongsok Pak v. the Hitachi Company* (1974), where a second generation *zainichi* was successfully hired, only to be laid off by the company once it learned he was a 'foreigner'; The company policy was to hire only Japanese citizens (Kim 2006: 62). In the US, discrimination was aimed at immigrants in general, and more specifically those from Mexico. Anti-immigrant sentiment in the US argued that even though such citizens may be physically present, they violated the law and are not entitled to work or use social services. In California, where a large immigrant population from Latin America exists, calls have been made for mandating English as the official language, preventing illegal immigrants from holding driver's licenses, and preventing illegal immigrants from using social services. Unlike in Japan where Koreans were explicitly banned from using social services, in the US immigrants are still able to use some social services. Proposition 187 in California resulted from frameworks, proposals, and social stratification that saw immigrants as draining social services paid for by American tax payers (Coutin 2007: 109). Although these proposals target illegal immigrants, they also become of concern to the small Salvadoran population who hold temporary status. Salvadorans could also face discrimination for being perceived and mistaken as Mexican economic migrants. In both the US and Japan, social structures of racial discrimination were thus at play.

The uncertainty created in both situations can be aptly described using Menjívar's (2006: ??) phrase of 'permanent temporariness'. The phrase describes the condition of Salvadorans who face 'enormous anxiety, as each deadline accentuates these immigrants' precarious situation, which for many has gone on for over two decades' (Menjívar 2006: 1000). In other words, 'permanent temporariness' signals a prolonged period of being designated a temporary resident. During this time, the immigrant may develop permanent place

attachment to the society that constructs them as eventually returning home. 'Home', however, shifts in meaning to include the host society. I suggest using this term to refer to the condition of *zainichi* as well, who similarly face a prolonged period of legal status that assumes the temporariness of a group already well-grounded into the host society. Unlike Salvadorans, whose experience with temporary protection has only spanned two decades, Koreans in Japan have been experiencing temporary designation for over four generations. The Alien Registration Laws that have permeated their daily lives, like TPS and ABC, require constantly registering their temporary status every few years. Failure to properly register allows the Japanese state to strip Koreans of their claims to residency, and may lead to expulsion. In both the US and Japan, these immigration laws have served the purpose of containing and controlling the actions of 'foreign' groups within the state, resulting in a tug of war between inclusion and exclusion.

CONCLUSION

Even though the political, historical, and economic conditions that created the legal frameworks for Salvadorans and Koreans differ, their experience of coping with legal and cultural integration is similar. Being legally and culturally foreign does not necessarily mean being an outsider. Their calls for inclusion into the legal system creates national discourse over the meaning of citizenship. Whereas the concept of the nation state attempts to create timeless and orderly physical and cultural boundaries, the social experience of immigrant groups within states highlights the artificial construction of the nation state. The identities of states are changing around the world, and the immigration laws in place to maintain those identities are not keeping pace. The maintenance of state boundaries should not be done at the expense of people who form part of the state through their contributions to society, but who are not politically included in the system that regulates their existence.

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'Going Back': Homeland and Belonging for Greek Child Migrants

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Abstract

Homeland, rather than a physical locality, is a narrative of a migrant's personal past; it is often a mythic landscape formed by childhood nostalgia. This is especially so in the author's collection of oral testimonies of Greek child migrants who arrived in Melbourne during the 1960s and 1970s. Their act of 'going back' to Greece in adulthood can be analysed within the framework of identity formation, an ongoing process reliant on the revision of personal and collective memories. The interviewees' symbolic conception of this act of going back and their attachment of meaning (or lack thereof) to place has many implications for the way this demographic constructs national, transnational and cultural belonging, both in collective and individual terms. Going back was an experience of self-discovery, a repudiation or 'retranslation' of the narrative of homeland. Ultimately, the experience of going back enhances trans-cultural identities. Interestingly, the experience had more importance for their conceptualisation of place, and their sense of belonging in Australia, than it did for their sense of belonging in the homeland. This can be linked to the importance of their respective community networks, and the importance of these communities in their childhood sense of security and their adult sense of familiarity. The reality of the confronted homeland was at odds with their mythic landscape. Unexpectedly then, going back increases a sense of belonging in their own self-constructed cultural landscapes in Melbourne.

Keywords

Belonging, community, homeland, memory, narrative

HOMELAND AND THE CHILD MIGRANT

The concept of the 'homeland' features prominently in much literature on the migrant experience. Insofar as this literature forms a collective imagination of various diasporas in Australia, one could generalise and say that the homeland is imagined as a distant and unchanging oasis in a disturbing and dislocating world. Most importantly, in this literature, the homeland is longed for. It is not a nation. It is a personal past—a myriad of fragmented significant and insignificant events made comprehensible and coherent for the individual migrant. While aspects of the physical landscape are often described in loving detail, the homeland could more

accurately be labelled a mythic landscape, the romanticised backdrop of childhood pasts, or a narrative of the self formed by present and future identity aspirations. As a place, it is ultimately unobtainable. Perhaps this is why, in some of its representations, a tone of bitterness manages to cut across the initial romanticism. The act of going back to the physical homeland does not make the loss less palpable, for the past cannot be retrieved.

On one level I am claiming the existence of a collective imagination in this 'migrant literature'. However, it is important to acknowledge that the homeland may have the same form (a narrative of self), but be imbued with a number of different meanings, which ultimately depend on the conditions of departure and settlement. For example, a war-torn refugee may imagine the homeland as something tragic and forever lost; while the second-generation Australian might have a confused jumble of images gathered from family discussions, which are treated with cynicism or curiosity (Nguyen 2009). In this paper, I am concerned with what homeland means for post-war child migrants in particular. What narratives—those personal memory fragments made comprehensible and coherent—have gone into its construction?

Child migrants' experiences of displacement and adjustment are unlike that of their parents. The first few years of their lives have been spent in their place of birth, but the choice to emigrate was not their own, and their consequent development and transition into adulthood—including their socialisation within the school—has been in a cultural environment most likely alien to that which they experience at home. In a multicultural Australia the child is immediately rendered a hyphenated-Australian; until the 1970s, he or she might have been a 'New Australian', shedding ethnicity in public and guarding it in private. These are, however, simplistic assignments. One can set the child migrant into convenient sociological models (see Erikson 1968; Childs 1940), but these are not sufficient for the study of memories. Here, I make do with interpretations of personal narratives, reading how inter-subjective perspectives and current discursive practices have shaped these individuals' memories. In

this sense, memory and identity are intertwined and conceived as a continual process of 'retranslation' (King 2000: 21). Undeniably, child migrants are faced with a unique process of identity formation: their place of birth and early childhood memories are known and indeed often cherished; but their subsequent development has played out in Australia. These places have become their own, a familiar cultural geography with understood codes of behaviour (even as they remain alien to their parents). Child migrants must negotiate two—perhaps multiple—world views. How then, is the homeland a part of their identities? What position does it now hold in relation to the adopted home, the place in which they have spent most of their lives?

This paper will seek to provide a number of answers to these questions by exploring the oral testimonies of Greek migrants who arrived as children in Melbourne during the 1960s and 1970s and have made return journeys to Greece. While these narratives do not always form a collective image—nor should they be expected to—they clearly complicate understandings of cultural adjustment and integration for child migrants. Eleven people—most of whom emigrated from villages in northern Greece—offered their recollections for the purpose of this study. All eleven have been back to Greece at least once; five have gone back more than twice.

THE HOMELAND AS NARRATIVE AND MEMORY

When recalling their experiences of going back, many took the interview as an opportunity to make sense of and attribute meaning to what was universally described as a 'strange' experience. We cannot have access to their conception of homeland before the experience of going back. This is ultimately a question of whether it is possible to objectify our past selves. It is nevertheless possible to pin-point going back as a turning point in their conceptualisation of homeland—that is, insofar as the homeland forms a personal narrative of belonging. In this sense, the strangeness they encountered is explained as an affront to their ethnic selves. Going back was an experience of self-discovery for my interviewees. The act of going back enhances trans-cultural identities. It reaffirmed their hybrid existence. Some found themselves having to articulate—for the first time and often with some trepidation—their separate existence as Greek-Australians. Going back also prompted the realisation (implicit or explicit) that their sense of security and community, and therefore their sense of

identity and belonging, resided elsewhere, and not in their mythic homeland.

Place

Perhaps their homeland may once have been romanticised, the unchanging and distant oasis of childhood memories, and perhaps this explains the strangeness they encountered. But now, the homeland is devoid of this romanticisation. While the act of returning is imbued with some symbolic significance, the encounter with the physical homeland seemed to invite little but vague affection at best and confused dejection at worst. For my interviewees, the acceptance of a cross-cultural existence attributed little meaning to physical place, to locality. All now fervently express the belief that one can be Greek regardless of their place of residence. Going back seemed to confirm this belief.

Community in childhood and adolescence

Before discussing these recollections we must first understand a few details about my interviewees' upbringing and the variables affecting their process of adjustment and integration as child migrants in Melbourne during the 1960s and 1970s. This process informs their personal narratives. We do not have access to their childhood perspectives, or to their adolescent feeling of belonging. Their recollections ultimately inform us of how they currently view their identities in an Australia significantly different from the one in which they grew up. Their acceptance of hybrid belonging in the present and the ease with which they operate in accepting cultural communities shape their recollections of childhood. Consequently, some remember a struggle to arrive at where they are today; others, more frequently, take it as given that they have always felt they belonged—the past and present self is collapsed into one.

It nevertheless becomes clear from their recollections that a key variable in my interviewees' relative ease of adjustment in a new country is the strength and size of their community networks. In Melbourne, many post-war Greeks were concentrated in a number of inner-city suburbs (Victorian Ethnic Affairs Commission 1988). They continued the patterns of chain migration that were typical of pre-war settlement (Allimonos 2001). Some had followed relatives; others had chosen areas based on the number of people from their village or region already settled there. By the 1960s, many of these collectivities had formed large, coherent, and organised communities. Indeed, the number of

regional clubs and organisations exploded in Melbourne from the early 1960s (DeStoop 1996). The ‘Greek church building era’ (Tsounis 1975) also began, and numerous community spaces became available. By the 1970s, some inner-city state schools had a Greek student population of up to seventy per cent (DeStoop 1996).

One interviewee, Helen Strangos, estimates that from her village of about sixty-five families, six arrived and settled in Fitzroy. Perhaps in her efforts to oppose my assumption that cultural conflict ensued, Helen insists that she did not feel a significant change or sense of displacement. In her Fitzroy community, within her home, and on the streets, she was amongst the group of children from her village of Kozani. The same applies for her in school; they were labelled the ‘Kozani kids’. Helen remembers her childhood with fondness. Settlement does not evoke memories of forced displacement or cultural conflict. This indicates the positive effect that a close-knit community can make on the migrant child’s adjustment. Helen insists: ‘I didn’t feel foreign because I had so much of back home here’ (2010 pers. comm., 31 January).

Similarly, six of my interviewees settled in and around the Clayton area and thus entered the Oakleigh Greek Community. An increasing number of families from the villages surrounding the town of Serres in northern Greece—particularly the village of Terpni—settled in this area from 1965 (Kouris 1998). As such, many of my interviewees entered and contributed to a well-established Greek community. They were otherwise already equipped with a number of personal networks and systems of support, often relying on this to guard them against occasional discrimination or alienation from mainstream Anglo-Australian society.

Within these communities, interaction would mainly occur between families—immediate and extended—or close friends from their village or region (General Studies Department Swinburne College of Technology 1973). Children would typically accompany their parents on their weekly visits to other families. Conceivably then, the imaginations of these children were shaped in large part by the stories told by these adult migrants, stories of home (Isaacs 1976: 32). Migrant parents were more isolated than their children from mainstream Anglo-Australian society due to the language barrier and their concentrated employment within the manufacturing sector. Their shared stories of longing—compounded by their alienation from and confused conception of mainstream Anglo-Australian society—inevitably presented crystallised, and

often romanticised, images of the homeland. These stories were a part of the child’s upbringing.¹

GOING BACK

The act of going back is significant in shaping and transforming their personal narratives of their homeland. In this instance, I conceptualise it as a turning point, a re/affirmation of their hybrid identities, or a confirmation of adult belonging in Melbourne, and more specifically within their communities.

Many of my interviewees made the decision to go back for similar reasons—or, at least, now justify that decision in similar ways. Seeing family left behind, or wanting to ‘show the kids’ their ‘heritage, their roots’ was common. Anna Sfitskis and Sophia Toutoglou revealed more personal reasons: Anna tells me it was a ‘test’ to see if her village was still home; similarly Sophia says she returned to ‘see what she’d been missing’ (2010 pers. comm., 10 April). Anna and Sophia, as older arrivals with clearer memories of their villages, held much higher expectations about going back. Consequently, the experience of feeling a stranger in Greece left an indelible impression on them and prompted an explicit reassessment of their identity, a process that had previously (throughout their adolescence in Australia) relied on the eventual attainment of the distant and unchanging homeland. Anna recalls:

I wanted to go back a lot... when you ask, when did I feel like Australia became home, I think for me it was after I went back. Because I wanted to go so much, and I went back and I sort of felt. When we were there, everything we heard about Australia, it used to make us happy. I think the turning point came for me then. I felt like Australia was my home. When I went to Greece, I sort of felt a bit strange, and everything was changing there too, and everything looked a lot smaller, and it wasn’t as pretty as I imagined it. You always keep the best memories. (2010 pers. comm., 10 April).

¹ Interestingly, politics was not discussed in the home. Few of my interviewees’ parents remained interested in what was happening in Greece politically. Ultimately this is reaffirmed in my interviewees’ recollections: homeland is not a nation state; it remains a mythic landscape framed by childhood nostalgia. For further discussion on this theme see Kennedy and Roudometof (2002) and their exploration of the ‘delocalisation’ of communities and transnational collectivities.

On going back, all eleven interviewees visited the villages in which they were born. Few, however, were able to retrospectively attach much emotion to returning to their physical childhood landscapes outside of its connection to rekindling ties with relatives left behind; this reunion was significant for many. Generally, after this reunion, my interviewees would tour Greece, concentrating on 'touristy' sites. Athens was a must, as were the islands (typically Thassos, Santorini, and Mykonos). These popular sites form the international or tourists' image of Greece. Here, in the second part of their trip, my interviewees were seeing Greece through tourists' eyes. In many instances, they unconsciously positioned themselves as tourists. Helen Strangos implicitly makes this link. After listing the sites she visited in Greece, she continues to recount her excitement at the prospect of showing Australia to her Greek cousins. However, many rejected the label of tourist, perhaps due to its implication of a complete cultural alienation from Greece. The label thus confounded them, and denied them the chance to explore the reasons for their overwhelming sense of 'strangeness', which was ultimately a reflection on the role of homeland in their past conceptualisation of self.

Strange/Strangers

Making sense of their experience of going back often transformed into musings on being a stranger or feeling strange. This can be linked to the various disparities and conflicts between narratives of the mythic homeland and the confronted reality. On one (simple) level—the reality of physical space—the individual was confronted with the strangeness of distorted perspective: the village seemed strangely small to many. This reorientation of childhood and adult perspectives of space was felt keenly by Helen Koryfas in particular. Helen's sister Anna mentioned that her village was not as 'pretty' as she remembered; her conflated childhood narrative of homeland (more concrete and tangible than her younger sister Helen's) was similarly undermined. On another (simple) level, my interviewees—accustomed to a modern, sprawling city like Melbourne—were struck by the geographical isolation and seemingly backward-looking conventions and morals of their birth villages (Donkin 1983). Some found the village lifestyle, as a contrast to urban living, relaxing and refreshing. Others, particularly women, found it frustrating, even reproachable. In any case, all found the possibility of a return to this type of rural existence inconceivable as a long-term reality.

Many interviewees, such as Barbara and Tom Katsimbas, were confronted with alien codes

of behaviour in a country in which they thought they would find a sense of belonging. Barbara, otherwise vague and reluctant with her recollections, remembers one incident vividly. She and her husband Tom went out to dinner one night at a Greek taverna on an island village. Barbara insists that without saying a word of English, the waiter 'caught them out' as Australians. She reasons that going out to dinner at six o'clock had exposed them as Greeks in Greece rarely start dinner so early. Barbara recalls '[i]t felt a bit strange. Being in your own country, and [being] called Australians' (2010 pers. comm., 8 April). Ari Papadopoulos confronted a similar situation, which he is also able to recall in great detail. Like Barbara and Tom, he made efforts to hide his 'foreignness'. When asked by a taxi driver where he was from, Ari answered with the name of his village. The taxi driver asked again. Ari eventually conceded with Melbourne, and the taxi driver was satisfied. Ari now reasons that it was the act of putting his seat-belt on that exposed him as a foreigner, as 'Greeks didn't wear seatbelts' (2010 pers. comm., 1 February).

The realisation that one was being 'exposed' as an Australian and the evident conflict between different codes of behaviour left an impression. The experiences that required them to renegotiate long-harboured memories of homeland are particularly vivid. Barbara and Tom's recollections are indicative of this. They had made a pact with each other not to speak English and to try to 'blend in.' As such, they joined a Greek tour group and admit to taking great delight in 'fooling' their fellow travellers into believing they were from 'their parts' of Greece. Their ultimate failure to blend in confers a tone of regret and confusion over an otherwise happy time.

As a contrast, Peter Koryfas' nonchalance is interesting. Peter states: 'they could pick it that I was from outside [but] I didn't care. I enjoyed my holiday and that's it' (2010 pers. comm., 10 April). Similarly, his wife Helen found it amusing. Being picked out as Australians because of their accents was 'funny.' Their amusement forms another version of strangeness. They too confronted something they were not expecting, but reacted differently to the Katsimbas'.

Chris Toutoglou spent some time recounting his sense of strangeness, which ultimately revolved around his search for an all-encompassing and definite label, an unambiguous label he is seemingly still searching for. He remembers feeling comfortable in his village, which he translates as 'feeling Greek.' However, he later comments that 'you sort of felt a bit funny' about being called an 'Aussie.' This emotion

was ultimately connected with his sense of self back home in Melbourne, rather than Greece. What he finds 'funny' is that in Melbourne he was 'a Greek or a wog, not an Aussie.' The issue was not that he felt strange or uncomfortable about being labelled an Aussie in his ancestral homeland. Significantly, he confesses that he had 'no issues' with being called an Aussie by Greeks. It was his lack of Aussieness in Australia that was the issue and that caused him so much contention. Indeed, his recollections focus at length on clarifying this issue. His return trip ignited his desire to understand his hybridity, his status as a 'wog', a confusing and specifically Australian version of Greekness.

Homesickness

The word 'homesickness' was not used explicitly by any interviewee. However, their frequent references to their respective Melbourne communities when describing their activities in Greece might easily be encapsulated by this term. This was especially so for two of my interviewees: Sophia Toutoglou and Faye Merkouris, who returned to Greece for an extended stay. Sophia, who lived in Greece for two years, remembers how she felt in public places in Athens:

I always knew that I'd be a total stranger in a strange land. You'd go to places or parties or even restaurants I knew there was no chance I'd see anyone like a family friend or a cousin. I felt a sense of sadness... I just felt I was on my own (2010 pers. comm., 11 April).

Her return trip to Greece was a test; a personal experiment in finding belonging. She does not divulge whether she returned with the intention of staying; instead she tells me she 'always knew' she would be a stranger. It seems two years was not enough to eradicate her feelings of alienation and her longing for a familiar face, for the feeling of community she left behind. Ultimately, her mythic homeland was not matched by the reality. Sophia remained a 'stranger' until her return to Melbourne and the community networks (family friends and cousins) she had established in and around Oakleigh. She still lives there.

Faye Merkouris' extended time in Athens was similar. Like Sophia, she too married a man born and raised solely in Greece. Taking her marriage as a universal experience among Greek women of her generation, Sophia described it as 'a desire to attach yourself to something Greek' (2010 pers. comm., 11 April). Interestingly, however, in Greece,

Faye's social network rarely extended beyond the office and her work colleagues. They, like her, were also expatriates, *kseni* to the Greeks, which literally translates to 'stranger.' Faye concludes that she never felt 'Greek-Greek' in Greece; during her time there, she felt herself to be 'Greek-Australian.'

COMING BACK

Turning points

The act of going back incurs a re-evaluation of the narrative of homeland. It was for many of my interviewees something that had accompanied them from the moment of their displacement and has been negotiated, retranslated, and elaborated through personal and collective discourses throughout their development into adulthood.

Some explicitly identified the experience as a turning point. Barbara, who always thought she belonged in Greece, changed her opinions upon her return. She has not been back since. Throughout her youth there was always the expectation that she would return; unlike Peter and Helen Koryfas, the possibility was never firmly repudiated. Feeling like a stranger in Greece confirmed that she had lost a home.

Anna similarly saw her first trip back as a turning point, and was able to articulate it as such. However, her sense of loss is tempered with a note of surprise: particularly in regards to her fondness for Australia. After her first trip she concludes that Greece became a holiday destination, and without the weight of expectation she is able to enjoy her time there. She has been back three times since.

Pride and Place

However, Anna is eager to qualify: 'but I will always be Greek' (2010 pers. comm., 10 April). All my interviewees adamantly asserted pride in 'being Greek', despite their confused efforts to offer definitions. What is clear is that their sense of ethnic pride is disconnected from an attachment to place. As migrants, a sense of the 'fragility of place' (Nguyen 2009: 142) is not in itself a pressing issue. For my interviewees, belonging is mobile in that it depends on community, not on place. Greece has become a place to visit, never to live. Arthur Strangos makes this clear:

I still consider myself Greek... I think: I was born in Greece, my parents are both Greek. I still see myself as Greek. A piece of paper doesn't change it. I

mean, I love Australia and I wouldn't live anywhere else. I couldn't go back to Greece and live... I'm comfortable with what we've got here. But I still don't consider myself anything else than Greek (2010 pers. comm., 31 January).

In regards to his Greekness, Chris is less definite, and while proud of his 'heritage and roots' he attempts to define his identity as 'twenty percent Greek and eighty per cent Australian' (2010 pers. comm., 11 April). Helen Strangos and Helen Koryfas see it more as a give-and-take; they believe they are able to take 'the best of both worlds' (2010 pers. comm., 31 January & 10 April). None of these statements should be taken at face-value or as all-encompassing conclusions about the ethnicity of these individuals. Our articulation of identity is often inconsistent. Feelings of belonging can change according to the situation or mood of the individual. Yet despite variations, all interviewees no longer reserve any sentimentality for the landscapes of their homeland, and this is significant. Pride and place are kept separate. One can be Greek outside the homeland—all are adamant that this is so. Indeed, a few go towards claiming a separate Greek-Australian identity.

Melbourne, then, becomes the physical home—or, if not Melbourne, then the communities in which they have built and maintained connections. Those who settled in the Oakleigh area have remained there. Those who, like a great deal of Greek post-war migrants, originally settled in the inner-city suburbs of Richmond, Fitzroy, South Melbourne or Port Melbourne have moved to other areas and have re-established or maintained their Greek community networks. It is often an important part of their cultural existence in Melbourne, offering them the familiarity and comfort that the country of their birth unexpectedly seemed to deny. The ancestral homeland still exists for the interviewees, holding symbolic significance as a narrative of a lost past, but it is not a place they need to retrieve. It is no longer a place of belonging.

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Proactive communication management beats hostile media exposure: training for multi-cultural community leaders in living with mass media.

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Abstract

Proactive communication management instead of mortification in the glare of hostile media attention became the theme of a four-day training program for multicultural community leaders. The program in Brisbane from December 2009 through to February 2010 was conducted under the auspices of a Community Media Link grant program shared by Griffith University and the Queensland Ethnic Communities Council, together with Journalism academics from the Queensland University of Technology. Twenty-eight participants from 23 organisations took part, with a team of nine facilitators from the host organisations, and guest presenters from the news media. This paper reviews the process, taking into account: its objectives, to empower participants by showing how Australian media operate and introducing participants to journalists; pedagogical thrust, where overview talks, accompanied by role play seminars with guest presenters from the media, were combined with practice in interviews and writing for media; and outcomes, assessed on the basis of participants' responses. The research methodology is qualitative, in that the study is based on discussions to review the planning and experience of sessions, as well as anonymous, informal feed-back questionnaires distributed to the participants. The findings indicate positive outcomes for participants from this approach to protection of persons unversed in living in the Australian "mediatised" environment. Most affirmed that the "production side" perspective of the exercise had informed and motivated them effectively, such that henceforth they would venture far more into media management, in their community leadership roles.

Keywords

Ethnic communities, media, training

INTRODUCTION

This article reports on a media training program for spokespersons from multicultural organisations in South-east Queensland. The objective of the training was to empower the participants, such that they might be well

informed about mass media organisations and practitioners, and their practices; informed of their own options as spokespersons, and practiced in ways whereby they might work effectively with media. It took the approach that the spokespersons would profit from obtaining an insider view, with the training sessions conducted by Journalism academics and engaging practitioners as resource persons. The project was designed with reference to literature on relations between ethnic or multicultural communities and mass media. This identified both friction between ethnic leaders and media, and options for achieving good communications through use of media.

The training was in four, four-hour sessions, weeks apart, devised to take participants through a short journey: from obtaining and testing understandings of mass media, through to role-play and other practical exercises permitting a forensic review of certain issues in the news (and how and why they might be managed, respectively, by journalists and by community leaders); and then on to practice in "doing media". The latter would entail, for example, recording interviews and writing for news outlets; with replays, reflection and review. The instructional model was conventional, using small-group discussions, drawing on the resources and knowledgeableness of the participants.

As an opportunity for research, the process was studied on an observational basis and records made at each session. The problem for research was to assess the state of relations between mass media and the multicultural leaders, and their mutual proficiency in producing fruitful media content; and the potential for developing those relations. A research question was devised: in the case of the multicultural community representatives seen in Brisbane, did their media competence and understanding advance through training,

such that their relations with mass media would develop towards more satisfactory production of media content, from the viewpoint of both parties? For definitions: Content embraced all news products and other media products on public affairs topics. The quality or fruitfulness of content was firstly definable in terms of orthodox news values, e.g. was the relationship producing fresh content for media audiences that was new, interesting, important and informative? Further, a test could be applied as to whether communication between community leaders as informants, and journalists as seekers after information, was effective enough to provide a flow of information that met the needs and interests of the two parties.

The methodology for this inquiry was qualitative and interpretative, in that recorded observations, and commentary on the course of training provided by the participants would be evaluated in light of the values outlined above. Methods of inquiry were: To consult existing research literature for information on the context of relations among multicultural or ethnic communities and mass media. A further method of inquiry was to make participant observations, on their responses to the learning stimuli and messages provided to them, and to question whether these responses indicated change towards more effective and productive media making. Feed-back provided by participants was reviewed in the form of questionnaires, being a standard questionnaire on course experience, filled out virtually by all participants each time; and also an extended questionnaire filled out by a small number of participants. The was to probe their background attitudes towards dealing with mass media, and seek more elaborated explanations on any change that may have occurred.

In the outcome, respondents overwhelmingly assessed the training as valuable to them in their community work, both in providing new and often unexpected information about mass media, and in invoking some change in their outlook and behaviour. The responses of the participants showed an informed awareness of the teaching and learning plan that was in use, and assent towards it. They said that overall, progress had been made towards getting more media content published, and towards, in the process meeting the interests and needs of all parties.

LITERATURE AND BACKGROUND TO THE TRAINING PROJECT

Certain common assumptions and observations surround the question of

multicultural communities and mass media. The first is that mainstream mass media (commercial and national broadcasting; and the daily press) fail to provide adequate representation of communities or service to them. The second is that being able to participate more in media making would help to meet many of their needs, (and may provide valuable personal stimulus and uplift too many individual community members). A third assumption or observation is that members of these communities are locked out from participation in many aspects of 'mainstream', general community life, with poor access to mass media being one of these aspects. A fourth, however, is that avenues are open to individuals and groups to change this situation, in a process of empowerment, with again a media dimension - finding ways to successfully participate in mass media is possible.

The theme of dissatisfaction with the breadth and quality of mass media is common in media research. For instance Meadows et al. (2009:36) cite Downing and Husband (2005) identifying 'continuing failures on the part of mainstream media, globally, to fulfil their potential to inform, enlighten, question, imagine and explain ...' Part of that problem is seen as expanding commercialisation hence increasing treatment of citizens as consumers leads media services to address large and homogenous demographic groups, leaving out minorities. Meadows et al refer to a 2004 Foundation for Development report endorsing the work of local broadcasting services which were helping to make up for a perceived deficiency by 'getting close to the creators of culture ... Citizens who feel they are being listened to are likely to participate with more vigour and enthusiasm in society than those who have been treated primarily as a consumer ...' (Meadows et al. 2009:38-39).

An example was given of indigenous community broadcasting, providing audiences with a primary level of service across many areas - social cohesion, maintenance of language and cultures, boosting self-esteem, education, or providing a source of news and information (Meadows et al. 2009:98). In the same discussion Ien Ang speaks of exclusion as part of 'everyday awareness': 'For example as a foreigner you are constantly prevented from having a sense of belonging ... it has a lot to do with the indifference of the dominant culture ... [members of which] have the privilege of not having to question their own ethnicity, identities and cultural specificities' (1999:101).

A treatment of difficulties experienced by multicultural communities with the new media of digitised mass communications in all forms,

by Jakubowicz (2003:207), offers a useful definition:

“Multicultural” can be taken to refer to a statement about demographic differences among groups, based on some idea of culture distinctiveness (national history, country or region of origin, shared family history, language, religion, cultural practices, etc.). Yet to speak of a multicultural world is to take a further step, to require an equivalence of the respect for different cultures as a political ideal. This may entail an implicit challenge to hierarchies [...].

That statement draws attention to the key point that groups will often be very diverse, but share a prime identity. It draws attention also to the question of respect, which arises in all countries where rights are protected under law and democratic practice, whereby all have a wholly legitimate claim to the means of full participation in public life.

Jakubowicz sets out to demonstrate how the general situation is problematic for ‘multicultural’ participants, by exploring such developments as the entry of global corporations into new media, looking to standardise products for bulk markets, leaving out minorities; or the hegemony of English language in writing of software (2003:217).

Inequality of access to cyber media is confirmed in the results of several investigations: US Dept of Commerce reports, in harmony with other studies, in 1999 found that African American households were starkly lacking in new technology resources compared with other groups. A contemporary survey of 54,000 Australian media users indicated that Internet access figures could be usefully differentiated along ethnic grounds, with highest usage among groups born in the United States and Canada, the lowest among those born in Italy and Greece (Jakubowicz 2003:218-9).

The argument drawn from these facts was concerned with ‘pyramids of power reinforced by cultural hierarchies’ (Jakubowicz 2003:206), and in response groups at lower points in the power structure may be seen empowering themselves through media use. Meadows et al. (2009:118) report on a large field study of users of indigenous and multicultural broadcasting, which found the broadcasting experience was ‘improving the emotional and social wellbeing of many ethnic community group members’ – an outcome, and precondition of full engagement in the life of society. A particular strength of the local community media services reported on in that study was the blurring of distinctions between

audiences and producers (Meadows et al. 2009:132, 38). It was found that the social isolation being countered by such involvements was strongest, as expected, among refugee communities (Meadows et al. 2009:146).

The above observations and arguments are usual for a discussion of communities and mass media. The leadership of ethnic and other minority organisations will commonly declare they must contend with an outsider status and work towards empowerment. Representation in the mass media is an aspect of the outsider status, for instance with displays of lack of knowledge on the part of journalists and others in mass media, or very harrowing, hostile treatment of problem issues, like ‘ethnic’ crime or illegal immigration. One key option for empowerment is in the field of local or community media, as mentioned previously. Another option is to seek to influence change in the larger mainstream media systems towards more inclusiveness.

To take this a little further; it should be noted that throughout the above discussion a theme emerges of communities taking action, freely associating, and forming alliances to assert cultural identities and advance their interests, such as working through political lobbying. Often the situation is framed in terms of victim-hood and domination, but the argument that has been traversed here does not lend itself to a simple paradigm of victim and dominator groups in society. The situation is dynamic with much effective action going on to continue changing it. For example it is shown in the work done by Meadows et al. that the community broadcasting movement is successful, attracting very substantial and loyal audiences which aver that the services meet many of their needs. Notions of victimhood are thereby weakened through this ability to act, assert the right to make changes, and achieve successes in that.

Secondly, in mass media dealings with publics, there is a well-known concept of the active audience. Even ostensibly passive choice can be construed as action, in many ways. For example watching television may not relate to advertising (against which sales-pitching viewers might or might not have their own psychological defences), but to studying local vernacular language, as a life skill in a new country. Understanding of media use as social action is taken further in the work of Renckstorf and others (1996, 2001).

The concerns of multicultural community leaders and spokespersons are well articulated in declarations of principles and purpose, for instance by one of the sponsoring bodies of this training project, the Ethnic Communities

Council of Queensland (ECCQ). However, as is commonly found with advocacy on behalf of communities' interests, mass communication issues, and mass media are not a central concern. For example the declaration of the 2009 Multicultural Summit hosted by the ECCQ (ECCQ 2009) set out 10 values and principles, stressing the entitlement of persons to equal rights, freedom, toleration and participation in the life of society. There were statements pressing for recognition of such principles in government programs and policies. Possible applications to mass media, though, were only indirect.

A set of objectives under the same declaration again emphasises government services, specifically listing housing, health care, access to transport, interpreter services, education including teaching of English. It included just three, though certainly well-targeted, express references to mass media.

One of those number 23, supported provision of "accurate information to media and government and to combat misinformation provided to the community...", and urged the encouragement of media with a multicultural focus such as SBS and ethnic broadcasting (ECCQ 2009).

The leaders' manual published by the ECCQ (ECCQ, undated:69-70), similarly indicates acute concern with mass media, seeing it as a problem area, and deals with it briefly and defensively:

Using the media can be a double-edged sword – it can be good to promote your project or activities but it can also backfire and bring bad publicity.

You should therefore think very carefully before you approach or speak to the media.

Here are some hints for using the media:

Local media are usually 'friendlier' than mainstream [...]

If you are approached by the media, make sure you ask them exactly what the story is about [...]. If you are not comfortable [...] it is quite alright to say "no". You should also say "no" if you think they are unsympathetic [...].

Doubtlessly due to experience with negative publicity, mass media is seen as peripheral but dangerous. However there are also many precedents for success with media in conveying community messages, and the task

in hand was to provide education and training that would enable spokespersons to communicate effectively with and through the mass media.

CONCEPTUALISATION AND CONDUCT OF THE TRAINING EXERCISE

The media training project for community spokespersons arose from a perception (consistent with the findings reported in the literature, above), that while the array of organisations in the multicultural field had definite strengths in political lobbying, welfare and community building, they could profit from an application of expertise in mass communication through media. The project launched by the ECCQ and Griffith University under a Community Media Link Queensland grant included a scheme for introducing working journalists to multicultural concepts, and multicultural leaders. It adopted into that, a proposal from Journalism educators at the Queensland University of Technology (QUT) to also prepare community spokespersons for dealing with the media.

Consequently a set of resources was assembled suitable for running a pilot training scheme: namely, experienced journalists and media academics; the membership rolls, policy maps, good will and administrative resources of the ECCQ; and access to media facilities notably the QUT radio studios and computer laboratories, and those of the multicultural broadcaster 4EB-FM associated with that university. This base of knowledge would also include, of course, advanced cultural and social knowledge on the part of prospective course participants from the multicultural community organisations. Nine staff members and advanced-level students from the host organisations acted as facilitators, with five visiting resource persons from media industries.

Planning for the course was done through meetings of the Advisory Committee under the Community Media Link grant. It opted for half-day week-end programs suitable for a clientele of busy people, with four sessions normally spaced at least a fortnight apart, to cover the projected volume of teaching. Taking into account the holiday period the classes were set for Saturdays 14 and 28.11.09, and 6 and 13.2.10. Invitations to participate were sent out through the mailing lists of the ECCQ.

The curriculum was designed as a two-level process, entailing: (i) An introduction to the mass media (its composition, business orientations and general prerogatives in a free

society; the professional outlook and mentality of media workers, and their operating procedures); in short, to show media are like and how they can be dealt with. (ii) Media practice, with the learners bearing in mind the messages obtained from the introduction to mass media, such that participants would practice making telephone calls to media offices, prepare media releases, reports or speeches, make reports for own-media (e.g. newsletters, web logs), and take part in drills of broadcast interview situations, experienced from the perspective of interviewer and interviewee.

It was presumed that the participants might approach the experience with preconceived notions including some animosity born of bad experience, for instance with unsympathetic media publicity of refugee issues. It was presumed also that participants might expect 'media training' to be simply 'hands on' experience with broadcast equipment, without the backgrounding in how media function, and how to get into interview situations with them. Further, participants were expected to have prior experience with corporate short courses using packaged materials, and this program would be more open-ended in approach, hence a different experience. These predictions proved to be well-founded, as the participants would tell in their feed-back on the program, although as community leaders they also proved perceptive and adaptable to the course of learning.

The learning and teaching approach was interactive, (for the transmission of messages about mass media) and practical (through the use of workshops for skills training and recapitulation on the exercises). An expected attendance of 20 to 30 meant that the sessions could be run on a 'small conference' basis, convening as a plenary session, (to hear from a media guest) or as two small groups for discussion of topics.

Materials used for group exercises included typical bundles of 'leads' or 'files' used by journalists to 'read-in' on the background to an unfamiliar issue. These included loosely targeted newspaper clippings, hand-written notes or print-offs. The task would be to quickly establish a new point of information as the 'peg' for a story in the news. Participants might work with such materials when role-playing as news reporters, and when role-playing as public relations persons (themselves) catching up on a story and developing an angle on it to propose to news media. Topical issues were used, such as attacks on Indian students, or interviews given by spokespersons for 'Antarcticans'. These latter closely resembled a particular refugee community, answering questions about

misadventures of some of their community members. 'Real-life' aids were also used, such as a guide to depositing complaints about mass media coverage with relevant regulatory or professional agencies (ACMA, Press Council, MEAA – Australian Journalists' Association); also the Social Media Change organisation's guide, 'Achieving Media Coverage ...', viewed 22nd October 2010, <<http://media.socialchange.net.au>>.

Central to these pursuits was the 'production side' approach. The participants, as a lay group in relation to news media, were invited to adopt the perspectives of media practitioners and share their experiences, in order to be able to understand and manage media more effectively. This procedure meant moving away from the more familiar habit of first making a critique founded on observation of media products.

Consistent with the 'production side' approach, 'Meet the Journalists' sessions were included, bringing in journalists from ABC Online, *The Australian*, *The Courier Mail* and APN regional newspapers, and also a former politician versed in dealing with media, and the manager of the multicultural station 4EB-FM; all to explain media outlook, tasks, practices and objectives. A strong, supplementary aspect of the training was to promote local and community media to the participants as highly amenable and effective communication channels which they could use, and which resembled 'own channels' in which the boundaries between media users and producers are much more fluid than in the case of central, mainstream media outlets. Advice was offered: that a message crafted and given to smaller outlets would not be wasted effort, but could be kept ready and employed at any time with larger outlets, and would be essential readiness practice in the meantime.

Presentation of data obtained from participants' responses

Twenty-eight people attended at least one of the four sessions in the course, with 26 contributing written feedback for the facilitators. In composition, the group had 11 female and 17 male members, drawn from 23 organisations. The latter included: The peak body ECCQ, and multicultural advocacy groups or government agencies, such as Multicultural Development Association, Multicultural Communities Council; 'national' organisations (Hong Kong, Sri Lanka Sports Association, Finnish Association, United Somali Association, Kiribati Australia Association, Rwanda Association of Queensland); religious and other communities groups (Gold Coast Multi-cultural Festival

Association, Youth Interfaith, Oral History Association, African Seniors and Elders in Queensland, Islamic Students). The participants therefore were from diverse backgrounds with differing interests. Some were political lobbyists, others were persons providing for the aged, organisers of community cultural events, or organisers of welfare and social life for members of smaller ethnic community groups.

Only two within the group attended all four sessions; four were present at three sessions, eight attended two, and 12 attended one only; (broadly, 14 took part in eight hours of classes or more). Attendances on the days: 14.11.09 (15); 26.11.09 (14); 6.2.10 (9); 13.2.10 (13). These respondents provided discriminating comments on their course experience, as might be expected given the background of most as leaders often engaged in themselves providing training. The evaluation was positive, tempered through adopting a critical approach.

First session 14.11.09: The version of the feed-back questionnaire employed that day, and the next, invited respondents to use a four-point scale of excellent/good/fair/poor, to evaluate the (i) content of the activity, (ii) the facilitators, and (iii) participants' ability to apply learning obtained from the course, i.e. amenability of the content to uptake and use. Nine or ten of the 15 respondents rated each of the values 'excellent', otherwise 'good', (except for one 'fair' response to applicability of the learning). Eleven of the respondents averred they would implement changes in their community work as a result of the training received.

Among strengths listed on the treatment of content, the respondents proposed:- Content was mainly generated from among participants, while the activity brought together a cross section of advocacy groups, and it 'valued participants' pre-existing knowledge'. The approach to information was seen to be solution-orientated, and 'different ideas were really explored'. Topicality with the materials and examples was a strength; with 'good examples', 'solid practical points to follow up on'. The sessions were found to have a strong rationale, using goals and strategy, orientated towards preventing conflict. They also had a 'strong focus on media', and gave a 'real picture of the media market in Australia and the possibilities to reach them with our messages for the communities'.

The facilitators were seen as 'very experienced' and informative, able to use an interactive approach to create a 'feel-free environment'. They had 'brought stakeholders together and brought out their aims and

objectives' for greater exposure. The facilitators' strong news knowledge enabled them to bring up interesting examples. Applicability of the lessons to practice was vouchsafed, participants owning to acquiring a 'better attitude and approach to media in general', which would translate into more media-orientated activity, such as 'contacting media in a proper organised fashion', building on media contacts already made, making new contacts with journalists, testing ideas with local media, and providing 'credible rather than colourful sources', that is to say protecting vulnerable persons where you can put forward skilled spokespersons instead.

Second session 28.11.09: Half the responses in all three categories (content, facilitators, applicability) rated the activity 'excellent', the other half 'good'. Eight of 10 answering the question, said they would make changes in their own work in response to what they had learned. Participants said they obtained much new information, new learning, 'getting to know how the journalists do things'. Teaching of interviewing through role play by facilitators including guests from media was 'very important and the experience of facilitators was eye opening'. 'Interesting speakers showed proper interviewing techniques'. One respondent proposed more time for practical sessions and open discussion. Facilitators having background in media had been 'very entertaining while knowing their subject thoroughly'. Apart from the learning of interviewing techniques, responses in regard to applying the lessons included a resolution to 'monitor news stories more and respond when there is an opportunity to build a relationship with journalists'.

Third session 6.2.10: A more detailed questionnaire was employed for the last two sessions, looking for more information for this research, inviting participants to register agreement or disagreement on a five point scale (Strongly Agree, A, Neutral, D, Strongly Disagree), to questions about their experience:

1. The training met my expectations
2. I will be able to apply the knowledge learned
3. The content was organised and easy to follow
4. The materials distributed were useful
5. The facilitators were knowledgeable
6. The quality of instruction was good
7. Group participation and interaction were encouraged

8. Adequate time was provided for questions and discussion

In summary, responses to these criteria rated the experience as 'strongly agree' in four out of the nine cases, the rest 'agree'. The first four performance criteria were rated the weakest, though marginally so; 'agreement' being chosen for those more times than 'strongly agree'. It could be inferred that members of the group found the activity well set up with able facilitators (points 4-8), while they had to give more consideration to whether the organisation and applicability of the content had matched their expectations. In written comments, one contributor suggested that more time be allocated for the sessions. Materials distributed were not given highest rating, or in one case were rated 'neutral', suggesting that the authenticity of the 'difficult' bundle of haphazard material used for research – as in the 'real world' of media – was not always well taken. As mentioned above business course participants may be conditioned to expect bought kits, with produced-up workbooks, packaged online presentations and the like.

Fourth session 13.2.10: This became a popular session bringing together knowledge from previous times, with video recording of interviews, and use of playback for discussion on the communication principles entailed. Nine of the 13 respondents gave a 'strongly agree' rating across the board. Once again the first four criteria were slightly less favoured. Written comments included: 'More of such training would boost confidence', and 'I have learned a lot and it is going to help me deal with media in future'.

Extended questionnaire

A longer questionnaire was sent to participants after the end of the program inviting them to elaborate on comments made in the initial feed-back documents. Only eight were returned, but provided sufficient commentary to be useful as a supplement.

The first section of the questionnaire asked the respondents about the extent of their prior contacts with mass media, and their view of the treatment of ethnic and multicultural issues, generally, in the news media. One had never previously been in contact with mass media; the rest had sometimes had contact; no respondent had often had contact. Of the seven who had made contact, one had found the experience very rewarding; the rest rewarding enough; none said disappointing or terrible. As for the respondents' view of the treatment of ethnic / multicultural groups and issues in both news coverage, and general sections of the mass media; five considered this treatment to

be 'good', while two said 'bad', and one 'very bad'. (Choices had been 'very good', 'good', 'indifferent', 'bad', 'very bad').

The next section asked the respondents for their judgment of the efforts of mass media, before and after their own exposure to training. Six were tolerant, describing the media as either very good organisations giving good service, or ordinary-enough organisations doing the best they could. Four of those respondents registered no change in attitude, and two indicated an improved, but sympathetic understanding, by down-grading the media from 'very good' to 'ordinary enough [...] doing the best they can' (2010, pers. comm.). Two respondents were unimpressed by mass media, viewing them both before and after the training, as 'very mediocre organisations doing a poor job' (2010, pers. comm.). None took the fourth, hostile option of 'bad organisations deliberately misrepresenting reality'.

A less reserved response was achieved by a test applied at the end of the questionnaire, where respondents were given a list of 56 words to describe mass media (See Appendix). Half were positive descriptors and half were pejorative. The list of words was randomly compiled through discussions among facilitators on the training program, drawing on general discourse about journalism and media, heard in the context of doing journalism, or studying media issues at university. The respondents were asked to mark any number of words that they considered an accurate description of mass media and media products. The following are the words marked in the two groups, positive and pejorative, and the frequency of references to each.

Accurate, considerate, creative (+2 additional mentions), entertaining (+2), hard-working (+1), highly-skilled (+1), intelligent, interesting, reasonable, well-expressed

Arrogant (+ 3), biased (+2), cynical, dull, inflammatory (+1), ignorant, ill-conceived, intrusive (+1), lazy, provocative (+1), sensationalist (+1), silly, stupid, unfair, untrustworthy (+1), untruthful,

While drawing on only eight respondents the outcome of this exercise suggests that such a test with a large group might produce a definite indicator of attitudes or at least opinion. In this case, the overall response is tending towards a negative bias. Ten positive words were chosen and 16 positive indications in total (four words being mentioned by more than one respondent). On the pejorative side, 16 words were chosen, with 26 pejorative indications overall. Three of the respondents

chose only pejorative words, two others chose positive words but for one pejorative word in their list, and the remainder gave a more balanced selection. They all chose only between four and ten words each.

The outcome of this test is consistent with the assumption that community spokespersons, as a background attitude, are discontented with mass media, and it therefore highlights an obstacle to achieving working relationships with journalists.

These respondents, when questioned on the impacts on them of the training in media relations, said they could adjust such negative feelings. Six responded that they had learned new things which changed their opinion in an important way; two chose the less affirmative statement that they had learned some things which might influence a change of opinion; none took the option of saying they had not learned anything particularly new affecting outlook, or had learned nothing and would not be changing their mind. Similarly, six agreed with the statement: 'I am much better equipped to deal with mass media as part of my work for my community organisation' (2010, pers. comm.). Two took the more reserved option: 'I have learned something which should help with my work [...]' (2010, pers. comm.). None averred that they had learned very little, or that they had come away with a more negative feeling than before about their ability to deal with mass media. The usefulness of this limited set of reports, to the researchers, is that it signals the possibility, that through acquiring knowledge of mass media and training in media relations, spokespersons may be equipped to suspend or side-step obstructive, negative impressions of mass media which they have.

DISCUSSION OF THE RESPONSES AND CONCLUSION

The respondent group, if not all professionals in the multicultural sector, presented as an able leadership cadre prepared to work proactively to take advantage of opportunities with mass media. The phenomenon of dissatisfaction with media obstructs efforts of community organisations to engage with journalists, and a significant amount of this background dissatisfaction was evident in the responses. At the same time the participants overall indicated little animosity in regard to their own direct experience with media, and were interested to learn from practitioners. Most members of this group judged that the training was directly applicable to actual work they planned to do with news media; it had in fact provoked most to want to proceed with such work. As for whether mass media is to be seen

as peripheral to the 'real' affairs of life – like jobs, housing, health, legal protection or education – or forming part of the centre; the responses received would indicate it was being moved more towards centre stage, in the view of those taking part. With practice in use of media, the idea of mass media as part of the social cement of communication becomes more persuasive.

These contributors can be seen as a group wanting to tackle the reality of victim-hood in the experience of mass media by multicultural communities, through developing an informed assertiveness on their own part as community leaders; through learning rules of the media game. At the same time, such action on their part, based on knowledge, to change relations among media and publics, might contribute to the 'implicit challenge to hierarchies' identified in the literature review (Jacubowicz, 2003).

The approach to teaching and learning was endorsed, beginning with an introduction to mass media, seen as both media organisations and media practitioners, and moving into skills training for doing media. It included engagement of practitioners in the training, as informants and leaders; and conducting classes mostly as interactive small group sessions or workshops, able to draw on existing knowledge and resourcefulness of the practitioners themselves. The review of this media training program for community spokespersons has led to an assertion that multicultural interests may develop effective access to use of mainstream media, especially where leaders in the field study these media and have preparation for becoming engaged. It has demonstrated by reference to participants' feedback from an intensive course in media management, that representatives of community organisations will develop a strong disposition to take action, in using media. The same persons will agree that relations between mass media and the multicultural community are fraught with difficulties, over misunderstandings, journalists' lack of knowledge, and often enough disingenuousness on the part of journalists looking for a contentious story. (In a final discussion to review the training course, it was proposed, with some consensus of support, that the participants might act as mentors or tutors in a future project, where journalists in their turn would be the learners, to find out about perspectives of the multicultural communities).

In a few cases in discussions within the training exercise, individuals, out of exasperation would raise the idea of having strong guidelines or strengthened regulation of media, to prevent unfair reporting being done

with impunity. More pronouncedly though, the participants took a managerial approach, seeing media management in terms of problem solving. They appreciated and identified with the course coordinators' choice of method, to work through a series of hypothesised problem situations.

A key question remains: will this approach work? While the training program did include treatments of the anatomy of issues in the news, to better understand the reportage that went on, participants had to take it on trust from the facilitators that informed media management would bring results; that problems, and certain 'problem' people they encountered in media organisations, would not prove intractable. The participants said they had obtained for the first time, essential knowledge about media systems, and would set out to apply it. Mass media concerns had moved from the periphery of mind and experience, to being seen as more central to the work people were doing. They accepted advice to develop, and build expertise using 'own' media, which is to say their own online services, and extend their engagements with local and community media – seen from the literature as a zone of high-impact communication for communities.

In regard to mainstream media it can be argued that a 'production side' training approach has generated awareness and pointed the way to action, except that outcomes cannot be assumed. Whether change is to occur in media treatment of multicultural issues as a result of the training exercise will depend to a large extent on the application of the individual spokespersons, working by trial and error. The experience of this course may have demonstrated practical options for multicultural communities to begin work towards an actually transformed situation. This may contribute to strategic change, from an enforced passivity often in the face of mortifying treatment in mass media, to effective intervention as principals and rights-holders in public debate.

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Appendix

Choices for the 'word test'.

'Would you mark whichever of these words would describe what you think of the mass media and mass media products, such as the daily news? You might circle none at all, some of them, or all of them.

Accurate, Arrogant, Attractive, Biased, Bigoted, Boorish, Boring, Conscientious, Considerate, Creative, Cynical, Discreet, Dull, Entertaining, Fair-minded, Generous, Good-humoured, Greedy, Hard-working, Highly-skilled, Incompetent, Inflammatory, Ill-conceived, Ignorant, Insightful, Intelligent, Interesting, Intrusive, Kind, Lazy, Loud-mouthed, Mean, Nasty, Offensive, Pleasant, Polite, Practical, Provocative, Responsible, Reasonable, Right, Sensationalist, Sensitive, Silly, Stupid, Talented, Tiresome, Tolerant, Unfair, Unintelligible, Untrustworthy, Untruthful, Well-expressed, Well-informed, Wise, Wrong.'

Behind the 'Big Man': Uncovering hidden migrant networks within Scandinavian-Australian sources

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Abstract

This paper is a reflective piece discussing several issues that have arisen during historical research regarding Scandinavian migration to Australia. The paper discusses some of the issues that historical sources have thrown up while researching Scandinavian Diasporic communities, namely the way in which networks of belonging and community have remained hidden behind sources controlled and produced by elite members of migrant groups and the figureheads of Scandinavian Australia – the 'Big Men'.¹

The 'Big Men' phenomena and associated problems of source bias and record incompleteness are examined, to point out reasons for a past historical focus that has been built upon exaggerated and contributory material and, as such, fails to give proper credit to other community members that were often involved in the creation of stronger and lasting social networks than these figureheads themselves. In particular, the role of Scandinavian women and their networks will be examined to point out alternatives to previous positivistic approaches to the impact of Scandinavians in Australia. The paper argues that for a more complete understanding of those involved in the creation of ethnic migrant communities, scholars must view all historical material in a way that focuses on not only the 'Big Men' that are fixed in the foreground of the sources, but those figures and groups that have until now remained in the peripheral vision, unexamined and uncelebrated.

Keywords

Australia, Big Men, Community building, Migration, Networks, Scandinavia, Sources, Women

A BLURRED IMAGE OF THE PAST

In order to construct as full and accurate picture of the Scandinavian-Australian community at the turn of the 20th Century as is

possible, one issue continues to blur the lense of history – that of the 'Big Men.' In most available source material, the preponderance of key individuals in the historical record has led to an exaggeration of their exploits and, in turn, their assumed heightened significance to community building processes amongst other Scandinavian migrants. Many of these positivistic accounts fail to interact with other elements of the community, especially women, who have been left out of much of the history of Scandinavia Australia. As Miriam Dixon has written about the male dominated state of the period and later histories of Australia, when it comes to creating community or national heroes 'Australian gods were and are largely misogynistic' (Dixon 1994:12). Source material, especially early historic accounts by migrant authors such as Jens Lyng, are steeped in a male-centric world view where the few larger than life characters remain the centre of the average Scandinavian-Australian's vision, and this has been passed onto modern readers. However, such sources and past histories are still useful, and this paper argues that the real challenge is in re-reading sources in order to reveal information that was hidden - or of no interest - to the original author. In this way, can a more complete and inclusive picture of late 19th Century Scandinavian-Australian communities be realised, by looking in the shadow of the 'Big Men'.

This paper derives from an historical enquiry into Scandinavian migration to Australia in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, the purpose of which is to ascertain the extent and significance of community building and ethnic identity construction within a white minority population under the growing umbrella of Australian nationalism. This study is particularly interested in how Scandinavians attempted to establish both national and transnational identities within a migrant context, at a time when political and cultural change in both the originating and host nations were affecting how these people viewed themselves, what they took to be important identifying markers of their ethnicity – such as the re-invention of the *Fugleskydning* (bird

¹ The term 'Big Men' is used here to categorise a group of successful and influential metropolitan migrants who, due to their high status within the Scandinavian migrant community, have historically overshadowed the contributions of others, such as women's groups and rural or more communal associations.

shoot),² – and how they related to others during the period. The physical and imagined networks that linked migrants into a larger ethnic community are also important in tracing and understanding the need for Scandinavians to still group upon past cultural and largely national similarities despite limited numbers, vast distances and an assumed ease of assimilation. The study hopes that the findings will be important for research of other minority groups during a period marked by the move away from cosmopolitanism towards a homogenous Australia, both racially white and culturally Anglo-Celtic Australian. However, for this study to be a success, it is important to uncover more about those actually involved in the creation of networks and fostering ethnic activities. While this was sometimes carried out by ‘Big Men’ such as church leaders, the hidden networks of those tributary characters – those behind the scenes working tirelessly to promote community ties – can also yield impressive results and flesh out understandings of Scandinavian needs for belonging, identity and cultural camaraderie while living in a new land. In order to do this, we must escape the ‘Big Men’ focus and look for others intent on this worthwhile goal.

An example of the frustrating inability to escape these figureheads occurred several months ago while conducting archival work in Brisbane. The majority of material surrounding the Scandinavian community had followed a pattern related to middle-aged, affluent Scandinavian men and their exploits in an Australian business or social environment. This was unsurprising, but presented a biased portrayal of the community and it was difficult to see whether groups had contact with one another regularly.

This perception was radically altered by the discovery a dilapidated book labelled ‘Autographs’ in a pile of Scandinavian ephemera. It initially appeared to be nothing more than a young girl’s collection of people that she had ran into from about 1905-1911 as she voyaged around Australia. Most of the diary was in English, but there was a smattering of Danish and Swedish within the pages, and it became clear that this girl (clearly a Dane or second-generation migrant) was meeting with and had collected the signatures of most of the recognisably important Scandinavians of the time, not to mention the mayors of Sydney, Bundaberg and

Cairns, consular officials, ships captains, as well as countless other members of rural Scandinavian migrant families. It even contained an original watercolour by Scandinavian artist Edward Friström, who was based in Brisbane at the time. While the information within was largely anecdotes and bad jokes, as a whole this book appeared to be a representative depiction of the web of networking and social relations to which certain Scandinavian migrants were privy.

Its pages traced the journey of a young girl and the migrants and officials she met with; how she kept in contact with others in a physical migrant network. It was also one of the first sources that had shown the small scale links between migrant communities – notes by other young girls with Scandinavian surnames, in areas such as Warwick, Kingaroy, Coolabunia, and Mt Morgan all showing the lower levels of migrant networking, and was clearly differentiated from the more usual information surrounding the elite metropolitan Scandinavians. It was unclear why a young girl would be meeting with Scandinavian consular officials in Sydney, or prominent pastoral figures on the Darling Downs, until her identity became clear. Marie Ries, the daughter of Hans Madsen Ries of Dannevirke New Zealand, Mayor, businessman, pastoralist, Lutheran Priest and possibly the most influential Dane in early 20th century Australasia. After hunting for a unique source of cultural networks by someone other than an elite Scandinavian, the ‘Big Men’ stumbling block remained.

The thesis’ research has primarily examined the cultural records of the few Scandinavians who left a discernible footprint in the Australian historical landscape. Beginning with an analysis of the Scandinavian foreign language press *Norden* which operated from 1897-1945, Church paper *Kirketidende* from about 1896-1900, as well as later sources such as the *Scandinavian Courier* of the 1970s, a strong picture of a vibrant yet small Scandinavian community at the turn of the 20th century can be created. This view has been strengthened through the various small periodicals linked to clubs and church groups, such as the Danish Church’s *The Messenger* of the 1930s-1960s, and the newsletters and records of long lived clubs such as Melbourne’s *Dannebrog* and Brisbane’s *Heimdall*. In May 2010 a research trip to archival centres in Canberra, Melbourne and Adelaide also found much new material to complement this in the form of more newspaper articles, family records, migrant diaries, memoirs, and photograph albums. Throughout these records, particularly the voluminous photo collections, were images of small Scandinavian groups scattered in rural

² The *Fugleskydning* or birdshoot is a Danish traditional shooting sport that became a very popular social sport amongst Scandinavian clubs in Australia. Competitors take turns to shoot at a wooden bird on a long pole, and dismember it shot by shot. The competitor to hit the last piece, the breastplate, becomes *Fuglekong* (birdking).

areas, united behind national flags, and then others portraying vibrant and energetic metropolitan groups such as the men's clubs of Brisbane and Melbourne. These images hint at the extent and importance of migrant networking and a sense of imagined community that was felt by both groups of migrants, and the interrelations between the rural and metropolitan.

The records indicate that the Scandinavian community was an extensive network of smaller family groups operating throughout Australia mainly in a rural setting, but linked by elite metropolitan centres with the ability to produce specifically Scandinavian ethnic material such as *Norden* and to use religious and social congregations to communicate and foster feelings of similar cultural heritage and the idea of an extended immigrant family over vast distances. However, the trail of information upon these smaller rural communities, or the majority of figures in group photographs, is largely unattainable. Instead, the sources continually focus upon the few 'Big Men' figures of the migrant community. Even the community press, with articles and information concerning the majority of this population, is swamped with stories promoting these figures.

Norden for example, continually focuses its attention upon the 'Big Men'. The front page story is often dedicated to the contributions of notable Scandinavian men to the development of Australia – establishing, in a way, a pride in success and validating their move to the new land through 'Big Men'. Full page spreads of the successes of people such as goldminer Claus Grönn, or photographer, business entrepreneur and Brisbane's Danish Consul Poul Poulsen, continually call for attention and hide more subtle links to the larger Scandinavian community that is scattered through women's pages, correspondence, or club news (see *Norden* 22 December 1900: 1; *Norden* 16 October 1909:1).

This is one issue that plagues past histories of the Scandinavians in Australasia, and in the primary source material the notable focus upon exaggerated accounts of a few leading figures is clouding perceptions of the full community. The few secondary sources available, such as the work of Olavi Koivukangas and John Martin, have mostly been produced as part of celebratory programs around the bicentennial in 1988, and as such have motives strongly influenced by the need to put forward a positivistic and contributionary history of minority ethnic groups (See Koivukangas 1974; Koivukangas & Martin 1986; Beijbom & Martin 1988). As they too have been built largely upon sources such as *Norden*, it is clear to see how they

have retained a 'Big Men' approach to the study of important migrants. The same names were present in almost every source, the same few people with their hands on the jugular of the Scandinavian community. Viewed by themselves, it would be easy to think that the entire community was built upon the backs of less than 20 'Big Men', rather than the some 16000 that identified as Scandinavians in the 1901 census (Jupp & York 1995:10, 25).

There are several reasons for this 'Big Men focus' in the records and later histories, and it is easy to be drawn to the exploits of the few Scandinavians who indeed seem to have accomplished so much during their lifetimes. Firstly, it is important to understand that of the full Scandinavian community of the late nineteenth century, records only exist concerning a handful of them, and these, to be expected, are the elite members whose records have survived in metropolitan centres. Only the small number of successful members of the community are ever discussed in detail in written surviving records, even newspapers set up to survey and communicate across the entire Scandinavian-Australian readership, and for the majority of the rural migrant communities nothing but the photographs or autographs gathered by travelling elites exist to illuminate the majority of the Scandinavian community. Some of these men, too, did deserve this pedestal, for the sheer number of achievements and qualifications that some of these migrants managed to accomplish is amazing. Several careers, long hours and a lot of hard work meant that many did amazing things and continually reappear in the record for this reason alone, such as Danish Consul, chemist, dentist, sugar scientist and teacher Jakob Christensen and blacksmith, engineer, and long serving Pastor PC Ligaard, not to mention the achievements of Hans Madsen Ries.

It is also important to note the purpose of the foreign language press, and while it is the greatest source for demonstrating the full nature of the community through correspondence and interaction, can be misleading in its agenda of celebration and exaggeration. *Norden* and its editor Jens Sorensen Lyng, for example, was a main proponent in writing an exaggerated history of Scandinavians to further hopes for migration from Europe and allow a greater chance of ethnic communities to develop, such as his own failed Scandinavian settlement in Kinglake, Victoria. His early histories, which were written simultaneously with the newspaper, show the need to promote Scandinavian contributions for his own success, as a larger community meant a larger readership and an increase in subscriptions for not only his paper but his literary endeavours

(See Lyng 1927; Lyng 1933). His news itself follows a 'Big Men' ideal, as its main purpose was to inform the community of the pioneering exploits of the few successful men and pushed a message of success and hope in the Scandinavian-Australian community.

For the historian, this creates a problem, and diverts attention away from other contributors to community building practices. Instead of focussing upon these figures who have dominated the front pages of the news and been written about so completely, we need to look behind their exploits and find other migrants that were investing in community building enterprises and often doing much more for inclusive group building and the maintenance of Scandinavian ethnicity. Within the records, there are often hints to the larger community, one made viable through the networking efforts of the people around the 'Big Men'. There were also many other people, often women who supported and facilitated these networks however.

Olga Claussen, for example, is one such person in the background contributing much to the continuation and improvement of imagined communities though her role as second editor of *Norden*. Under Jens Lyng, *Norden* followed a strongly contributory history for the first 7 or 8 years, where he steered the paper from strength to strength promoting a united Scandinavian community in Australia through columns focussing on important Scandinavians, events, and associations designed to create a strong Scandinavian readership. However, in 1906 Lyng moved to his community in Kinglake and left the paper in the hands of an unlikely heir – a young, unmarried Danish woman by the name of Olga Claussen, (*Norden* 1 April 1911:1) who was assisted by her family in carrying on Lyng's work (Koivukangas & Martin 1986:137).

Olga was instrumental in changing the paper from a propaganda-driven vehicle into a community noticeboard, taking some of the edge off the elitist and metropolitan focus of Lyng's previous period. It is during Olga's reign that the first 'Big Woman' is promoted through a page concerning concert singer Madam Agnes Jansen (*Norden* 7 July 1906: 3), and by 1909 Claussen had introduced an English page to include the families of Scandinavians who through marriage were unable to read the majority of the paper (*Norden* 21 August 1909: 13). Recipes begin to appear, written by other women contributors, and the paper shows signs of a more laid back and more welcoming tone. A strong sense of women's networking also becomes apparent, and in 1907 women such as Madam Waerne were using the paper to organise women's events and groups on par

with the men's social clubs – as she writes, 'the time is ripe for the realisation of some scheme for bringing the ladies together unhampered by the presence of the other sex' (*Norden* 7 August 1909: 13). Notes of thanks for aid from new migrant women appear, and the variedness of women's surnames suggests a more thorough integration and relationship with women from outside the Scandinavian community than before. Similarly, in the pages of *Norden* and even the later *Scandinavian Courier*, the most community orientated pages are most often the cooking pages, where recipes are exchanged regardless of nationality (*Norden* 12 December 1910:10; *Scandinavian Courier* March 1979:7). It is these areas, like the English page introduced by Claussen, that echo the strongest sentiments of inclusive community building and promote a much more hybrid migrant environment than proposed by elitist and inward looking 'Big Men' such as Jens Lyng. Eventually, the pressure of running the paper proved too much and Olga resigned in 1911, but by this time her mark had been left on the paper.

Similarly, other notable Scandinavians relied on the help of others around them and their contributions must be noted. Even 'Big Men' such as Pastor Ligaard, who supposedly single handedly was the Danish Church in Queensland between 1925-1961 (Koivukangas & Martin 1986: 143) also had much help in promoting the Danish church through the aid of his five daughters, who wrote and prepared much of his newsletter *The Messenger*, and without such help would not have been able to reach so many of his congregations across Queensland.

An analysis of these other circles of community building demonstrates another interesting idea for further study. It is the women's role in the sources that seem to show stronger connection to Australian society as a whole, rather than the elitist men who are focussed on nationalist concerns in their walled-in clubs, or the spiritual salvation of fellow countrymen. Men, through these records, seem to live in an impervious bubble of Scandinavianism, intent on remaining separate from a growing dominance of 'Australianism'. Women, on the other hand, show a greater regard for the connections in the here and now, and a 'bottom-up' style of migrant community building is prevalent here. There are also many sources detailing the role of women and families in rural centres who were important in holding onto or recreating ethnic tradition, such as the preparation of social events and fundraisers. Ethnic identity and national pride was further promoted by women's groups through later events such as the Swedish Evening in Melbourne in 1937, and the King Haakon Norwegian Relief

Pageant of 1940. The ways in which women's groups contributed to this sense of identity has been overlooked due to the focus upon successful 'Big Men', but it must be made clear that such group activities were often more vital for the promotion of an inclusive migrant community than the individual achievements of the few role models afforded by the 'Big Men' epithet. This distinction between male and female, should not suggest a universal phenomenon – certainly, many sources are heavily biased towards positivistic historical importance and the point of this paper has been to argue for some sort of balance. In order to reach an equilibrium in understanding the true significance and extent of Scandinavian ethnicisation and community building in Australia, we must deflate some of these big figures and instead promote those that have remained hidden yet were still just as valuable in promoting migrant community.

Thus, Marie Ries and her diary can be perceived as even more important than their 'Big Men' links. Although relying on her father to enable her to connect with the community on such a scale, she is far more influential than her father in plotting the extent of these migrant networks. Much like Jens Lyng, Marie acts as a contemporary historian, chronicling in however little detail, the important relationships she as a member of the Scandinavian-Australian community had during the period. She is vital in showing the connections that women, and second generation Scandinavians, were making within the Pacific landscape. Similarly, the groups of women and men who formed organisations away from the elite men's clubs did much for the creation of ethnic tradition and the continuation of their heritage, and these too require study on a level with their 'Big Men' counterparts.

The 'Big Men' phenomenon is certainly an issue in the historical study of migrant communities in which limited sources survive to give a full picture of not only elite migrant society, but the entire range of community involvement. To see the ties between migrants, their communities, and the society in which they lived, it is important to look behind these

figures who dominate the records for the social networks that really allowed those who idolised the 'Big Men' to feel as if they were a part of the community. The hints and traces of migrant networking currently being located in this study have shown that the least celebrated of these people may have actually been the greatest proponents of inclusivity and given the most to the encouragement of new members of the community – migrant or otherwise. Through a focus upon such hidden groups and activities, the image of Scandinavian communities and networks of identity can become sharper and more detailed as more people's smaller contributions to the group begin to balance the great successes of the few.

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Migrants Between Worlds: Inclusion, Identity and Australian Intercountry Adoption

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Abstract

When migrant issues of identity, citizenship and marginalization are considered, research has traditionally focused on those who have arrived as adults or as complete family groups. While there has been considerable research on child migration to Australia, intercountry adoption remains a small yet significant area of research. However, past adoption research has usually considered intercountry adoptees through the paradigm of adoptees facing challenges of identity and family integration, rather than as migrants in their own right. As migrants, intercountry adoptees usually consist of children from non-European, non-English speaking backgrounds living with English speaking European Australian families. This provides such migrants with both advantages and disadvantages. On the positive side, they are raised as part of the dominant cultural group and share this privileged status and identity, having access to cultural capital and social benefits that derive from membership of this group. On the negative side, they have the physical attributes of the outsiders/others, can be perceived by those who do not know them as outsiders/others, and often have limited opportunity to share in their birth culture. Repositioning intercountry adoptees as migrants rather than adoptees provides new opportunities to address the challenges faced by them, their families and their Australian host society.

Keywords

Ethnicity, hybrid identity, inter-country adoption, migrant community, multicultural, social and cultural capital, white privilege.

MIGRANTS BETWEEN WORLDS: INCLUSION, IDENTITY AND AUSTRALIAN INTERCOUNTRY ADOPTION

The research on migrant issues of identity, citizenship and marginalisation has naturally been dominated by studies on those who arrived as adults or as complete family groups. Research has also explored child migration to Australia, but intercountry adoption remains an area on the margins despite the growing significance of this community whose members were born in countries that range

from Vietnam to South Korea, and from China to Ethiopia. There are multiple dimensions to intercountry adoption research, but the dominant perspectives represent it as part of the adoption realm rather than as a form of migration, and intercountry adoptees are not usually represented as an immigrant community in their own right. Intercountry adoptees are undeniably adoptees as the conventional discourse claims, but their multiple identities need to be acknowledged. They must be examined from a migrant-centric framework and as a migrant community, and studies of migrants in Australia should be inclusive of intercountry adoptees. Intercountry adoptees are child migrants, rather than just being adoptees with different physical characteristics to be observed through an adoption centric paradigm. Once they are re-presented as migrants, new opportunities for exciting hybrid identities become apparent.

The intercountry adoption community is characterised by their small numbers, and their division into discrete national based groups. In 2009 it is probable that intercountry adoptees in Australia numbered around 8,200 individuals, most aged under 40. The numbers entering Australia in any given year fluctuate, with arrivals over the past decade usually being in the high 300s, and with 349 arriving in Australia in 2008-2009 (AICAN 2010).¹ Although this is a small community within the Australian population, the community itself becomes considerably larger when the total number of adoptees, their adoptive families² both nuclear and extended, and their partners and children are included. When debating

¹ Unless otherwise stated, statistics are taken from the Australian intercountry adoption network database <<http://www.aican.org/statistics.php>>.

² The term adoption triangle represents the three interests of adoption, these being the birth parents, the adopted child and the adoptive parents. This simplistic image ignores extended family, group interests, social attitudes, and the dynamics of the process (Marshall and McDonald 2001). Adoptees have multiple 'real' parents (Pavao 2005:1) but in this paper the term parent will refer to adoptive parent unless birth parent is specified.

whether intercountry adoptees can be legitimately seen as a community in their own right, it might be argued that their primary definition is one of national based groups such as Australian-Chinese adoptees, Australian-Filipino adoptees or Australian-Taiwanese adoptees. They may have such identities, yet they also have multiple identities and are identified as an intercountry adoptee community by government departments. All this indicates that despite their small numbers there is a case for intercountry adoptees to be recognised by researchers as a migrant community in their own right.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF INTERCOUNTRY ADOPTION IN AUSTRALIA

Internationally, the practice of intercountry adoption began in the 1940s with the arrival of post-war European orphans to the United States of America, and in the 1950s intercountry adoption became transracial after the Korean War.³ Although the Korean adoption program was initially focused on abandoned children of mixed Korean-American parentage and on war orphans, the program soon focused on ethnic Korean adoptees, and more than 100,000 children settled in the United States in the succeeding sixty years. Intercountry adoption across ethnic and national boundaries developed beyond Korea, and the United States model of intercountry adoption was to be followed by western European states as fertility rates declined in the 1970s.

In the immediate post-war period, intercountry adoption to Australia based on the United States model was impossible because of the racist White Australia Policy. This was an era when both Labor and Liberal parties supported the expulsion of temporary wartime arrivals of non-European descent, and community attitudes were opposed to the migration of non-European or partly European children, regardless of their parentage. This included the small group of Australian-Japanese children living in southern Japan in the late 1950s. While there was sympathy regarding the poor living conditions of these children who had been fathered and abandoned by Australian soldiers stationed in Japan during the Occupation and the Korean War, the official attitude was that it was inappropriate for them to settle in Australia (Elder 2007).

³ The term transracial is frequently used to distinguish between adoptees and adopters who share the same cultural background and ethnic heritage, and those that do not. For a British account of the baby boomer and Generation Y experiences, see Gill and Jackson (1983).

The end of the White Australia policy and the relaxing of racist community attitudes created the conditions to allow non European migration, and thus changed the demographic composition of Australia. However, it needs to be acknowledged that these changes also contributed to the acceptance of the concept of non-European intercountry adoption. The increase in non-European intercountry adoption to Australia is usually associated primarily with the decline in local adoptions but there is also a link between decline in racist attitudes and the liberalising of migration.

Small numbers of Vietnamese war orphans were adopted by Australian families in the late 1960s and early 1970s, and one highly publicised group arrived as the war reached its closing stages. Intercountry adoption was limited before the 1980s, and statistically significant intercountry adoption to Australia began in 1979-80 when 66 children arrived (Armstrong & Slaytor 2001:189). Intercountry adoption increased as local adoptions declined. Several factors were responsible for the decline in local adoptions including more progressive attitudes and support to women choosing to become single mothers, and the increased availability of contraception and abortion (House of Representatives, Standing Committee on Family and Human Services 2005:1-4).

Intercountry adoption had stabilised to a rate of slightly less than 400 per year by 2008,⁴ and the majority of children coming to Australia were not adopted to known relatives. The

⁴ The Australian intercountry adoption rate is substantially lower than in comparable affluent western democracies. The sometimes problematic adoption system in the United States is publicised in Australia, and references in Australian popular culture frequently emphasise adoptions by celebrities such as Angelina Jolie and Madonna. Celebrity adoption is atypical of any intercountry adoption experience. In 2004 United States intercountry adoption reached its highest with 22,900 intercountry adoptions, a peak that declined to 12,700 in 2009, and virtually none of these involved celebrities. Another difference between the Australian and United States experiences is the strong domestic adoption culture of the United States. Despite its high profile in Australia, United States intercountry adoption is relatively low in proportion to population. Affluent democratic European states such as Sweden, Ireland, Spain, Denmark, Italy and Norway have higher rates of intercountry adoption in proportion to their populations than the United States, with the United States falling between them and Australia. The current low rate of intercountry adoption within Australia can be explained by government policies, legacies of injustice and poor practices of the past. For further information see Gehrmann (2005).

overall numbers of intercountry adoptions in Australia is relatively stable, but rates are declining slightly as a proportion of the national population. Children have primarily come from non-European countries, and in the past decade the most significant countries of origin have been China, South Korea, Ethiopia, the Philippines, India, Thailand, Taiwan, Hong Kong, and Columbia.

As migrants, intercountry adoptees are typically children from non-European, non-English speaking backgrounds living with English-speaking European-Australian families. There are exceptions however, as some state jurisdictions place a high priority on would-be adoptive parents with links to the country of origin. Countries of origin such as India and Sri Lanka follow a similar system placing the highest priority on the adoption of children who can be placed with Australian families who share the cultural origins of the child. In the 1960s and 1970s poor adoption practices resulted in negative consequences for some adoptees. The poor practices included low levels of cultural awareness by prospective parents and limited pre-placement education by government departments. This compounded the challenges for some intercountry adoptees who experienced difficulties based on having been adopted into a predominantly Anglo-Australian world where a child with brown skin was a rarity, and where the dominant cultural representation of an Australian did not include them. Armstrong and Slaytor (2001) record accounts of such poor practice, and the cultural isolation and the suffering that eventuated. As intercountry adoption increased, adoption practices were reformed to ensure far greater cultural sensitivity and support for adoptees. At the same time the predominantly Anglo-Australian society of the 1960s and 1970s was also going fundamental changes.

In contrast to adoption practice in previous eras, prospective adoptive parents now undergo extensive pre-adoption education, testing and assessment before they can be considered for adoption. They are educated on the significance of cultural awareness, and part of their assessment examines their knowledge of their prospective child's birth culture. Prospective parents are assessed on their commitment to maintaining cultural links to their child's country of origin, and are encouraged to join local intercountry adoption support groups. While some adoptive parents might eventually reduce their commitment to maintaining cultural heritage and cultural links, many parents passionately embrace those aspects of their child's birth culture that they are able to access. It is impossible for adoptive parents to replicate the upbringing of the birth culture, but they can privilege and

value it during the upbringing of their adoptive children.

SOCIAL AND CULTURAL CAPITAL

When compared to other migrants, intercountry adoptees have access to a very high quantity of Australia-specific social and cultural capital because of their close affinity with the Australian culture of their adoptive parents. Despite their origins in the developing world they inherit the social and cultural capital that is comparable to, and in some instances higher than that of relatively privileged migrants from Anglosphere countries such as South Africa, Zimbabwe, the United Kingdom and New Zealand. While having a physical appearance that might lead the white Australian observer to see them as an outsider from Asia or Africa, the intercountry adoptee has had the upbringing, education and affluence that gives them opportunity to select the identity of the insider from middle Australia.

Their culture is that of contemporary multicultural Australia, an Australia that is increasingly influenced by globalising trends. Their own household cultures are multiracial, and this is significantly different from old-style mainstream Australian culture as Australia, like Canada and the United States, has become increasingly multicultural since the 1960s. While on the surface intercountry adoption narrative often appears in the mass media as a story where the affluent whites from the developed world adopt a brown poor child, contemporary Western society is of course far more diverse than the above proposition suggests. To take a Canadian example, adoptive mother Jasmine Akbarali's Pakistani-Finnish biological heritage, and her Japanese Italian French-Canadian aboriginal and Jewish extended family linkages are not so remarkable in a 21st-century adoption story. Such diversity would have been unusual in an adoption story of the 1950s (Akbarali 2008). Indeed, the ethnic diversity of Akbarali's own family background makes the ethnicity of her Chinese-born daughters unexceptional. In an ever more diverse Australia, the proposition that culturally isolated white middle-class adoptive parents might raise an intercountry adoptee in an Anglo Australian monocultural environment is increasingly implausible.

Examination of the background of adopting families indicates that they are likely to possess the liberal, socially progressive educated middle class values that support multiculturalism. Intercountry adoption is a challenging process. The cost of adoption can appear prohibitive, and in Australia the costs

of adoption vary. For example, fees for adoption from the Philippines are currently US\$3,500 while adoption fees for Taiwan are US\$10,000. These costs exclude government and legal administrative charges within Australia, airfares, and hotel accommodation within the country of adoption. The bureaucratic process of adoption itself can often discourage less affluent or less educated prospective parents who may feel they lack familiarity and skills to negotiate the arcane and complex world of white-collar bureaucracy. Furthermore, authorities in the countries of origin often base their decision to allow international adoption on education and class-based criteria, and on a commitment by the adopting parents to adhere to specified values, such as maintaining the host culture where possible. In some instances this class-based criteria mandates the possession of high levels of secondary education, trade skills or university degrees and having a proven high income. Countries of origin want their children to go to more affluent and culturally literate families, which maximises the resources available to the child, thus increasing the opportunity for the child to have all their needs met.

A comparison can be made between intercountry adoptees and other migrants who lack their extensive host community support networks. On the positive side, intercountry adoptees are raised as part of the dominant cultural group and share this privileged status and identity, having access to social and cultural capital and the benefits that derive from membership of this group. They have the level of social and cultural capital comparable to migrants from the Anglosphere, or middle class non-white professionals. The non-adopted children of other immigrants from non-English-speaking backgrounds may of course acquire such social and cultural capital, but it is harder for them to acquire this. To some extent intercountry adoptees also share white privilege in defined institutional settings. This is strongest in communities such as schools, work place settings, and small residential communities where intercountry adoptive parents have an established place. As the ethnic composition of the Australian population alters, white privilege may well become less significant, but the assumption of white privilege by technically non-white people presents some interesting avenues for further research.

LINKS WITH THE COUNTRY OF ORIGIN

There is an obvious attachment between intercountry adoptees and their adoptive families, and the child's country of origin,

which can be an emotional link, and can also be something more tangible. In some instances they communicate regularly via email and telephone with members of their extended birth family. For those intercountry adoption programs where older children are adopted to Australia after the loss of their birth parents, it is more likely that there may be continued contact with extended family members. In the case of the intercountry adoption program to Ethiopia there has been some chain migration, in the first instance with the adoption of other siblings through the intercountry adoption program, and it is possible that further chain migration of extended family members may occur in the future. It is a common characteristic of migration that immigrants who are more affluent provide remittances to support those less affluent members who remained behind in the country of origin. The Ethiopian intercountry adoption program has resulted in well-established aid programs, orphanage aid projects, business investment, and a travel company, while individual Australian families send remittances to support their new extended Ethiopian family members, and other members in their child's country of origin.

Intercountry adoptive families are also increasingly likely to have return visits or reunions to their country of origin. Return visits occur for a number of reasons that include the relative affluence of many Australian adoptive families, as well as the deeply embedded value that maintaining links to the country of origin is a critical component of best practice in intercountry adoption. Indeed, in the United States an industry has developed based on return to the country of birth for a visit to re-establish linkages and develop a sense of place. Governments such as Korea actively promote 'motherland' visits. This is not a universal experience for all intercountry adoptees. Due to the punitive nature of the One Child Policy, bureaucratic secrecy and the nature of Chinese values regarding secrecy in adoption, Chinese intercountry adoptees are likely to experience very different association with their birth country (Rojewski & Rojewski 2001).

HYBRIDITY OF THE ADOPTION COMMUNITY

Through the intercountry adoption process, Australian parents and families of intercountry adoptees become members of a hybrid adoption community, a community with a 'transracial' focus. This intercountry adoption community conducts a wide range of activities designed to support the adoptive parents, their extended family, and their adopted children. These activities can include language classes,

cooking and dance classes, intercountry adoption camps, playgroups, and gender specific weekend activities. By developing such linkages and by taking part in these activities new communities are formed. These communities might have an affinity with a particular non-Australian country such as Taiwan or Thailand, but even though these communities might engage in regular interaction with the immigrant communities in Australia who come from Taiwan or Thailand,⁵ they are not Taiwanese or Thai. The children have developed a hybridised identity, as children who are physically different from their parents and are culturally different from other immigrants from their birth country. The Australian parents have become hybridised and have adopted a new identity, that of being the parents of children who look different from them. For both sets of group members, there is a highly developed interest in the culture of the children's country or origin. To them this culture is both foreign and yet part of their identity as Australians.

While the parents and extended family of intercountry adoptees have a high affinity with their child's country of origin, in the eyes of nationals of that culture intercountry adoptees are unlikely to ever bridge this gap and become Korean or Columbian, Filipino or Indian. However, for themselves intercountry adoptees have become members of a hybrid community by adoption, and have the options of choosing their own situational ethnic identities. For example an Ethiopian adoptee can be Australian or an Ethiopian-Australian depending on their choice in a given situation. Because of the increasing ethnic diversity of Australia an Ethiopian adoptee can also position themselves within a range of black Australian or brown Australian identities, as an African or as somebody having affinities based on shared sense of identity that links them to indigenous Australians, Pacific Islanders, and African-Americans. These children can be whatever they choose to be.⁶

⁵ Close associations are often formed with national immigrant communities to allow for the development of linkages between adopted children and the migrant adults and children from the country of origin. While this is not a problem free process, it is desirable for adopted children to have birth country role models.

⁶ Australian cases of individuals with African-American and European Australian biological heritage who had been given or who had assumed an indigenous identity include Roberta Sykes and Mudrooroo. Both individuals experienced racism in a society that discriminated against brown or black skinned indigenous peoples, and had been given an indigenous identity by others that may not have matched their biological identity, but was an identity wholly appropriate to them. For further

The pain revealed by intercountry adoptees in the *The Colour of Difference* reaffirms the need to support adoptees and make them aware that they have the right to choose their own identity. Having multiple identities does not need to be problematic, but is something that can enrich and empower.

Generation Y and Generation Z intercountry adoptees in contemporary Australia are raised with a high sense of multicultural awareness, and an openness to multi-ethnic associations. This is developed through intercountry adoption support groups and the establishment of their identity as brown Australians, black Australians, or Asian Australians. This means that they are not just Thai-Australians or Chinese-Australians, but that they have an identity that is associated with their physical appearance in a positive rather than a negative way. Some racist confrontations will inevitably occur, but for an Australian host society that has been subjected to the globalising influences of Oprah Winfrey and the United Colours of Benetton advertisements, an intercountry adoptee's physical appearance is not the liability it once was. International authority figures of the last decade such as Condolezza Rice, Kofi Annan and Ban Ki-moon are just as likely to be brown as white. In a world accustomed to accepting the legitimacy of the hybrid identity of Tiger Woods as an advertising and sporting icon, the daily moralising authority of a televised Oprah Winfrey, and Beyonce or Ice Cube as idols in popular youth culture, exciting new role models appear. These, and the ascent to superpower presidency by a commodified Barack Obama,⁷ provide exponentially different role models of non-white success when contrasted to those available to intercountry adoptees who were adopted in the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s.

The new group of hybridised intercountry adoptees who are growing up as members of

detail on other African Australians see Pybus (2005).

⁷ Obama remains a contested figure, subject to racial and religious slurs. Concerns regarding his representation of his ethnic heritage are not confined to conservative white opponents. When Barack Obama began his presidential campaign his identity as a biracial individual raised by a white mother and Indonesian step father, and by his white grandparents in a nonracist environment became his defining characteristics. His Kenyan biological heritage had contributed significantly to his physical identity in a racially attuned United States, yet his upbringing was far removed from that of black America. His claimed identity as black rather than African-American was controversially challenged by black commentator Debra Dickerson, who argued that his lack of slave heritage excluded him from blackness.

Generation Y and Generation Z in 21st-century Australia are vastly different to their predecessors growing up in the 1970s and 1980s. They are in Hohmi Bhabba's third space and are a transnational and hybrid group, who unlike their predecessors are well-positioned to shape their own identity in a society that on a global and national basis is far more open and far more accepting of the diversity that they embody.

NEGATIVES FOR INTERCOUNTRY ADOPTED MIGRANTS

While intercountry adoptees can enjoy the hybrid identities identified by Gray (2009), the process of intercountry adoption is not easy for all children who experience it, and different experiences can be felt by any one individual at different stages of their own life. Many intercountry adoptees have significant feelings of grief and loss based on both loss of their specific birth family culture, and of loss of a wider ethnic/birth country culture.⁸ These feelings are often manifested in the stages of adolescence. Local adoption focuses on the aspect of loss in relation to biological family members and the birth family culture, while intercountry adoption often focuses on the loss of ethnic and birth country culture. These two areas of loss are significantly different, and can be surprisingly complex. For example, ethnic or birth family culture might reflect the national culture of a country such as Ethiopia, but it might also reflect a subnational culture such as that of the Oromo people, Ethiopia's most significant minority. Then again, an individual child might have a biological heritage that reflects a mixture of the ethnic groups that make up the Ethiopian population. So if that child wishes to identify with another culture from their country of origin, should they identify with Oromo culture or should they identify with the majority Amharic national culture? Should the child try and define themselves with the little or local traditions of village culture, or with the great or national traditions of the official culture? Which sort and which type of imagined community should they make their own?

There are many challenges facing intercountry adoptees on a daily basis. In the shopping mall or on the street, non-European intercountry adoptees are potentially the Other, and might appear to observers as outsiders and recent migrants, due to the physical identifiers that

the viewer's eyes focus on. However, they are actually well-established migrants with native fluency in Australian English, and mannerisms and a sense of identity drawn from their immersion in mainstream Australian culture. For the intercountry adoptee, there can be daily challenges and questions. Culturally articulate and well meaning individuals can intrusively question an adopted person about their country of birth which may be a place that they remember little or nothing of, or somewhere that they have little desire to relate to. The fascination with other cultures felt by a well-travelled culturally literate middle-class Australian can result in socially insensitive rudeness when questioning of a small child who finds the strange adults' interest in their unremembered country of origin puzzling.

CONCLUSION

The focus of intercountry adoption has long been on adoption at the expense of migration, as intercountry adoption researchers tried to find the solutions to immediate problems formed around an adoption triangle of adoptee, birth family and adoptive family, rather than developing a perspective that addressed the broader picture of the intercountry adoptee as a migrant member of the national society. Intercountry adoption was seen through the prism of the adoption discourse – of unmarried mothers unfairly compelled to surrender their children, of members of a stolen generation, and the associated grief and loss. All of these have their place at differing levels of significance for different intercountry adoptees, but the focus of intercountry adoption research must be broadened to include the migrant paradigm.

The numbers of local adoptions have been declining consistently since the early 1970s, and intercountry adoption has grown. Despite informal government restrictions, numbers are likely to increase to levels consistent with other western democracies as childless Australians seek to complete their families through intercountry adoption. This generational change in the composition of the adoption community as baby boomers age and memories of White Australia fade will allow the contemporary Generation Y and Generation Z intercountry adoption community to transition from their current marginal position in the domestically focused adoption community. This will allow them to adopt a new sense of community as they reposition themselves as both migrants and adoptees. If this can occur, it offers the opportunity to locate more identity choices, and more security.

⁸ Many non-adopted migrants experience loss and grief at different stages of life, but intercountry adoptees lack the strong support networks of family who have migrated together.

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Framing a research project to explore the experiences of international staff in an Australian university

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Abstract

Overlapping concepts of globalisation and internationalisation are now firmly interwoven into the institutional fabric of universities, both here and abroad. Australian universities now enrol a significant number of international students and employ increasing numbers of international staff as academic teachers and researchers. Much has been written about the experiences of international students, particularly as they relate to their transition and adaptation to universities in Australia. However, there is less corresponding research about the experiences of international academic employees in Australian universities. This paper reviews existing and associated literature, including research that explores the experience of international students or transnational professionals. It uses this literature to establish the parameters of a research project to examine the experience of international academic staff at the University of Southern Queensland (USQ). Specific issues of transnational identity, academic cultures, cultural literacy and a sense of belonging will be examined.

Keywords

Academic cultures, cultural literacy, globalisation, international academic staff, internationalisation, sense of belonging, transnational identity

INTRODUCTION

Australian universities operate more and more within a globalised context, with increasingly international student cohorts, and a progressively more international staff profile. This is a logical outcome of knowledge becoming a globalised commodity. In line with Castells' (1996) arguments about 'the network society', universities are 'naturally' knowledge institutions so they increasingly compete for staff in a global context, rather than being confined to national borders. This remains the case: but the competition has become even more intense in the past fourteen years. Whilst there has been a considerable amount of higher education research about the experiences of international students, little has

been written about international academic staff, despite one notable recent exception (Saltmarsh & Swirski 2010) which will be supported by one forthcoming (Maadad & Melkounian 2010).

The aim of this paper is to establish the parameters of a research project to investigate the experiences of international staff at the University of Southern Queensland. Because there appears to be little existing literature about the experiences and needs of international staff outside of Saltmarsh and Swirski, and because (as the Bradley Report suggests) institutional desires to attract more overseas students mean that institutions need to keep more overseas staff to meet the expected shortfall in home-grown academics, this paper will initially reference the work of Geert Hofstede. It will then proceed to a discussion on related literature in the areas of management and business communication, the international student experience, the experience of international pre-service teachers, and any literature directly related to the international staff experience. Those professional development programmes that exist for international staff within Australian universities focus on the development of language and communication skills. However, as the literature reviewed indicates, other key factors of any research framework for investigating the experience of international academic staff at the University of Southern Queensland should include: the possible mismatch of expectations between international, academic staff and those of their Australian institution; barriers to professional success and participation generated by cultural and linguistic differences; a lack of institutional support for new international academic staff; a devaluing of the contributions of international staff by their peers and their students; and a sense of exclusion rather than belonging. We argue that answers to these questions should inform any truly equitable professional development programme for international, academic staff.

THE HIGHER EDUCATION CONTEXT

The Bradley Report (2008:24) on Higher Education found that '[I]n 2006, 40.5 per cent of Australian academic staff had a country of birth other than Australia, compared with 25.7 per cent of the total workforce and 23.9 per cent of the total Australian population'. Hugo (2008, in Bradley et al. 2008:22) noted that 'universities are among the highest users' of temporary business migration visas, which allow recipients to work in Australia for up to four years. This trend may well be exacerbated by the existence of an increasingly ageing workforce, with more staff aged 45 years or older (Bradley et al. 2008): a trend that is the same for all OECD countries (Hugo, in Bradley et al. 2008).

Within a global context where universities may be competing for international staff there have been calls for Australian universities to prioritise improvement of academic working conditions. Coates, Dobson, Edwards, Friedman, Goedegebuure and Meek (2007: 30, 31) argue that 'radical change is needed in the institutional climate within which academics operate'; at an Australian level, they claim, the priority is not so much increased salaries but 'more hands on deck' - there needs to be a significant cultural change by institutional employers. However, at this point in time it seems that there have been few institutional changes to accommodate the needs of international staff. In other words, there may be a 'disconnect' between the recruitment of international staff and potential changes needed to create an environment that would allow them to thrive. In the meantime, international staff employed by Australian institutions may be being denied the opportunity to function at their professional best, as equals among equals.

Indeed, Saltmarsh and Swirski (2010: 295) indicate significant institutional shortfalls in meeting both the professional and personal needs of incoming international staff. In particular, Saltmarsh and Swirski were motivated to conduct their study because there is:

insufficient empirical data about the experiences of international academics to make effective comparisons across cultural or linguistic groups, opening the way for further research that maps the specificities of transitional issues among and between groups on a much larger scale. Little is understood about the impact of such transitions on personal, family and professional lives and about their longer-term

implications for the sustainability of the international academic workforce (2010:299)

The last line is particularly relevant. Studies such as this and Maadad and Melkounian's (2010) present research on experiences of international staff have taken place in the context of the aforementioned rising shortage of academic staff and predicted international competition to employ talented professionals. Such competition goes hand-in-hand with increasing competition in the overseas student market. While the numbers of students engaging in postgraduate studies is predicted to continue to decline, the numbers of students studying overseas is set to increase, placing further pressure on institutions to attract and retain good teachers (Access Economics, in Bradley et al. 2008). Australian institutions will compete more for students: recent figures show that 44 per cent of Central Queensland University's students, for example, are from overseas (Bradley et al. 2008: 92). Overall, 15 per cent of Australian university revenue comes from overseas students. Universities must continue to attract and retain international staff to teach increased numbers of both international and domestic students. However, the student experience at any level will be enhanced when all academic staff feel professionally and personally rewarded by working in a context where they are supported and respected by the institution, their peers, and by the students themselves.

FRAMING THE PROJECT

The work of Geert Hofstede serves as an anchor point for our framework because it emphasises the importance of both language *and culture* for the success of the student-teacher relationship. This is a relationship that lies at the heart of higher education, and at the heart of professional practice for academic staff. Hofstede (1986:303) argues that 'as teacher/student interaction is such an archetypal human phenomenon, and so deeply rooted in the culture of a society, *cross-cultural* learning situations are fundamentally problematic for both parties'. Based on his research, Hofstede (1986:307-308) proposed four dimensions of cultural variation (the 4 D Model): individualism/collectivism; power distance; uncertainty avoidance; and masculinity.

Individualism/collectivism refers to how much importance is given to the individual relative to the community in a given society. Power distance defines the extent to which individuals in a society accept inequalities of power between individuals. This potentially has very large implications for the student-

teacher relationship, as well as for wider relationships of international staff within the university context, many of which are based on certain assumptions about institutional hierarchies of power. Uncertainty avoidance describes the extent to which individuals in a society tolerate unstructured, unpredictable or unclear situations. Again, this works potentially on different levels. For example, for 'local' students, it may be expressed in the form of avoidance of (or negative responses to) teachers with 'foreign' accents, while for international staff it may result in avoidance of everyday situations that are unfamiliar to them, which may lead to isolation in a social sense. The masculine dimension (which infers its opposite, femininity) describes the extent of the distinction between masculine and feminine roles and characteristics within a given culture. These dimensions were based on Hofstede's (1986:306) research about employees within one multinational business, which had a presence in 40 different countries.

In management literature, the work of Hofstede has been used to analyse interpersonal dynamics based on cultures within corporate teams (see Iles 1995; Matveev & Milner 2004; Sriussadaporn 2006). Much of this literature focuses on the overlapping issues of communication and cultural competence and the potential for miscommunication and misunderstandings between employees of different cultural backgrounds to damage important negotiations, block project outcomes and reduce productivity overall. Specifically, it focuses on the need for the professional development of business employees and managers to enable them to navigate the sometimes complex intercultural communication contexts they face as part of routine work within increasingly internationalised corporations. Whilst the focus on intercultural communication within business literature has raised concerns about the potential for negative stereotyping of some cultures, most agree that some sensitivity to differences in culture and values, and the way these affect employee expectations and practices, is valuable for employees working overseas, or with international colleagues at home (Sriussadaporn 2006:331).

One Australian study that focuses instead on the experiences of migrants in Australian workplaces is that of Mak (1998). Mak's study focused on the experiences of Hong Kong Chinese migrant supervisors in the Australian workplace. She notes that because of the British influence many Hong Kong migrant employees speak fluent English and have British qualifications. However, Mak's findings suggested that there were various workplace differences experienced by study

participants, including a higher tolerance of individual expression, a smaller power distance between employees and supervisors, a more relaxed work ethic, and a more collaborative, participatory communication style between employees (Mak 1998:113). The value of intercultural communication for employees is echoed in business education literature (Arthur 2002; Bargiela-Chiappini & Nickerson 2003; Cheney 2001; Woods & Barker 2003). However, with the exception of Mak the emphasis is on the needs of local or future local employees who are working overseas

This might explain why the focus in these kinds of studies is explicitly on the functional elements of cultural competence, with a direct and tangible measurable component of increasing or decreasing business success. These functional elements are also those that lend themselves to discreet professional development modules that will train local employees to manage their 'deficiencies', including the potential for cultural insensitivity, whilst abroad. The specificity of the cultural competence model used here may fall short of addressing the potential needs of academic migrants. However, it can also be argued that cultural identity, cultural practices and, by extension, cross-cultural communication are much more complex. These complexities, combined with the issue of power, which arguably lies at the core of cross-cultural communication (Foucault 1980), may require universities to go beyond a competency model that places the responsibility for 'fitting in' squarely at the feet of international staff members.

The cultural competency model has also been applied to the student context in higher education, both in Australia and elsewhere. The first arena of application is that of business graduates. Within the Australian context, the need for intercultural skill development for Australian business students was established by the then Federal Government's Karpin Report (Woods & Barker 2003). The importance of intercultural skills for business graduates is also echoed in American literature (see Cheney 2001). So great has been the emphasis on developing intercultural skills of business graduates, that 'intercultural business communication' is now a distinct field of study within Business studies (Bargiela-Chiappini & Nickerson 2003:3). Here, though, as with higher education literature generally, the focus is on students rather than graduate employees of universities themselves.

Within Australian higher education, as in other English speaking nations, student-focused literature has also focused on the experience of

visiting international students at Australian universities. Despite the fact that Hofstede himself applied his 4 D model to both students and teachers, most higher education research to date has focussed on the effects of cultural difference on international students' transition to western universities, their expectations of what it is to be a good student, and what it means to engage in appropriate modes of learning (Hofstede 1986; Vandermensbrugge 2004; Ryan & Viète 2009; Owens 2008). The linguistic ability of international students has also been a focus of some researchers, because of the potentially negative effect that inadequate language skills have on their learning (Briguglio 2000).

In terms of examining some of the cultural challenges faced by international students Hofstede's individualist/collectivist and power distance dimensions have been more frequently applied (Owens 2008:74). Researchers have particularly focused on the mismatch between expectations of students from collectivist, high power distance cultures, such as China or Taiwan and lecturers from individualist, lower power distance countries such as Australia (Watkins & Biggs 2001). For example, the attentive silence of the collectivist, high power distance student signals respect in their home country but may be interpreted as disinterestedness or disengagement by an Australian teacher (Owens 2008:74). This research also incorporates observations about the roles culture and tradition play in shaping *how* students learn. One example is the now increasingly discredited claim that many Asian or Confucian Heritage Culture (CHC) students favour rote learning over higher order forms of thinking, such as critical thinking (Green 2007; Owens 2008; Watkins & Biggs 2001; Kelly & Ha 1998). Within debates about the experiences of international students pressure is applied to both students and Australian academic staff to adapt their practice. Yet this often occurs at the level of teaching practice and the student-teacher relationship, rather than at the institutional level.

One stream of higher education literature that may more directly address some issues faced by international academic staff in English-speaking universities focusses on the experiences of international pre-service teachers during their school placements (Cruikshank 2010; Pailliotet 1997; Spooner-Lane, Tangen, & Campbell 2009). Issues for pre-service teachers identified by such studies include language difficulties, including choosing the right language to manage student behaviour, accents, and the effect of cultural differences on educational approaches (Spooner-Lane et al. 2009:84). One pre-

service teacher reflects here on the cultural differences they observed:

In my country, students tend to be more disciplined: straight backs. They don't call out in class. The thing in China or even in Asia, teachers don't really consider about the students' opinions; they don't like to be challenged by students. You are the boss, basically. There is only one correct answer and the teacher has the correct answer, so we have to follow the teacher (Spooner-Lane et al. 2009:84).

Other issues for pre-service teachers in these studies included the expectations of teacher and faculty supervisors, as reflected in this pre-service teachers' comment:

It's a language problem, a communication problem, a connection problem [...] I think it comes from where I come from [...] I'm really quiet [...] They read that as a lack of interest or understanding [...] I was always taught to respect teachers – not speak up (Pailliotet 1997:675).

In each case, a combination of difficulties with language and mismatched expectations about what it means to learn and to teach impacted negatively on pre-service teachers' performance, and how they were rated by others for that performance (Cruikshank 2010; Pailliotet 1997; Spooner-Lane et al. 2009).

There are two studies that have directly addressed the general experiences of international, academic staff in Australian universities (Madaad & Melkounian 2010; Saltmarsh & Swirski 2010). Saltmarsh and Swirski explored the transitional experiences of twelve international academic staff at a regional university in New South Wales. To this end, the authors conducted interviews with international staff and documented their feelings about their experiences of confronting and adapting to Australian cultures, spoken and written language differences, different ways of teaching, and expectations of them as fellow professionals. For example, the authors showed institutional induction failures, where knowledge of computer systems was either assumed or not addressed, and induction did not encompass immigrant needs such as introducing them to Australian banking, support systems and community networks (Saltmarsh & Swirski 2010:295). As with the experiences of student teachers above, these outside-work matters apparently were made more salient by the challenge of swift adjustment to new work systems as employers assumed some parallel knowledge: 'I didn't

realise', one respondent remarked, 'prior to coming here how different the higher education system actually is' (Saltmarsh & Swirski 2010:296).

A second type of research directly related to the experiences of international, academic professionals in the workplace is focussed on the effect of a lecturer's language on student evaluation ratings (Ogier 2005). Ogier's (2010:486) findings that English as Second Language (ESL) teachers' lectures were rated lower by students indicates that some international academic staff may require support to improve their communication skills. A preliminary survey of professional development programmes in Australian Universities designed for international, NESB staff shows the small number of existing professional development programs that do focus on language and communication. The University of Adelaide has developed a professional development program called 'Spoken language strategies for staff from non-English speaking backgrounds'. This program is also available at other tertiary institutions, and is also promoted by the University of South Australia to its staff. The other available program we found was at the University of New South Wales (UNSW): the 'Workplace English Program'.

While it is undoubtedly important, we would question an exclusive focus on developing academic language and language proficiency. The literature reviewed for this paper indicates a need for broader cultural competencies to ensure the professional success, if not inclusion, of international staff. Saltmarsh and Swirski's (2010) findings would argue that the focus on language is inadequate – yet it remains important for academic staff to develop levels of language proficiency that enable them to clearly communicate their ideas. Several websites maintained by students at several universities in Australia and overseas show regular student complaints about communication difficulties with lecturers who are not native speakers of the dominant language in the country in which they work; postings emphasise that students dislike barriers to learning over which they have little or no control.

International lecturers share student concerns. Anecdotal feedback from international teaching staff at USQ indicates that lecturers would rather students be able to focus on their learning instead of deciphering the language itself. Because of their concern, international lecturers of one faculty at USQ have requested the help of specialised staff to develop a program, which is designed to address what they perceive to be their English language and cultural literacy shortcomings. This action

highlights the dual literacy issues, highlighted by the literature reviewed so far, which they have identified as barriers to their professional success. However, a sole focus on the development of these literacies may detract attention from the skills and knowledge international staff bring to their Australian workplace, and from which their colleagues and students could benefit. Such programs may again place the onus of adaptation on the lecturers, and may not reflect the way in which staff in different faculties experience their work. We need to measure the extent and impacts of such issues across an institution, while at the same time identifying whether they are experienced differently according to academic rank and discipline, ethnicity, religion, nationality and gender. Saltmarsh and Swirski's research (2010) was limited to a survey of twelve individuals. An institution with as many international staff as USQ offers the opportunity for a wider survey that encompasses more variables.

The project will therefore investigate international, academic employee experiences of working at a regional university that employs a large number of international academic staff. A broad focus of the research will be whether there is any general misalignment between the expectations of the University and its international staff. One question directly related to the literature reviewed here might examine potential barriers to the inclusion of international staff generated by particular linguistic and cultural differences. Another question might focus on the level and type of support provided to new international academic staff by the University. Additional questions that stem from identified gaps in the literature reviewed here could address whether international staff members perceive that they are valued, both professionally and socially and whether they share a sense of belonging.

CONCLUSION

Answers to research questions raised by the literature reviewed here should inform future research and any language or cultural development activities aimed at building stronger professional profiles. Such programs will undoubtedly aim to achieve the important objective of minimising the potential negative impact of cultural and language differences among NESB staff, while maximising respect for the necessary and diverse skills brought to Australian universities by lecturers from non-English speaking backgrounds. In shifting the onus for cultural and linguistic skills acquisition to the professional development activities of an institution, they should also relieve NESB staff of the pressure of being the

sole agents of their own change while enhancing their feelings of being on an equitable footing professionally, and thus able to achieve their personal and professional goals in their new work settings.

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Looking through the Gap in the Fence: A Discussion with Employers' of Skilled Migrants

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Abstract

The Australian Government's skilled migration program has been successful in attracting significant numbers of skilled migrants to Australia. New arrivals face a number of challenges when settling into their new community. One of the most significant issues is employment. This article, which is part of a larger report on settlement issues for skilled migrants, outlines the findings from discussion forums with Queensland employers' of skilled migrants. It investigates their recruitment, induction and settlement practices.

Many firms used multiple avenues to recruit skilled migrants. However, the most common and widely implemented method was the use of external recruitment agencies to find suitable overseas workers. Employers greatest concerns were finding workers with suitable skills and assessing migrants' skills. It was also found that most employers provided additional organisational induction processes for migrants, especially for those migrants from non-English speaking countries. The majority of employers offered settlement assistance although the extent of this assistance varied widely from employer to employer. The data collected from the discussion forums is qualitative; statistical data was not captured.

Keywords

Employment, cultural awareness, induction, migration, recruitment, skilled migrants, skill shortages, settlement.

INTRODUCTION

The Skill Stream within the Australian Government's migration program has been successful in attracting significant numbers of skilled migrants to Queensland. Skilled migrants make a major investment in relocating to Australia, while employers and governments also invest considerable resources to attract skilled migrants.¹

The Skilled Stream is intended to target migrants who have skills and abilities that will

contribute to the Australian economy (DIAC 2010) and provide long term benefits to the Australian economy and community. In Australia, Canada and the United States, the essential driver for migration policy has been the perceived benefit to national economic growth derived from high-level human expertise to cope with labour shortages (McLaughlan and Salt 2002).

The Australian Government states that its migration program emphasises skilled migration of people with qualifications and relevant work experience that helps to address specific skill shortages in Australia and enhances the size and skill level of the Australian labour force (DIAC 2009). These two central themes are important as they imply that the purpose behind the Australian skilled migration program is to:

- supplement the domestic labour force where skilled vacancies cannot be met through re-skilling, training and education; and
- give employers access to specialist knowledge and skills that do not exist in Australia.

Winkelmann (2002) argues that the relationship between domestic and migrant workers can be seen as either complementary, where migrants bring new skills and knowledge into the country, or substitutable, if migrants possess the same skills and knowledge as domestic workers. He goes on to state that complementary relationships benefit domestic workers through introduction of new skills, while substitutable relationships do not as they provide additional competition for jobs to domestic workers. In times of skill shortages, skilled migration is more likely to provide substitutable labour than complementary.

Employers benefit regardless of the relationship. In times of skill shortages, the employer may gain additional benefits from recruiting international workers, such as reduction in the upward pressure on wages (Winkelmann 2002) and a larger pool of

¹ The term employer in this article refers only to those employers participating in the discussion forums and is not meant to be a generalisation to all Australian employers.

workers from which to choose; even though recruiting international workers is associated with additional costs and risks compared to recruiting from the domestic labour market.

In the labour market equation, workers symbolise supply and employers represent the demand side. However, there is little research available on employers' experiences in recruiting and inducting international skilled-workers. This paper seeks to explore skilled migration from the perspective of the employer and focuses on recruiting and induction practices, and settlement services delivered by the employer.

RESEARCH METHOD

The information contained in this paper came from a series of discussion forums held with employers of skilled migrants in:

- Ipswich (3 employers);
- Caboolture (6 employers);
- the Sunshine Coast (8 employers)
- Gladstone (9 employers); and
- Rockhampton (10 employers).

Invitations to the forums were sent out through Queensland Government regional offices and migrant community groups. Participants self selected their attendance and ranged from micro-businesses with one skilled migrant employee to very large companies with over 1000 employees.²

The forums were led by an impartial facilitator who guided the participants through a number of open ended questions aimed at exploring recruiting, induction and settlement activities and concerns for employers. Open discussion forums were chosen as they provide a large amount of data and enable participants to build upon the responses of other participants (Stewart and Shamdasani 1990). The information contained in this paper is based on the opinions of the participants in discussion forums and is therefore subjective.³ Quantitative data was not collected and the analysis is based on qualitative responses to open questions.⁴

² In this paper the term participant refers to employers of skilled migrants who took part in one of the series of discussion forums.

³ The views expressed in this paper are those of the participants.

⁴ The research is based on qualitative open discussion groups and the organisations that participated were not asked to provide statistical data on their workforce.

Employers' issues

The skill shortages that have been evident in Australia in the past, and now starting to re-emerge, has meant that recruiting suitably skilled staff remains a constant issue for employers. Where the domestic labour market fails to supply the required workers, employers are compelled to seek workers from international markets.

International recruitment raised a number of issues for employers including dissatisfaction with recruiting agencies, problems with assessing migrants' skills and experience and delays in visa processing. Other concerns for employers included language barriers, cultural practices, providing settlement services to skilled migrants and problems in communicating with Government departments.

Recruitment

The process to attract, interview and employ a skilled migrant is time consuming and more costly than finding a suitably-skilled, Australian worker. Employers have to compare the benefits of recruiting internationally with the perceived costs including: communication problems, uncertainty with qualifications and difficulties in obtaining visas (Winkelmann 2002). Employers participating in the discussion forums also spoke about the costs of using recruiting agencies, international travel to interview potential workers and the additional time for the skilled migrant to move to Australia and start work. The recruitment and employment of international skilled-workers is neither an easy or cheap alternative to employing Australian workers. However, the long term skill shortages that occurred before the Global Financial Crisis and which are now starting to re-emerge, made the recruitment of international skilled migrants necessary.

While there are many reasons for recruiting international skilled-workers including knowledge of languages, culture and international markets, (Winkelmann 2002), discussion group participants were most concerned with filling vacancies left by shortages of suitably skilled workers. For the employer, a vacancy within their organisation equates to lower productivity, less money flowing through the company and smaller profit margins. Employers, who have responsibilities to employees and shareholders, do not have the luxury of taking a long time to fill vacancies or employing a person who is a wrong fit for the organisation. Finding the right person for the job was likened to finding a needle in a haystack (discussion group participant - Rockhampton).

The research found that employers used a number of strategies to recruit international workers:

- Recruitment agencies located overseas and in Australia;
- Advertising in newspapers and magazines both overseas and in Australia;
- Online vacancy advertising;
- Word-of-mouth and referrals using current migrant staff to recommend other skilled migrants already in Australia;
- In-house recruitment – in response to the dissatisfaction with external recruiting agencies, larger companies set up their own in-house recruitment believing it was more effective than using an overseas recruitment agency;
- Specialist occupational recruiting through occupational specific magazines and websites;
- Poaching from other organisations;
- Cultural recruitment that is attempting to recruit workers from a single origin; and
- Tradeshows – employers found no value in attending recruitment or migration exhibitions as the potential migrant workers' skill set and level were very wide. Employers looking for specialist workers found that International Trade Fairs were an excellent source of skilled workers as they were often approached by skilled workers seeking to migrate to Australia. In addition companies were able to poach suitably skilled workers from rival companies.

Employers participating in the discussion groups had endeavoured to recruit domestic workers before turning to skilled migrants. All the employers made use of more than one recruitment method to find and recruit skilled migrants. The most widely used method was external recruitment agencies, either located internationally or Australian agencies involved in overseas recruiting. Many employers stated they had experienced problems with recruitment agencies and employers' satisfaction level with these agencies was low. The most common issue seemed to be agencies recommending workers whose skills did not match the advertised vacancy.

There was only one company of the thirty-three, who said they were highly satisfied with the recruitment agency services. To achieve this, the company researched recruitment agencies servicing the international top 500 companies and then engaged the most appropriate recruitment agency to service their organisational needs. This research and

matching the recruitment agency with the needs of the organisation, no doubt contributed to the higher level of satisfaction with the services received and outcomes.

Where employers require a specialist worker, they may use occupational specific magazines and websites, that is, professional associations and peak bodies. Some occupational specific websites also act as quasi-recruitment sites allowing employers to advertise vacancies or collecting potential employee resumes. The use of occupational specific magazines and websites helps the employer scale down the search for a potential employee. For the employer, using this avenue of recruiting is likely to result in applicants who are more suitable to the organisation's vacancy.

In 2003, Deitch et al noted that direct forms of discrimination were becoming less prevalent, but indirect and subtler forms of discrimination were becoming more common. During discussion groups with skilled migrants there was a general consensus that Australian employers preferred domestic workers to international workers even if the domestic worker was less skilled than the migrant. This was not in evidence during discussions with employers, however it was noted that employers had challenges evaluating international qualifications and skills of international workers.

Some companies send staff overseas to assess the local labour market, interview potential employees and verify the workers suitability to the company's needs to overcome this challenge. The benefit to the company is the first-hand knowledge of the skills and qualifications of the potential employee. It can also provide the employer with greater peace of mind that comes with the perception of more control over the recruitment process.

Interestingly, migrants with Australian qualifications did not seem to have any greater success in gaining employment (in Australia) than internationally qualified migrants (Parasnis et al 2008). Therefore factors other than qualifications and skills must play a part in the selection of migrant workers.

Some employers participating in the forums stated they prefer to have a homogeneous workforce, believing this makes the recruitment and induction process easier and helps the migrant settle more quickly into the community. The employer attempts to achieve this by recruiting migrants from one country or culture. This is often assisted by employers using their current migrant workforce as a referral or word-of-mouth network. Conversely, skilled migrants stated that the cold approach to employers was highly ineffectual manner of finding employment.

Previous research has indicated that the selection and testing of job candidates is inadequate or inappropriate for a number of minorities; and many organisations in Australia use tests that bear little resemblance to the job requirements and interviewers that have little understanding of techniques suitable for ethnically diverse applicants (D'Netto & Sohal 1999). Best practices implemented by employers included; advertising in ethnic newspapers, utilising international recruitment agencies and advertising in languages other than English.

Employers showed a clear preference to recruit from countries or cultures where they had successfully recruited from previously. They were likely to return to those countries seeking more workers or seek work-of-mouth referrals from current employees. Thus companies could find themselves with a relatively homogenous cultural workforce without consciously applying discriminative practices.

A majority of employers said they like to recruit from English speaking countries such as Canada, United Kingdom and South Africa, reasoning that written and verbal communication with the migrant was easier and qualifications from these countries were more likely to be recognised by Australian assessing authorities than qualifications from other countries.

Paramount here was the need for employers to feel comfortable with their decision to recruit skilled migrants.

Induction and retention

Recruiting international migrants into organisations means diversity management is a vital part of running a company and supervising work teams. Multicultural workgroups have additional complexities as the cultural background of people influence their interpretation and expectations of the workplace, their interactions with others and communication (Bachmann 2006). In the discussion groups, employers were asked about the induction and retention practices they had in place for international migrants.

The process of inducting a new migrant employee can have a significant impact on the integration of the skilled migrant into the workplace, their ability to contribute to that workplace, acceptance by the current employees and outcomes for the employer. An essential ingredient for effective groups is shared understanding about the aims, functions and interactions of the group (Bachmann 2006), which can be learnt up during induction. However, the induction process for international migrants is further complicated

by having to learn different cultural practices for both the work place and the community.

Syed and Kramar (2003) claim that because there is no specific Equal Employment Opportunity legislation in Australia for culturally diverse workers, employers pay little attention to the development and promotion of ethnically diverse employees, focusing only on women, harassment, carer responsibilities and disability. This research found that all but one employer said they have additional induction processes in place for skilled migrants.

Most employers were of the opinion that their standard company induction is sufficient for the migrant worker but implemented supplementary induction practices to attract migrants. Additional induction processes that employers of skilled migrants utilised included:

Signs in the workplace written in migrants' native language;

Multicultural awareness workshops for new and current employees;

- Standard organisational induction delivered over a longer time period;
- Australian cultural training for migrants;
- A buddy system where the new migrant has another worker (buddy) who speaks the same language as the migrant and the buddy interprets everything to the migrant;
- Induction training in different languages and translation of induction information;
- An induction booklet that includes information about life in Australia such as the rental market, how to send money back home and getting a mobile phone;
- Placing multilingual directional and safety signs into the workplace to help the migrant understand workplace practices and safety awareness;
- Cultural awareness training for new workers on Australian culture and training for current workers on migrant workers' country of origin; and
- English lessons.

Employers believed that the additional support given to new migrant workers during induction is important to a migrant's well being. It informs the migrant of their value to the company and may help the migrant settle more quickly in their workplace and give the migrant greater confidence in becoming involved with the community.

The majority of employers participating in the discussion forums did not have any retention

strategies in place other than additional induction practices or helping the migrant settle into the community. Financial incentives in the form of paying health insurance, travel and relocation expenses and costs of family reunification were the most commonly offered retention incentives. Other retention strategies included assisting migrants gain permanent residency and running in-house settlement forums.

LANGUAGE, CULTURE AND COMMUNICATION

For the employers attending the discussion groups, the most common challenges during induction of migrant workers were around language and culture. Most employers feel that it is important to understand the originating culture of the skilled migrant and what the migrant must forego in leaving their country. Participants argued that it was employers' responsibility to gain an understanding of the needs of different cultural groups. However, employers also felt the migrant must make an effort to understand and fit into the culture of the Australian workplace.

Employers said that awareness of cultural traditions reduced problems arising from culturally divergent practices, as did the provision of cultural awareness training for migrants and domestic workers. Employers hoped that by having cultural understanding, both the domestic workers and migrants will understand their differences and have a greater capacity to cooperate and work together. It was also reported that outcomes from cultural awareness training are greater if the local community can be involved in this training.

Regardless of attempts to build cultural understanding, employers still faced a number of challenges. Some employers have found that migrants bring their prejudices with them and refuse to work with certain other cultural groups or refuse to work for female managers.

Language problems are often cited as a significant barrier to migrants finding suitable work (Syed 2008). The employers participating in the discussion forums had in place a number of mitigating strategies to overcome language barriers. These strategies included:

- Hiring interpreters – although this could be difficult if the company was located in regional areas due availability of interpreters;
- Having multilingual induction materials and workplace signs;
- Developing a language bank - other company workers who can speak a language other than English and are

willing to help work colleagues by interpreting and translating for them; and

- Providing English language lessons.

SETTLEMENT

The response from employers on settlement issues of skilled migrants was varied and most employers reported assisting migrants in the settlement process. Each employer felt that they contributed to helping the migrant during the initial settlement period and all the employers were aware that settlement in a new community involved more than just having a job. Successful settlement requires strong social networks and connectedness which arises from well-developed social support infrastructure and duration of residence (Wulff and Dharmalingam 2008).

The employers were enthusiastic about making migrants feel welcomed and providing settlement assistance. The settlement factors they thought important were family and community ties, affordable and available housing, community integration support, language training, access to health and social programs, recreational opportunities understanding by the community of the migrants cultural traditions.

Some employers offered comprehensive settlement assistance including; a meet and greet at the airport, transporting the migrant to their accommodation, arranging a tour of the region, providing basic groceries, assistance with finding schooling and providing transport to and from work.

Some innovative employers go further to assist migrants and implement other practices including: offering a house for the migrants to live in until they found their own home, paying medical bills for the migrant and their family, providing an information packs and seminars on living in Australia (incorporating a range of subjects like purchasing a mobile phone, sending money back home, community services and getting a bank loan,) and organising social events for migrants to meet Australian families.

While employers provided their migrant workers with settlement services beyond induction processes, they argued that it should be the responsibility of governments and the community. It was interesting to note that there was little awareness amongst employers of settlement services and community groups available to assist skilled migrants. Thus while employers wanted to help migrants settle into the community, they were unaware of assistance that was already available to the migrant.

There were two trends evident from the discussion forums. The first was that larger employers provided more settlement assistance than smaller employers. Larger employers have a greater capacity to supply settlement services as they can absorb costs more readily into their operating overheads. The second trend was that employers in South-East Queensland provided more comprehensive settlement assistance than employers located in other regions of Queensland. This may be because there is greater competition amongst organisations in South-East Queensland for skilled workers and employers viewed the provision of settlement services as a way to gain an advantage in the competition for skilled workers.

CONCLUSION

Employers view migrant workers as a substitutable pool of labour to make up for the lack of domestic workers. They do not seem to value the additional skills, such as language and knowledge of international markets that migrants bring with them. Consequently, employers have high expectations of migrant workers and expect the migrant to fit into the working culture of their organisation. Thus skills and qualifications are not the only factor employers take into account when recruiting. They also think about how the migrant will fit into the organisation and communication issues. While the discussion forums did not explore recruitment practices of employers in detail, it should be noted that recruitment and selection is not neutral or value-free (Kirton and Healy 2009). This may lead to skilled migrants experiencing difficulties in gaining employment.

However, employers do not view their recruiting practices as discriminatory; they are trying to find a worker who is the best fit to the organisation. When the survival of the organisation and employees depends on the work of the migrant, employers must make hard decisions on which worker to recruit and frequently the employer chooses conservatively (Hawthorne 1997). That is, the employer will chose to employ the type of worker they are familiar with as opposed to hiring an unknown entity. This mitigates risks to the employer of assessing international competence and qualifications which they may have little knowledge about.

For the employer, the challenges related to hiring skilled migrants do not stop with finding the best worker. Employers stated that inducting skilled migrants into the organisation required additional time, resources and money. Nevertheless, employers have been shown to be willing to put extra

effort into inducting the migrant worker into the work place and settle into the community. Much of the additional induction practices implemented by employer revolved around communication and ensuring migrant understood Australian working culture. It is important that workgroups develop communication competence as miscommunication can create misunderstanding, conflict and barriers to cooperation (Tung 1993).

Based on Dass and Parker's (1999) schema for managing human resource diversity, the employers participating in the discussion groups responded to international migrant workers with Defensive and Accommodative strategies. Migrant workers were encouraged to learn about Australian workplace culture and adjust their behaviour to fit into that culture. Some employers also encouraged same language or culture mentoring of new migrant employees by more experienced migrant workers. In some cases employers attempted to adapt the workplace to accommodate the different needs of the migrant worker through the use of languages other than English in workplace processes.

While diversity management remains of strategic importance to companies because of its ability to provide a competitive edge (Lorbiecki 2001), there was little evidence that participant employers had moved into a learning perspective. While the learning perspective encourages compliance with legislation, it also encourages companies to seek better or more efficient ways of diversity management beyond legally mandated compliance (Dass and Parker 1999).

Despite the changes to immigration policy and the efforts of employers, skilled migrants suffer from the gap between immigration policy and the needs of employers. This gap will continue to exist as the changes to immigration policy are more about controlling the flow of migrants rather than meeting the demand for labour.

This research provides some insight into the employers perspectives on hiring skilled international migrants. More detailed research needs to be completed on the selection and induction of skilled migrants into Australian workplaces and how immigration policy impacts on those processes. Research is also needed on skilled migrants' perspectives of Australian employers recruitment, selection and induction processes.

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Gender, migration and human security: HIV vulnerability among rural to urban migrants in the People's Republic of China

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Abstract

The 'human security' paradigm emerged in the early 1990s as a means of refocusing the security referent away from the state to the individual. It is a theory that is grounded in human rights and the provision of basic needs for all of humanity, regardless of their locale, identity or citizenship status. As a theory, it was not intended to replace notions of traditional security, but was instead intended to be a complementary theory on security as it has been argued that human insecurity actually threatens state security. While the concept itself remains somewhat contested in the political sciences, human security nonetheless provides a useful analysis of non-state security issues and dilemmas, particularly those that concern the human condition. In recent years there has been increasing recognition that the human security paradigm has overlooked the vulnerabilities often faced by women, many of which are gender-based and thereby not shared by men. To counter this, there have been attempts to 'engender' human security discourse in academic literature. This paper considers the vulnerabilities faced by female rural to urban migrants in the People's Republic of China and intersects the mainstream discourse on human security in an attempt to contribute further to the engendering of human security discourse.

Keywords

Human security, gender, rural to urban migration

DEFINING HUMAN SECURITY

Human security remains a somewhat contested term in the political sciences. Therefore, for the purposes of this study, the definition of human security is aligned closely with that of the United Nations which states that human security is both 'freedom from fear' and 'freedom from want', incorporating components such as economic, food, health, environmental, personal, community and political security (UNDP 1995:229). The definition asserts that human security is centred on four key characteristics, namely that it is a universal concern; its components are interdependent, it is best achieved through prevention rather than intervention, and it is people-centred (UNDP 1995:232-34).

It should be noted that because the UNDP definition of human security views it to be what Burke describes as 'a comprehensive and integrated matrix of needs and rights' (2001:216), this definition challenges restricted notions of human security that limit the discussion of human security to 'subjects and territories recognised by sovereign states, or that retain a hierarchy of state interests over human interests in times of perceived crisis' (2001:216). For the author, restricted approaches to human security are problematic as they fail to recognise the important role that gender plays in determining threats to both men and women on a daily basis. Without gendered analyses, human security can quickly be centred on the male experience of security, sidelining women and the unique gender-based vulnerabilities that affect their security such as economic, educational and employment disparities, gender discrimination, substandard healthcare, restricted access to healthcare facilities, reproductive rights, the traffic of women, and male violence directed at women.

In addition, the 'broader notion' of human security is more encompassing as it does not recognise a 'hierarchy of security' but instead recognises that both state security and human security are interdependent, and that all the components of security identified by the United Nations are of equal importance because a deficiency in one could lead to a deficiency in another.¹ Hence, while the author recognises that different interpretations of human security exist,² for the purposes of this

¹ However, scholars such as Paris believe that such an assertion is in fact a 'truism'. In his article, *Human Security: Paradigm Shift or Hot Air?*, Paris stated that by treating all components of security as equal, the 'broader notion' human security theorists are attempting to make human security mean too much and are therefore rendering it unusable as an analytical tool for research (Paris 2001).

² Some interpretations of human security do not support the development-oriented or human safety based approaches to human security put forth by the UNDP. Instead, these interpretations generally restrict their definition to military or intentional threats (such as misuse of authority by governments) to the security of humans. For more

study the UNDP definition of human security is favoured in the context of the more gendered approach mentioned above.

It should also be noted that human security not only increases human development and human rights, but it also increases state security by protecting people from a range of threats that might otherwise cause social upheaval such as poverty and conflict, and empowering them to make informed decisions and to 'act on their own behalf' (Commission on Human Security 2003:3-5). In his summary of human security, the former UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan stated that:

Human security in its broadest sense embraces far more than the absence of violent conflict. It encompasses human rights, good governance, access to education and health care and ensuring that each individual has opportunities and choices to fulfil his or her own potential (Cited in Commission on Human Security 2003:4).

This quote is important because it demonstrated Annan's belief that human security is not constrained to the restricted notions of human security espoused by some scholars. In addition, Annan later reinforces that the components of wider interpretations of human security 'are the interrelated building blocks of human, and therefore national, security' (Commission on Human Security 2003:4). Clearly, Annan's definition of human security incorporates the wider 'freedom from fear', 'freedom from want' interpretation of human security.

In its report, *Human Security Now*, the Commission on Human Security also supported a wider notion of human security and identified state security as both dependent on and mutually reinforced by human security. Put simply, in an unstable state it is impossible to attain state security, and human security is dependent on sturdy, stable institutions. It also

discussion on restricted notions of human security see Wesley, M 1999, 'Human Security in Development and Crisis: How to Capture Human Security in Regional Institutional Arrangements' in *The Asia-Australia Papers*, 2(September): 24-34; Newman, Edward & Richmond, Oliver (eds) 2001, *The United Nations and Human Security*, Palgrave, New York; Buzan, Barry 2000, 'Human security: What it means and what it entails', paper presented at 14th Asia-Pacific Roundtable, Kuala Lumpur, 3-7 June:1-15; Kerr, Pauline 2003, 'The evolving dialectic between state-centric and human-centric security', *Working Paper* (Australian National University), 2:1-34 and Paris, Roland 2001, 'Human Security: Paradigm Shift or Hot Air?' in *International Security*, 26(2):87-102.

concluded that 'state security is focused, [whereas] human security is broad' (Commission on Human Security 2003:6). Therefore, while it would appear that the wider notions of human security are generally supported in the literature and thereby credible, we also need to consider how does human security view gendered difference.

LOCATING WOMEN IN HUMAN SECURITY DEFINITIONS

It could be easily argued that the current human security framework is flawed in that while gender issues are given some attention, the defining documents on human security such as the UNDP article *Redefining Security: the Human Dimension* (1995) and the *Human Security Now* report by the Commission on Human Security (2003) are not wholly inclusive of a gendered analysis. The absence of a genuine effort to consider how men and women's security is affected is important, as is ensuring that human security discourse and policy documents include gender as a mainstream rather than a secondary consideration. This change would result in both a more inclusive approach to human security and health crises, and one which considered the differences in insecurity faced by men and women.

While official documents have been slow in fully integrating gender into their analysis of human security, several scholars have discussed the importance of including a gendered analysis in mainstream human security discourse. Hudson (2005) is one such scholar, and she used HIV/AIDS vulnerability to provide an argument for the inclusion of gender in human security discourse. Like the argument contained in this paper, Hudson stated that the unequal status of women and girls in all societies reinforces the need to link HIV/AIDS and a gender inclusive analysis of human security because 'their susceptibility to the disease is linked to their socio-cultural, biological, economic and political subordination within broader society' (2005:162). Furthermore, Hudson warned that human rights could be undercut in favour of 'particular power interests' if there is not a genuine attempt to make human security discourse 'wholly inclusive' of all humans.

To overcome this, however, she argued that if scholars employed a feminist conceptualisation of security when discussing issues of human security, they would be able to strongly affect the previous complacency of former human security analysts who did not consider gender. Thus, for Hudson (2005:162), the failure to adequately include 'women's pervasive insecurity' has meant that the

broader notion of human security merely offers a 'partial understanding of human security', and that until issues of human security are given feminist analysis, such complacency will continue.

Similarly, McKay (2004) and Boyd (2005) also examined the need for transparency and analysis of the types of threats women face to their security during times of conflict. McKay proposed that it is important that the experiences of women become a part of mainstream discussions of human security and that women must also be integrated into the peace-building process, as they are often overlooked during this important period. Therefore, while all of these authors examined human security from the narrower 'freedom from fear' interpretative framework, their discussions identified many strong arguments for the engendering of human security discourse.

Engendering Human Security (2006) is an important text that has paved the way for gendered discourse in human security by examining security from feminist perspectives. This text challenged the previous neglect of women in mainstream human security discourse, and examined a range of international examples and perspectives to provide focused analysis of how women experience different threats to their security than men. The editors of the text argued that for many years, discussions of women and human security have largely been 'fragmented' and that the evolving nature of human security discourse means there is a real opportunity for women to be included in mainstream discussions of security. They also proposed that an engendered human security framework would not only improve the lives of women but it would also allow for a 'more humane security vision' (Truong, Wieringa & Chhachhi 2006:xxvi).

Bunch (2004) also agreed with the above proposition by Truong, Wieringa and Chhachhi that an *engendered* human security framework has the potential to improve the lives of all humans, because human security provides a framework for examining security issues that recognises the interrelated nature of 'peace, security, equality, human rights, and development' and accentuates 'protection and empowerment' (2004:30). However, Bunch criticised the Human Security Commission Report (2003) for its failure to include a comprehensive gender analysis of human security into its mainstream discussion, and concluded that despite this, human security is a concept that 'women can build on' (2004:33). Fukuda-Parr came to similar conclusions in her discussion of the threats posed by globalisation to the human security

of women. While Fukuda-Parr welcomed the focus on threats to human security contained in the Human Security Commission Report (2003), she too felt that it was important that in the future such important documents on human security must also include a gendered perspective (2004).

Kermani (2006) also discussed the benefits offered by human security for extending human rights, as well as meeting the challenges posed by globalisation such as environmental degradation, HIV/AIDS, terrorism and drug and human trafficking. After reviewing a number of criticisms of human security, Kermani concluded that human security offers the possibility of securing both human rights and human development, and that it offered a framework for responding to the non-traditional threats to security that have been heightened by globalisation.

Therefore, most of the above-mentioned scholars argued that a gendered human security framework offered the possibility of meeting the new range of security threats posed by globalisation, while at the same time ensuring both human rights and human development needs are integrated into mainstream security discourse. Furthermore, they also recognised the possibility offered by human security for the threats faced by women to become integrated into mainstream security discourse. This would give women greater visibility in such discourse, and offers the prospect of women achieving empowerment and agency in the security arena, as well as advancing women's rights globally. These considerations have significant application for migrant women, many of whom face heightened insecurity before, during and after the process of migration. This particular study examines rural to urban migration in the People's Republic of China, and the gendered dimensions of human insecurity associated with this migrant population.

HIV/AIDS IN THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

In China, HIV/AIDS has spread to new groups of the population and it has been estimated that around 740,000 people were living with HIV/AIDS (PLWHA) at the end of 2009 (Ministry of Health of the People's Republic of China 2010:5). There are serious localised HIV/AIDS epidemics in several provinces; Yunnan, Guangxi, Henan, Sichuan, Xinjiang and Guangdong. These provinces alone account for 70-80 percent of China's overall HIV/AIDS rates (Ministry of Health of the People's Republic of China 2010:5). Xinjiang Autonomous Region and Yunnan Province

have both experienced HIV/AIDS epidemics resulting from high rates of needle sharing among injecting drug users and up until 2005 the sharing of intravenous drug equipment was the main mode of HIV transmission in the PRC. In addition, blood and plasma selling to centres practising unsafe blood-donation procedures has led to approximately 69,000 former blood and plasma donors and recipients contracting HIV mainly in Henan, Hubei, Anhui, Hebei and Shanxi (National Centre for AIDS/STD Prevention and Control 2006:1).³

Figures from the Ministry of Health (MOH) show sexual transmission is now the main mode of HIV transmission in the PRC, signalling that China has moved into the growth period of its HIV/AIDS epidemic. At the close of 2009, it was reported that 59 percent of the total number of HIV/AIDS cases in China were caused by sexual transmission, with heterosexual transmission accounting for 44.3 percent of those infections and homosexual transmission accounting for 14.7 percent (Ministry of Health of the People's Republic of China 2010:22). Of the total reported number of HIV/AIDS cases, 30.8 percent of PLWHA in the PRC are women demonstrating the vulnerability of women to HIV transmission (SCAWCO and UNAIDS 2007:4).

Also concerning is that since 2005, sexual transmission has been the fastest growing mode of HIV transmission in China, thereby increasing the vulnerability of women to HIV transmission (Hong et al. 2009). If effective prevention and control measures are not introduced prior to or during the growth period, and the country's HIV/AIDS epidemic moves into the rampant prevalence period, large scale HIV transmission is inevitable. Although rates of HIV among the general population remain low in the PRC, with rates believed to be between 0.042 and 0.071 percent (Ministry of Health of the People's Republic of China 2010:5), the spread of HIV through heterosexual intercourse among the general population is very much a warning that the numbers of PLWHA may soon explode across the country. If this occurs, it would make the epidemic very difficult to prevent and control. If the epidemic does reach the rampant prevalence phase, Chinese women's

³ The transmission of HIV through blood selling is relatively unique to China and has caused many of China's rural poor to become HIV positive. It has also been a very sensitive issue for the Chinese government due to the role of the Henan Provincial Health Department in both Henan's blood trade and the initial cover-up of the emerging HIV/AIDS epidemic there. For further reading see Hayes, A 2005, 'AIDS, Bloodheads and Cover-Ups: the "ABC" of Henan's AIDS Epidemic', *AQ: Journal of Contemporary Analysis*, 77(3):12-16.

vulnerability to HIV transmission will increase substantially.

Physiologically, women are 2-4 times more vulnerable to HIV transmission than their male counterparts when engaging in unprotected vaginal intercourse (UNAIDS 2002:57).⁴ In addition to physiological risks, women worldwide face a number of vulnerabilities to HIV/AIDS, deriving from a variety of social, cultural, economic and political factors. A society's gender roles have considerable influence on three main areas of HIV/AIDS vulnerability; accurate sexual and reproductive health knowledge, sexual passivity and aggression, and promiscuity. In addition, 'enabling environments' such as social, cultural, political and economic environments, can all fuel HIV vulnerability among women and these vulnerabilities are largely the result of gender inequality (Feinstein and Prentice 2000).

Thus, in order for a state's HIV/AIDS response to be effective it must include gender-specific factors. Therefore, women must be recognised as a vulnerable group. However, when asked whether she believed Chinese women were particularly vulnerable to HIV transmission, Interviewee D (2003, pers. comm., 27 August),⁵ who was the Director of a government organisation that played a key role in HIV/AIDS prevention and treatment, responded that she believed 'women are less vulnerable [than men] to HIV/AIDS' and that women's vulnerability to HIV/AIDS largely depended on whether a woman was a sex worker, an intravenous drug user (IDU), if she had donated her blood, had a blood transfusion or had used other blood

⁴ This is largely because the surface of vaginal mucosa is much bigger than penile mucosa. Furthermore, semen from an HIV infected male is usually higher in HIV concentrations than are the vaginal secretions from a HIV positive female. Also, if a woman has a reproductive tract infection (RTI) or a sexually transmitted infection (STI), her vaginal mucosa is changed and can become irritated, ulcerated or more prone to scratches, all of which result in the vagina becoming more vulnerable to HIV infection (UNAIDS 2002:57).

⁵ All interviewees spoken to during fieldwork were employed in government or non-government organisations that were responsible for HIV/AIDS prevention and treatment. Furthermore, none of the interviewees wanted to be identified, nor did they want the identity of the organisations in which they worked to be named. This was largely due to the continued sensitivity of HIV/AIDS in China, particularly when discussing the issue with international researchers or reporters. Thus, the interviews were conducted upon agreement that the interviewees' details would be kept confidential. It is for this reason that neither the interviewees, nor the organisations they worked for, have been identified in this paper.

products (Interviewee D 2003, pers. comm., 27 August). This point of view was supported by another interviewee, who was the National Programme Officer for an international non-governmental organisation (INGO) responsible for HIV/AIDS prevention and treatment. In response to the same question, this interviewee stated that 'gender does not play any role [in its HIV/AIDS policies], and it is not part of mainstream discussions' (Interviewee C 2003, pers. comm., 22 August). These responses are alarming because they ignore the patterns of HIV transmission to women in much of the rest of the world, whereby women in the general population have been found to be extremely vulnerable to HIV transmission in areas with high rates of HIV/AIDS.⁶ Rural to urban migrants, and their spouses, experience increased HIV vulnerability due to a range of factors linked to their transient lifestyles. This paper now considers the links between HIV vulnerability and labour migration, particularly among Chinese women.

THE LINKS BETWEEN HIV VULNERABILITY AND LABOUR MIGRATION

The rural to urban migrants in China, colloquially known as the 'floating' population, number in the vicinity of approximately 150 million people (Moise 2008:250). The gender ratio of rural to urban migrants is approximately 136:100 male to female migrants with the 15-34 year old age bracket accounting for some 70 percent of the total number of migrant workers (Xia 2004). While some rural to urban migrants live within close distance of their hometown, around a third of them are engaged in employment outside of their home province and they may only return home once or twice a year (Thompson 2003).

⁶ Surveys conducted in Africa reveal that 60-80 percent of HIV positive women, who contracted HIV from sexual intercourse, reported that their only sexual partner was their husband. Another study, which was conducted in India, another region where HIV/AIDS is growing at an alarming rate, revealed that 91 percent of HIV positive women surveyed, who had contracted HIV from sexual intercourse, also reported that their only sexual partner was their husband (Feinstein and Prentice 2000:22). These findings support the results of an earlier study conducted in 1989 which also found the majority of HIV positive women who had contracted HIV through heterosexual intercourse, had also contracted HIV/AIDS from their only sexual partner, their husband. The researchers in this instance concluded that often 'condom use was more effective in preventing HIV infection than was limiting the number of partners' (Berger and Vizgirda 1993:62).

While labour migration is not a risk factor per se for HIV infection, the physical separation of the migrant worker from their spouses and families, as well as community and social support networks can heighten HIV vulnerability. This separation can lead to feelings of isolation and loneliness that may see the migrant worker seeking sexual relationships outside of their spouses or regular sexual partner. In addition, the increased income that accompanies labour migration combined with new social networks also increases HIV vulnerability. The social networks are important as they can be more liberal than the types of familial, religious or social restrictions the migrant worker may be accustomed to. This can lead to migrant workers engaging in high risk behaviours such as binge drinking, drug taking – including intravenous drug use, and engaging in casual or paid sexual relations – often without using condoms due to inaccessibility to condoms, poor condom awareness and knowledge of their role in the prevention of sexually transmitted infections, or economic factors preventing the purchase of condoms.

Labour migration also increases women's vulnerability to HIV transmission because it often separates women from familial and social support networks that might otherwise protect them from unwanted sexual advances. In addition to this lack of protection, migrant women often work in low status occupations such as domestic service or factory work, whereby they may work or live in isolated conditions, making them vulnerable to sexual harassment or sexual assault by their colleagues or employers.

In China, rates of premarital sex among female migrant workers are approximately 50 percent for factory workers and 80 percent for women engaged in the services sector such as catering and entertainment (Xia 2004: 29). Among male migrant workers, studies have found that approximately 60 percent of men reported engaging in premarital sex while away for work, and of these men, 50-60 percent reported they had solicited sex (Yang et al. 2009: 428). For both men and women, these rates of extramarital intercourse are higher than they would likely be had the person not been a migrant worker, due to factors such as isolation, relaxed social networks and increased involvement in high risk behaviours like binge drinking and drug taking both of which can contribute to engagement in casual sexual relations.

Low education levels are also common among the floating population with 40 percent of migrants having only a primary school education (Yang et al. 2009: 428). Poor education levels increase the likelihood of

poor levels of STI/HIV awareness thereby increasing the likelihood of the migrant workers engaging in unprotected intercourse even in commercial sex. Furthermore, due to the transient nature of these workers, combined with their marginalisation in the urban areas to which they migrate, the floating population is difficult to reach with STI/HIV prevention and awareness knowledge (Xia 2004: 28). Therefore, many migrant workers lack basic knowledge on STI/HIV prevention and this increases their vulnerability to transmission.

In HIV screening tests conducted in Shanxi Province between 1996 and 1999, 66.7 percent of people identified as HIV positive were members of the floating population (Xia 2004: 29). Other more recent tests have shown that HIV prevalence among migrant workers is almost double that of China's rural residents reflecting that labour migration is the difference in heightening HIV vulnerability among these rural residents (Yang et al. 2009: 420). In addition to heightening their own HIV vulnerability, the floating population is an important HIV 'bridge' population between urban high-risk groups and the rural population (Yang et al. 2009: 420). Therefore, they have the potential to spread HIV epidemics into previously uninfected areas, and more importantly for this paper, back to their rural spouse. This risk is especially heightened when one considers condoms are not normally used in extramarital or marital sexual relations, increasing their spouses HIV vulnerability. Therefore, even though she/he may not have been involved in labour migration directly, their HIV vulnerability is heightened by the labour migration of their spouse.

For female migrants, labour migration is often a contributing factor for women's involvement in the sex trade, which substantially increases their vulnerability to HIV transmission. This involvement can occur as a survival strategy for women facing economic hardship after migrating to urban areas for work, or it can be due to migrant women being tricked into the sex trade after applying for false jobs such as domestic servants or factory work. A large number of China's sex workers are migrant women (Thompson 2003), with figures on the proportion of migrant women engaging in sex works ranging from between 62.3-95 percent in some locations (Hong et al. 2009:212). Migrant sex workers sometimes display higher risk behaviour than non-migrant sex workers, in part due to low education levels and poor HIV/AIDS awareness, which increases their likelihood of contracting HIV and due to the transient nature of their stay at a particular site, which is often around 2-3 months, thereby

making them difficult to reach with HIV/AIDS prevention knowledge (Hong et al. 2009:212).

While conservative estimates suggest the number of sex workers in China is approximately three million (Thompson 2004) to four million (Harding 2000), scholars such as Pan of People's University of Beijing believe the figure to be much higher when the numbers of women who engage in 'casual or infrequent transactional sex' are included (cited in Thompson 2004). It has also been reported by UNAIDS that the Public Security Bureau estimates the number of sex workers in China could be as high as six million (UNAIDS 2002:65). Jeffreys states that government authorities in China have called prostitution in China a 'widespread and growing problem' (2004:83).⁷ Thus, a conservative estimate of four million sex workers demonstrates that a considerable number of Chinese women are vulnerable to HIV infection through prostitution.

The illegal nature of prostitution in China is a major barrier to HIV/AIDS advocacy for sex workers and continues to exacerbate the vulnerable status of sex workers, particularly migrant women. Interviewee D (2003, pers. comm., 27 August) stated that organisations like hers could give HIV prevention information to sex workers, without arresting them, because it was not a government organisation. If workers from the government organisations identified sex workers, she stated that they were required to report them because of the illegality of prostitution. After being reported, the identified sex worker would then face detention in a rehabilitation centre. While there are debates in China as to whether or not prostitution should be legalised so as to allow INGOs, non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and government organisations to legally provide STI prevention knowledge and services to sex workers, the rehabilitation system offers an opportunity to reach this vulnerable group with HIV/AIDS prevention information. However, Interviewee D (2003, pers. comm., 27 August) stated that this was not occurring, even though the organisation she worked for had been trying to launch programs that linked 'HIV/AIDS prevention education into the rehabilitation programs of these centres'. Furthermore, without adequate help to overcome their economic insecurity, upon release from these centres many women actually returned to prostitution. Thus, she

⁷ For further reading see Jeffreys, Elaine 2004, 'Feminist prostitution debates: Are there any sex workers in China?', Anne McLaren (ed), *Chinese Women – Living and Working*, Routledge Curzon, New York.

stated, an important opportunity was being missed.

There is concern however, over the contradiction in the government's response to prostitution, which sees sex workers targeted by interventionist programs, not those soliciting the prostitutes. This obvious gender bias is in part fuelled by the extant view that those selling sex always come before those buying sex (Chen 2008). This view is problematic in that one could argue that it is demand that drives provision; however at a very basic level it punishes the sex worker as the guilty party in the commercial sex exchange and not the solicitor. It also means that many of the men who solicit prostitutes are left out of the targeted commercial sex HIV prevention strategies although they are clearly a 'high risk' group. If they are married or have other sexual encounters outside of the commercial sexual exchange, they are also a possible 'bridge' population who have the potential to transmit HIV into the general population.

Chen (2008) argues that the failure of the Chinese government to adequately respond to this contradiction reflects that there is an urgent need in China for recognition of the important role men play in safer sexual practice, a responsibility that is continually being thrust onto women. In fact, recent campaigns by the ACWF provided 27.25 million women across China with HIV/AIDS prevention and awareness knowledge. However, there was no discussion of if/how men were also given this important knowledge or if they were made aware of how their actions can impact on the HIV vulnerability of their spouses (SCAWCO and UNAIDS 2007). These types of measures require the involvement of both men and women. To neglect the involvement and importance of men serves to increase women's vulnerability while at the same time apportioning responsibility to women for their own HIV safety, something that is simply unachievable for many women. Chen (2008) also argues that the increase in HIV transmission among spouses is unsurprising considering low rates of condom use among spouses, even when there is extra-marital sexual activity and that this is an important reason for the inclusion of men into measures designed to increase women's awareness of HIV/AIDS.

CONCLUSION

Labour migration increases women's HIV vulnerability as it often involves long periods of physical separation from family and loved ones thus leading to feelings of isolation and seeking out extramarital or casual sexual relationships as outlets for erotic impulses. It

also increases women's HIV vulnerability because labour migration takes women away from the economic support and protection networks that exist in their home villages, making them easy targets to be lured or forced into prostitution due to economic necessity, as well as becoming the victims of sexual harassment and sexual violence. However, women do not have to be directly involved in labour migration for it to heighten their HIV vulnerability. The spouses of returning labour migrants also face heightened vulnerability to HIV transmission due to their partner's transgressions while away. Therefore, in areas of HIV epidemics, labour migrants play an important role in patterns of HIV transmission and they are an important part of an effective HIV/AIDS response. However, the gendered dynamics of this vulnerability reflect that gender is an important consideration in human security discourse. By exploring the HIV vulnerability faced by rural to urban labour migrants in the People's Republic of China, this paper has considered how gender, migration and human insecurity are linked. In an era of increased labour migration, it reflects the importance of gendered considerations of both migration and human security.

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Johann Christian Heussler – German liberal (1820-1907)

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Abstract

This paper examines the link between an immigrant's political socialisation in their homeland and their political integration in their host country. It focuses upon Johann (John) Christian Heussler, a German-born Member of the Legislative Council (MLC) who spent more than 40 years in the Queensland Parliament in the 19th and early 20th century. I argue that Heussler's political ideals in Queensland reflected many of the unique liberal ideals in his homeland up to the time of his migration. This was reflected in colonial Queensland by his political integration through his acceptance of utilitarianism over other ideological strands within the colony at the time.¹

Keywords

Colonial Queensland, German migrants, German liberalism, integration, ideology, John Heussler, migration, political culture, utilitarianism

INTRODUCTION

This paper examines the career of German-born Johann Christian Heussler, who was a Member of the Legislative Council in the Queensland Parliament from 1866 to 1907. Over the course of his 40-year political career Heussler's actions on the political stage reflected the integration of his political beliefs from his German homeland to colonial Queensland. This paper will examine these beliefs and their influence on his political career.

Heussler's life has been examined by Alan Corkhill (1991), Delphine Nagel (1983) and his great-grandson Robert Heussler (2001). On a broader scale, the careers of the eight German-born Queensland parliamentarians,²

who were the only non-Anglo-Celt Members of Parliament (MP) in the colony during the 19th century, have been outlined by Corkhill (1992), Manfred Jurgenson and Corkhill (1992); Johannes Voigt (1983) and Tom Watson (1992). However, these studies failed to specifically link the immigrants' political choices in Queensland to their political socialisation or rather 'those developmental processes through which persons acquire political orientation and patterns of behaviour' (Easton & Dennis, cited in Chilcote 1981:231).

This study examines the influence of Heussler's homeland and how this impacted on his integration into Queensland colonial political culture. Central to this is evidence from studies that indicate a link between immigrants' political socialisation, and the particular ideological and party identification they adopt in their new homes (Mistilis 1985; McAllister & Makkai 1991; Rice and Feldman 1997).

Heussler had to adapt his German-European *Weltanschauung* or world view to a colonial Queensland political culture very different to that in his homeland. The evidence of the interlocking influences of his homeland and host country can be seen in 1867, just one year after he was appointed to the Queensland Upper House. Heussler told the chamber that a rational society should support that 'old and well-known maxim of political economy that the greatest good should be done to the greatest number' (QPD, Legislative Council, 1867:6). This statement did not materialise out of thin air. Heussler was referencing utilitarian philosopher Jeremy Bentham's famous mantra that an ideal society was one focused upon the 'greatest happiness for the greatest number' (cited by Heywood, 1992: 319).

This paper argues that Heussler's political choices in Queensland were largely based upon the ideas of the German liberal movement from the *Vormärz* pre-revolutionary period, the 1848 revolutions and reactionary era up to the end of the 1850s.

¹ This article is based on research completed in my PhD thesis, *Hartz revisited: German liberalism and the fragment cultures in 19th century Wisconsin and Queensland*. University of Queensland, 2010.

² Jacob Horwitz (MLA Warwick 1878-1888), Francis Kates (MLA Darling Downs, 1878-1881, 1883-1888, Cunningham 1899-1902); Albrecht Feez (MLA Leichardt 1880-1883); Jean Baptiste Isambert (MLA Rosewood 1882-1892), Isidore Lissner (MLA Kennedy 1883-1893, Cairns 1896-

1899); Theodore Unmack (MLA Toowong 1888-93) and Jacob Stumm (MLA Gympie 1896-99).

Heussler's German liberal sympathies saw him reject, to varying degrees, other ideological strands such as classical liberalism, social liberalism and working class radicalism evolving within Queensland political culture at the time. However, Heussler found in one such strand – utilitarianism – a political philosophy in tune with German liberalism.

THE GERMAN LIBERAL- UTILITARIAN CONNECTION

Although 19th century liberalism in Germany was a broad-based movement containing constitutional monarchists advocating a limited suffrage on one extreme and radical republicans and Democrats on the other calling for a complete breakdown of the old order – it was largely made up of the middle class, who shared certain core ideals. Unlike Britain, which in the 1850s was 'in large governed by the precepts of classical liberalism' such as free trade, anti-imperialism, minimum state activity, primacy of the individual and social and political freedom, (Gray 1992:27), the German liberals in general desired a more interventionist and regulated *Staat*.

These German liberals were politically aware, armed with a liberal education and what they believed to be a superior culture through their attachment to *Bildung* – a concept which combined the meaning carried by the English word education, with notions of character formation and moral cultivation (Sheehan 1999:14). Although there were early Catholic liberals, German liberalism had a strong secular or cultural Protestant character. Indeed, a secular state 'was at the heart of (German) liberal beliefs' with the government assuming the administrative tasks previously held by churches (Langewiesche 2000:199). The dominant liberal centre believed in the power of a just *Staat* governed by the rule of law or *Rechtsstaat* to protect against the arbitrary power of the ruling elite (Sheehan 1999:43). There was also a romantic element which lauded traditional rural life and paid homage to German exceptionalism (Kohn 1962:49-50). The German liberal movement was wary of a volatile *Volk* and the effect of the excesses of industrialisation, and sought a regulated economy. In Germany they were concerned over the effects of rampant capitalism and the:

[...] doctrine of free trade was not described as 'liberalism', and only after the turn of the twentieth century were terms such as liberal and economic individualism linked. This is a reflection of the length of time it took in Germany for economic freedom to

become part of political liberalism (Langewiesche 2000:18-19).

For the German liberals, freedom was not necessarily equated with individualism, nor authority with repression. They accepted reform from above as the best way to achieve national unity and ultimately power in an oppositional environment. German liberalism could never be fully applied to a British-colonial liberal-radical model. However, in Queensland, Heussler applied his own understanding of liberalism to the ideological strand that most suited the political realities of his new home, utilitarianism.

Utilitarianism in Australia was a pragmatic political philosophy, suited to a huge and sparsely populated country. It was reflected in the idea of equality of opportunity; social and economic regulation, tariff protection, a free, compulsory and secular education, separation of church and state, suffrage extension, egalitarianism and the desire for full employment. While capitalist individualism was still apparent, it was confined within the bounds of the State (Leach 1993:69; Heywood 1992:34-6; Robertson 1993:477-9). This political philosophy aimed to preserve the middle-class status quo, so desired by German liberals. Heussler was attracted to Bentham's idea of investing responsibility for the future on the middle class, because it was equipped with a 'historic mission to rule and civilize the barbarians both inside and outside their community' (Parekh 1974:xxiv).

Focusing on the idea of the greatest happiness for the greatest number, Heussler rejected the classical liberal bias of elements in the conservative side of politics in Queensland, made up of pastoralists, squatters, plantation owners and northern business proprietors. While the business thrust of the party would have attracted Heussler, the preference for a minimal State and a free market was foreign to German liberalism's acceptance of reform from above and concept of freedom within a dominant State apparatus, while the squatters' elitism grated against his anti-aristocratic nature. The liberal side of politics, which consisted of small business proprietors and farmers predominantly in the colony's south-east, was strongly influenced by TH Green's social liberalism, which advocated positive freedom through an interventionist State based on Christian moralism (Heywood 1992:31-45). However, Heussler being a German liberal secularist was wary of its puritan moral restrictions. Finally, with an ingrained fear of a potentially explosive *Volk*, the militant labour movement's trade union affiliated socialist objectives of the early Labor Party frightened his German middle class acceptance

of individual capitalist enterprise within a regulated economy.

Utilitarianism in Australia during the 19th century broadly meant that the State should be an active partner in the encouragement of fair capitalism, to benefit the greatest number: Capital and labour should seek negotiation and accord, not conflict (Leach 1992:68). Through Bentham's influence in colonial Australia there was a belief that political decisions should be factually based upon individuals' self interest and should deliver equality by providing satisfaction to the greatest possible number of individuals. This required institutions such as tribunals, courts and an equitable political system to remove the potential for conflict (Collins 1985:48-50). This political philosophy aimed to preserve the middle-class status quo by deflecting 'radical democratic questioning of an unequal social system' (Leach 1993:89).

Utilitarianism in Queensland, which influenced both sides of politics, was consistent with German liberalism's idea of reform from above, acceptance of *Rechtsstaat* to protect against extremes, a middle-class distrust of the volatile *Volk*, as well as a wariness of elitism and support for a secular society. As an acculturation strategy, Heussler maintained a German liberal ideological bias in his new home, under the guise of utilitarianism. It was the integration of these two political philosophies in Queensland that guided Heussler during his political career.

FROM JOHANN TO JOHN HEUSSLER

Heussler was born into a Protestant family of builders on June 16, 1820 at Bockenheim, in Hessen, near Frankfurt-am-Main and although not wealthy were 'respectable' (Heussler 2001:17-18 & 74). He was first educated at a state school with a non-classical syllabus which emphasised science and modern languages, and said later he went to school with Jews and Roman Catholics, and children of all denominations 'were educated very happily together in those times' (QPD 1975:1151). At the age of 12 he attended a French Academy and was schooled in commerce and industry (Heussler 2001:19). It was a liberal education that prepared him to enter the middle class. Indeed, in Germany it was considered that education, not wealth, to be the main pre-requisite for being a member of the middle-class (Sagarra 1977:273).

After graduating, Heussler enrolled at a commercial institute at Frankfurt-am-Main, learning finance, banking, the stock exchange, markets, transportation systems and more

(Heussler 2001:24). At the age of 24 he received his first appointment as a wine merchant and practiced his trade in Germany, Holland and England, where he represented his firm at the London exhibition in 1851 (Heussler 2001:24, 28 & 32). He was no radical and there is no evidence of him participating in the 1848 revolutions. He was a German liberal sympathiser, tired of the upheaval and restrictions in Europe, who left for a new land 'where security, stability and commerce could be found' (Heussler 2001:30).

Arriving in Melbourne in 1852, he quickly became proficient at English, and established a merchant business with branches in Castlemaine and Bendigo. However, for health reasons he moved north and arrived in Moreton Bay in January, 1854 (Heussler 2001:37 & 43-4; Nagle 1983:122). He was naturalised in 1855 and on his papers called himself John and four years later married into a respected Presbyterian Anglo-Celtic family (Corkhill 1991:22; Heussler 2001:74).

Heussler appeared to possess a certain denominational ambivalence, and although raised a Lutheran, he joined his new wife's Presbyterian church in Brisbane and was later associated with the Lutheran church (Heussler 2001:74; Waterson: 2001:88). In line with the secular ideals of the German liberal movement, Heussler once told his Upper House colleagues that the 'clergy of the present day were just as bigoted as they were 1700 years ago; if they were in power, they would do just the same as when they used to burn fellow mortals'. He went on to say he was wary of religious exclusiveness declaring that he was a member of the 'Christian Church' and 'he could go anywhere without reference to a particular creed' (QPD 1875:1210). Religious bigotry did not seem to be part of Heussler's make-up.

Settling in Brisbane, Heussler built up merchant businesses with various partners, investing widely in property and the sugar industry and became an accredited agent for JC Godeffroy & Sons as well as other shipping firms. He was a founding member of the Queensland Club and the North Australian Freemason's Lodge, and was a committee member for the founding of the Brisbane Grammar School. He was on a number of government committees, helped form the German Club and importantly, for a time, was also Emigration Agent for the Colony of Queensland on the Continent of Europe. He was Consul for the Netherlands and from 1880 to 1900 consul for the German Empire (Nagle 1983:122; Corkhill 1991:7-9; Heussler 2001:76-80). Yet he also suffered business setbacks, especially his sugar interests in the

1860s and 1870s, having to mortgage and then sell his home Fernberg in Milton, which eventually became Queensland Government House (Heussler 2001:152; Nagel 1983:126).

Heussler no doubt looked with pride at the united German nation however, he was committed to his new home, was an anglophile and in Parliament called Britain 'home' (QPD 1895:66). He summed up his affiliations stating that:

[...] although he spoke with a foreign accent [...] He was a naturalised Englishman, and, having lived forty years among them, more of an Englishman now than he was of anything else in his feelings, and perhaps a little of the Scotchman into the bargain (QPD 1884:265).

Heussler may have come from a lower middle-class background but he entered the ranks of the commercial middle class in his new home and moved freely in the ranks of the colonial elite. Heussler was no radical in his homeland, yet his upbringing, education and lower middle and commercial class affiliations, when linked to his actions in Queensland politics as a member of the Legislative Council, would suggest he displayed strong German liberal sympathies.

POLITICAL CAREER IN QUEENSLAND

The urbane Heussler cut a distinct figure in the Legislative Council, dominated by rough hewn squatters and gentlemen graziers (Morrison 1960:558). He saw himself as an honest broker, making constructive criticism and being 'able to bring his wider experience of the world [...] to view issues contrastively as a "foreigner" steeped in another culture' (Corkhill 1991:16). Heussler never had to woo electors because he was appointed for life by the Governor. However, by assessing his actions during parliamentary Divisions, it can be seen that he gave his support according to his ideals and interests which more often than not were aligned with the conservatives (Herde 2010: 243-249).

In many of his speeches his German liberal sentiments were evident and would refer back to his experiences in his homeland sometimes quoting Goethe and others in the House (QPD 1875:1210). He saw himself as above party alignments, preferring to see his role as a protector of business, checking the radical extravagances of the Lower House. He thought of himself as occupying what was called in Europe the 'party of the Centre, and from it radiated the extremes of the other

parties' (QPD 1879:32). Unlike many of his squatter colleagues in the Legislative Council and Labor Party opponents in the Lower House, Heussler sought an active government, not as a tool simply to promote business interests or as a harbinger of radical social reform. Instead, government was there to create a stable society. He told Parliament that:

There should be general progress and happiness; not that a few only should have millions and the majority not a bite or a crust. He spoke for humanity, not for a class of the community. The object of legislation was the well-being of the people (QPD 1879:15).

His German liberal/utilitarian sentiments were in evidence in his views on education, the economy and parliamentary reform.

Heussler had a cosmopolitan relationship with religion, reflective of his own education and cultural Protestantism. State-based education was a strongly held German liberal ideal, which aimed to ready the less fortunate for entry into the *Mittelstand* or middle-strata of society (Sheehan 1999:33). German liberals held similar ideals to Bentham who promoted the idea of 'useful learning' and argued that Latin and Greek are of little value to the great majority of people (Dinwiddy 1989:114). To ensure useful learning and certain standards it was vital that the State provide free public education, wresting power from religious institutions (Roberts 1974:189, 195).

During the debates on the State Education Act (1875) which sought a free, secular and compulsory education system, there was opposition to the reform amongst Heussler's classical liberal colleagues. Squatter Edward Wienholt criticised compulsory education as 'un-English', (QPD 1873:212) while businessman Archibald Buchanan described a free, secular and compulsory school system as 'wicked' and leading to 'atheism' and 'free thinkers' (QPD 1875:1144). However, Heussler sided with the liberals in the Lower House wanting largely a secular school system. He claimed that the 'State should educate' and also called for grammar schools to be free and within the State system. He was strongly opposed to religious schools saying he believed that 'the greatest amount of happiness in the world had always been where the greatest amount of liberty in learning had been acknowledged and the least amount of doctrine taught' (QPD 1875:1151).

He also pushed for technical schooling, calling for additional agricultural and mechanical schools. In true Teutonic style he said Queensland's youth should be 'taught to love

good and useful work' and claimed that Germany had introduced such 'rational measures' (QPD 1875:1277). Thus the utility or value in learning was to create a stable secular society without class, religious and historical barriers: in other words a society with middle-class values.

In Germany the commercial and lower middle-class liberals wanted to break down aristocratic privilege and harness the economy to achieve progress, and they were concerned that total economic freedom would only advantage the larger firms at the expense of smaller artisans (Sheehan 1999: 30). While Bentham and his followers supported laissez-faire economics, he also recognised the need for governments to encourage economic activity by providing services and ensuring protection of property and labour (Vincent 1995:47). For utilitarians, the maximising of utility or value, and thus happiness, was an inherent part of the state's duty to its citizens (Dinwiddy 1989:99-102). For Heussler an interventionist government which respected individual enterprise and promoted economic progress, regulated competition and protected workers in times of economic downturns reflected his German liberal sentiments.

This attachment to economic regulation meant that Heussler, despite his business interests, had no taste for unrestrained capitalism. In response to the squatter James Taylor's call to cutback government expenditure in tough times, Heussler told Parliament that:

When prospects were gloomy, when times were bad, when all things were low, it was not fit to stop work and progress. He believed it was the duty of every good Government then to do something substantial to keep things going; not to stop them and to bring about a collapse (QPD 1879:17).

He was also an advocate for small farmers, in contrast to the majority of the Legislative Council dominated by squatters. Resting his argument on utilitarian principles, Heussler outlined the views of the squatters in the Upper House, whom he saw as a self-interested lobby group. He thought that:

[...] as a body of representative men, every member of the Council had a much higher duty than that of looking out for one's self ... as representative men, they should step out of themselves, so to say, and look upon the whole community as deriving happiness and prosperity [...] His idea of true representation was, the securing of the greatest amount of happiness for all (QPD 1878:56).

Indeed, Heussler was a strong advocate of the liberals Crown Lands Act (1884) which was reflective of the political pendulum swinging from a tentative classic liberal orientation towards utilitarian-radical liberalism. Displaying a romantic agrarianism, Heussler said public opinion was behind land reform and that 'there is plenty of room in the colony for the small capitalists and young men of enterprise' (QPD 1884:240-1). He claimed the agricultural labourer 'produce something' unlike 'parasites' such as lawyers and merchants (QPD 1887:15).

After the Conservative-Liberal fusion in 1890, Heussler sided exclusively with the Continuous Ministry which was in power for the decade, apart from one week of a Labor government (Herde 2010:243-9). The union did not represent the seismic shift for him that it did for other German MPs in the Lower House. One of his major crusades was for government-sponsored co-operative settlements, which reflected the greatest happiness for the greatest number principle. The idea of co-operative settlements in a country blessed with rural expanse and a small manufacturing base, appeared to be a rational solution to working-class unemployment. In Australia, utilitarianism's rejection of class extremism also made co-operativism – a gathering of individuals to share in an enterprise for the greater good – an alternative to militant socialism.

In a newspaper article, Heussler declared that 'co-operation is not communism but recompense according to earning capacity' (*Brisbane Courier*, 14 July 1893:6). He wrote that Queensland's large expanse was especially suited to co-operative farming which would 'bring peace between the capital and labour'. Instead of the government giving away rations 'indiscriminately to good and bad', a co-operative system would reward the workers, while the 'unworthy will [...] be found out, and can be dealt with in a different fashion' (*Brisbane Courier*, 14 July 1893:6). Heussler believed co-operative settlements were the panacea to militant socialism because they allowed the working class, who would otherwise be opposed to capital, to become producers and part of a liberal middle-class society. It was a middle-class solution for a potentially volatile *Volk* and quite unlike the ideological-bound co-operative communities established by early socialists Robert Owen and Charles Fourier in Europe (Heywood 1992: 94).

In line with Bentham's adherents, Heussler also saw the government as a service provider. In 1895 he told parliament that the colony was moving towards 'true socialism', with the post office, telegraph and railways in government

hands. He said that in Scotland and England, the government owned gas and water supplies which had reduced costs to the consumer, while in Switzerland there was a referendum on the state being able to sell spirits and in France the state sold tobacco (QPD 1895:66-7). But it was a very different system than the one proposed by Labor:

All this is socialism in true form [...] this is not the socialism that agitators wish to bring about. Theirs is a levelling process, and is something very different from that which naturally grows out of the progress of the people. We are going in a socialistic direction, and no power in the world will be able to prevail against it. But it is the socialism of a kind which will not allow people to do as they like and to oppress one another, and I hope our Government will foster it as much as possible where good grounds for progress come before them (QPD 1895:67).

For Heussler, class-based militant socialism of the kind which he believed surfaced during the 1891 shearers' strikes was abhorrent because it pitted one class against another. He saw that it was the role of the State to ensure stability by establishing 'true socialism' for the benefit of all, while ensuring a kinder type of capitalism, in which individuals would be allowed to realise their potential, within a regulated civil society in which the State was an active participant. Heussler believed the only result of militant socialism was class war and revolution.

However, Heussler was not comfortable with utilitarian's support for manhood suffrage, a single chamber and other measures to ensure that the 'Government would so regulate society that man's own self-interest would promote the greatest happiness' (Roberts 1974:187-8). In the Queensland Parliament there was a call for a wider franchise, an elected Upper House, the payment of members and triennial parliaments. They were ideas consistent with the left wing of the German liberal movement in contrast to the centre who wanted something less radical: To protect the state from the dangers of the mob and yet provide opportunities for political, participation to those deserving (Sheehan 1999:27-8).

Calls to change the Legislative Council from a nominated body to one elected were predictably opposed by Heussler. He stated that he regarded a nominated Upper House as more desirable than an elective body because 'the gentlemen appointed to the Legislative Council, from time to time, represented public

opinion in a greater degree than if they were elected' (QPD 1871:448). Six years later he defended the idea of being nominated for life claiming 'it was the most judicial and real exercise of the sovereign power' (QPD 1877:43). According to Heussler, security of tenure:

[...] sometimes prevents measures which are hastily concluded, perhaps, under what I may call misguided public opinion for the time – and which we all know are occasionally brought forward in deference to popular feeling; it prevents such measures being imposed upon the country without due time for reflection and deliberation (QPD 1877:43).

Accepting the winds of change, Heussler, who recognised the widespread support for a more inclusive political system, reversed his earlier opposition to payment to MPs. He said he had learnt that 'the country was in favour of the measure' and it was only payment to pay their expenses (QPD 1889:69). He saw himself as a representative of the liberal *Staat*, and the *Volk* had to earn entry into the middle class. In this regard he failed to fully embrace the utilitarian acceptance of a more inclusive political system. To him, freedom did not mean the right vote or even participate in the political process but meant equality before the law, which was important to protect individual rights in an illiberal state.

Heussler linked his German liberalism to utilitarian ideals in the Australian context. He sought economic reform and at times there was tension between that and his advocacy of social progress. A secular rationalist, he was comfortable with the government taking an active role in development and increasingly saw the State as an ally in most endeavours. For Heussler, governments should be institutions to ensure the greatest number could benefit from the fruits of society. Reform should come from above, not from the radicals below. Social progress was important to Heussler but only in terms derived from his German liberal values.

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Catholicism and Alcoholism: The Irish Diaspora lived ethics of the Dropkick Murphys punk band

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Abstract

This paper discusses the contemporary Irish-American punk band, the Dropkick Murphys, and in particular the band's most recent studio album 2007s *The Meanest of Times*. We find that the band's resurgent Irish nationalism is both uniquely a product of the Irish Diaspora, and, although the band might be unwilling to admit it, American culture and its self-confident jingoistic patriotism. The band's attitude to Roman Catholicism is, in Sartre's (2003) words, a unique synthesis of facticity and transcendence in that they acknowledge its reality as a shadow overhanging both their pasts and their presents. However, the band seems to go beyond simply acknowledging its spectre by adopting, expressing, and/or reflecting some degree of religious faith themselves without going so far as to be clearly a 'Catholic band' like, for example, the Priests.

The shadow of a religious culture, and some degree of actual religious belief set the backdrop for and indeed inspire the band's world-weary tales of urban alienation, family breakdown, and brotherly affection; complex, metaphysical accounts of a culture imbedded in Diaspora. Yet, due to their status as a punk band, the Dropkick Murphys render this attendant religious metaphysic eminently graspable by de-mythologising it. In particular, the band explores what 1970s punk journalist Caroline Coon described as 'personal politics' sharing this with other 'postmodern' contemporary punk bands NOFX (see James 2010) and the Offspring as well as their predecessors such as the Sex Pistols. Through our ethnomusicological reading of *The Meanest of Times* (2007) they remind us that it is equally important to understand the experience of migrant security, Diasporic or otherwise, as oscillating between what Giddens (1991) termed 'ontological security' and 'existential anxiety' alongside geo-political readings of the same phenomenon.

Keywords

Existential anxiety, Existentialism; Irish Diaspora; Irish Nationalism; ontological security; punk music; Roman Catholicism

A POSTMODERN IRISH NATIONALISM

The Dropkick Murphys (hereafter DMs) have unabashedly adopted an image and worldview of a resurgent and triumphalist Irish nationalism grounded in singing of Irish traditions, festivities, towns and places, and use traditional Irish instrumentation in some of their music. Fictitious characters in songs invariably are given Irish names, such as 'Flannigan's Ball' and 'Fairmount Hill'. However, what emerges is as obviously a product of the USA as it is of Ireland. Although Dublin is referenced in songs (e.g. the cover of 'Rocky Road to Dublin'), Boston, America's 'Irish city', is referenced more frequently. We thus have a uniquely Diasporic Irishness created, which is in a sense genuine and in a sense romanticised and even fabricated. The Irishness is extremely self-conscious and pushes the barrier between authenticity and inauthenticity without becoming wholly unbelievable.

Whilst the history of Ireland is frequently portrayed as merely sectarian and violent in popular media (the films *Bloody Sunday*, directed by Paul Greengrass and *In the Name of the Father*, directed by Jim Sheridan, as well as the political and religious content of U2's earlier albums *Boy* (1980) *October* (1981) and *War* (1983)) the DMs infer a romanticised, a-historical Ireland which is a pleasure to visit and easy to identify with. Theirs is a postmodern nationalism that assimilates disparate cultural products to form a narrative of national identity. The DM's nationalism caters for Irish emigrants, those who have Irish ancestors in the long distant past, and those who are simply attracted to aspects of the culture (Ireland's vibrancy being preferred over England's dourness and austerity). If we have an Irish parent or grandparent we can choose the DMs' Irish narrative without guilt (or even if we have no Irish ancestry at all). We are never forced to choose sides politically or in war.

While possibly objectionable in the sense that it reconstitutes the history of sectarian Ireland (see, for example, MacDonagh, 1992; O'Leary, 1995) so as to render it politically benign, we argue that the DMs retain sufficient sincerity and lived ethics to make their project viable. In the same way a Croatian Diasporic band could authentically focus on Croatian-Catholic national identity whilst not involving itself in the reality of recent war in the Balkans. In a postmodern world of shifting unstable identities and mass immigration, many feel attracted to and comforted by nationalist messages of various sorts. Being associated with the political left rather than the political right makes the DM's project less problematic (unlike, for example, white-British nationalist punk band Skrewdriver referred to in Bill Buford's ethnographic study of English football hooligans *Among the Thugs* (1993)). Being rooted in a romanticised a-historical past and a largely self-created diasporic present, the DMs' world of Irishness seems largely unassailable. In effect, they are implicitly asserting that it is the Irishness that we choose that counts; as such its authenticity is guaranteed. The DMs allow this lived Irishness and lived Catholicism to gel with more traditional and mainstream punk rock concerns such as integrity and falsehood; corporate greed and the greed of the small businessperson; the emptiness of pre-marital sexual relations and the single person's 'meat-market'; whiskey- and war-related early deaths (as on 'Virtues and Vices' where, significantly, the war death portrayed is in Vietnam rather than Northern Ireland); child abuse and marital breakdown (as on 'The State of Massachusetts' and 'Walk Away' respectively). A loosely quasi-Catholic position is combined with a postmodern existentialist worldview similar to that of Nick Hornby's 30-something single male characters in his novels *High Fidelity* (2005) and *About a Boy* (1998), so that pre-marital sex is despised because the *experience* of waking up in a stranger's bed is unpleasant, as opposed to it being morally wrong *ex-ante* from the perspective of the Church. Likewise, an unnamed male friend is urged to reconsider leaving his family in pursuit of the idol of presumed freedom (in 'Walk Away'). These moral positions can be viewed as being vaguely or loosely Catholic in the sense that family unity and loyalty are given pride of place, or valorised, rather than the stark individualism of the postmodern consumer.

On another song ('Echoes on A Street') a friend is reminded of his wife's devotion ('she promised to honour, cherish and keep you/ she took your problems and took your name') that might annoy feminists (not because women are treated as sex objects but because they are assigned a traditional role as waiting for the

man to come home in silent devotion). However the rough world-weary sounds of the two singers of the DMs (who exchange lines rapid-fire with each other, in the manner of Californian punks Rancid), makes this message come across as sincere and the product of lived experiences, that is authentic, working-class and Catholic, as opposed to middle-class, Anglican, and conservative. There are similarities here with the veiled moral and religious messages of Tolstoy and Dostoyevsky (see Tolstoy, 2003) which arguably only works successfully in cultures such as the Russian and the Irish, where religion, or at least the external trappings of a very visual religious tradition, is woven into the fabric of national life. The DMs would agree with Tolstoy that it is 'better to be a Levin than a Vronsky', i.e. better to maintain one's personal freedom, integrity, and self-respect rather than forsake conscience and society to engage in cynical and self-centred extra-marital relations which ultimately hinder one's own honest personal journey of self creation rather than assist it.

The rest of the paper discusses songs from the DMs' most recent studio album *The Meanest of Times* in order of the track listing on the album.

'FAMOUS FOR NOTHING'

The opening song is a super-fast DMs song in the classic 1990s punk mould characterised by rapid-fire exchange of vocal parts between the singers. Lyrically the band is at its least moralistic here which is appropriate for an album-opener (certain to become a regular feature of the band's live set) so that no listener is shocked by the band's religiously influenced morality early on. The song begins with the sound of a classroom bell and children's playground noises, complementing the cheerful Irish Catholic schoolyard photograph on the album cover. We are immediately brought back to the primary school playgrounds of Ireland (or at least Boston). The song verses include some reference to the courts filling up after a 'long night on the town', at once giving the song a contemporary context but also reminding us of our own unruly youth. First we have as follows:

There's two little shits/
Selling joints on the hill/
And the kids down the lot/
Are burning cruisers for a thrill.

And again:

The courts are filling up/
All the kids are coming down/

For a head start on the troubles/
Of a long night on the town.

The use of first-person singular throughout is somewhat odd. As in the case of Rancid (on classic tracks such as 'Roots Radicals' (on 1995 album *...And Out Come the Wolves*), 'Ruby Soho' (on *...And Out Come the Wolves*) and 'Otherside' (on 2003 *Indestructible* album)), the use of the two vocalists, in combination with the first-person singular pronoun, conveys the unspoken impression of lads growing up together and in fact of shared childhood experiences or at the very least of childhood experiences in common. To mentally and emotionally fight this aural impact is difficult: we are drawn into the DMs' world and convinced of its authenticity through the medium of the 'two witnesses'. The DMs use this technique as skilfully as Rancid did a decade earlier.

It is in this song that we get a fairly direct introduction to the DMs' complicated Irish world of 'Catholicism and Alcoholism'. Clearly the band members chose the second path (to the extent that the two paths oppose one another) but they are not shut out to the other ('God willing', of course, to cite the title of the album's second song). We hear that 'the big one's on the way', being the Sunday morning problem hangover, and that 'I'm a God damned travesty'. The chorus switches over half way through the song so that we get the band spelling out a clear demarcation: 'Their gang went my way for basketball/ my gang went their way for alcohol'. This appears to be past tense, describing school days. In fact we are 'famous for nothing' and 'nothing was our world'. It is this self-deprecating honesty that saves the DMs, as it saved Rancid in the 1990s and Joe Strummer in the 1970s. We can identify with 'nothing' as 'our world'. The vocals are hard to understand at times but the band makes sure that we can hear clearly the most important lines: 'it was us against the world' of course appeals to the punk audience, as does its 'rhyming' (to use the term loosely) line, 'nothing was our world'. The DMs do nothing as successfully as trading on the 'underdog spirit' of punk rock and the Irish nationalist factor helps immensely here. The juxtaposition of past and present is handled well and is vital to the existentialist approach. It reminds the authors of the Clash successfully juxtaposing past and present in the haunting 'Something about England', where Strummer, as narrator, meets an aging war veteran who takes him back in flashback narrative through the major events of the twentieth century. We then return in the last verse, after the old man has shifted off home, to the London world of 1980 with its bars, gangs, bedsits, and police sirens. The following DMs' quasi-chorus is sung with

extra gusto and a conviction borne of bitter experience:

Well these lies won't save me/
Don't you know, don't you know/
From the time that made me/
Here we go, here we go.

These lines remain difficult to interpret. The 'lies' must refer to drunkenness and teenage anarchy but the choice of the word 'lies' here, with its religious overtones, is revealing. We then hear the contradiction that has always been a feature of the best humanist punk rock and the best of classic literature, including Tolstoy and Dostoyevsky: although my past experiences were 'lies', existentially they are what I have become; indeed 'they were the times that made me'. We are reminded of Dostoyevsky's characters Raskolnikov in *Crime and Punishment* (Dostoyevsky, 1991) who re-creates himself after murder of the pawnbroker by financially assisting Sonya's family despite his mental turmoil, and the narrator in *The House of the Dead* (Dostoyevsky, 1985) whose fear and cynicism in being sent to a Siberian prison camp slowly and unexpectedly metamorphoses into hope and a fresh desire for living through such small events as the prisoners' shared happiness in participating in a Christmas play. As Sartre (2003) argues in *Being and Nothingness*, although self re-creation in the manner of the deed is always possible for the existentialist, our personal journey can have no *starting point* other than our actual past.

The Roman Catholic aspect is emphasised only in the second half of the song as if the Catholic tradition of Ireland operates as a kind of *echo* or *repressed memory* that takes some time to be dredged up from the subconscious. First we hear that 'the good Lord was calling me, 9-to-3 on weekdays, and on the hour on Sundays', which then later on becomes 'Jesus Christ was calling me, 9-to-3 on weekdays, and on the hour on Sundays'. The '9 to 3 on weekdays' is a reference to the ritualistic nature of Catholic education propaganda which can only operate during the times of the day set down for it. 'On the hour on Sundays' suggests living within earshot of the local Catholic parish church and indeed that is confirmed with the song's last repeated refrain 'still the bells of St Mary's kept ringing', which might (or might not) contain a reference to the 1944 Hollywood film *The Bells of St Mary's* starring Bob Hope. As the song closes out, we recall the opening lines of the song about youth having a 'long night on the town' and the singers' own alcoholic tendencies. The last line then speaks to our inner soul or conscience, even in the religious sense: how did we respond to the church bells, and how are we responding now? There is a complexity

here, the Catholic Church being dealt with subtly and in a nuanced fashion: it is not demonised, if anything it is presented as akin to Hamlet's ghost or the 'spectres of Marx' in the post-modern sense (Derrida 1994). The Church is not presented simplistically as either the cause of, or the solution to, Ireland's or Boston's problems. It is *simply there*, in the background, casting a shadow (as indeed Lennon and McCartney understood as well, as indicated by the lyrics to 1966 Beatles' song 'Eleanor Rigby', from the *Revolver* album, featuring the 'oh-so-ordinary', hence the oh-so-significant, Father Mackenzie). The DMs makes it clear that it is the *shadow* or the *spectre* of the Catholic Church, if nothing else, that remains an integral part of Irishness and indeed it cannot be otherwise. It may take an expatriate overseas Irishwoman or Irishman to see this, as she or he sees the Church forced to compete with a variety of other religious traditions, some of which appear on the surface at least to be much more logical, reasonable and up-to-date than the religion of the Pope. The ambiguous and complex relationship of the band to the Church in this song gives way to the later songs of the album where the Church is not mentioned directly but a clear moral position on a wide variety of social and economic issues is carefully presented and argued for. The Church continues to hang over the album like a shadow; it influences proceedings much more than we can ever know.

We get no advocating of violence on DM's albums, nor do we even get swearing. We are left with a very wholesome and moral album that walks the fine line between morality and moralism; usually it is the morality of bitter life experiences that talks. We are clearly not in Rancid territory where the band celebrates the wounding of 30 police in Oakland riots connected to the poll tax in the song 'Brixton' re-released on the 2008 compilation album *B Sides and C Sides*. Similarly, we are not in Clash territory where the small-time thief Jimmy Jazz is romanticised (in the 1979 song 'Jimmy Jazz' on the *London Calling* album) and the blacks of Ladbroke Grove and Notting Hill are lionised for their willingness to take up arms against the reactionary London police force of the era in the 1977 song 'White Riot' on the self-titled debut album. However, clearly there are similarities between the approaches: the *existentialism* of the validity of lived experiences is the key to the philosophies of all three bands and the male drinking culture is important for the DMs as well as for the other two bands. However, clearly, the DMs also understand and present the negative side of male alcohol consumption. All three bands exhibit a refreshing humanism which gallantly aims to protect women, ethnic minorities, children, the weak and the poor

from exploitation at the hands of Multi-National Corporations, the police force or local drug lords (for Rancid songs on these topics see 'Rwanda' (on self-titled 2000 album), 'Radio Havana' (on self-titled 2000 album) and 'Stand Your Ground' (on 2003 *Indestructible* album)). All three bands embrace notions of the 'proletariat', the 'outsiders', the 'ruling class', institutional power, alienation, and the importance of working-class brotherhood and collective action. All three bands' relationships with orthodox Marxism remain unclear. The DMs simply take *both* the humanism and the Political Correctness (PC) a step further than the other two bands as is appropriate for the 2000s (although Mick Jones of the Clash was always much more PC, even in the 1970s, than his bandmate Joe Strummer, as Pat Gilbert's (2004) Clash biography *Passion is a Fashion* points out). The Catholicism factor is an important element in this. Whilst the 1970s produced entertaining radicals JG Ballard and the Clash, the 2000s produced the tamer and more PC, but nonetheless interesting and enjoyable, Nick Hornby and Dropkick Murphys.

Another issue presents itself for us postmoderns. Do the DMs believe in Catholic teachings in the literal religious sense? As the Slovenian post-communist philosopher Slavoj Žižek (2003, 2008) points out, this question is unacceptable and archaic from a position of postmodern ethical fluidity, but it is worth asking here. It seems that the Church is presented as being more than simply a human cultural institution: its links to the divine are never denied by the band. To deny the divine origins of the Church outright would surely take away the mystique of the Church and much of its power (even today). Clearly Catholicism is important for the DMs' worldview and hence the band does not cast doubts upon its divine connections directly. Nevertheless, the possibility remains that the DMs actually do literally believe, at least to some extent. This then represents a powerful challenge to the assumptions of modernity. It may be better to see religious belief as a continuum rather than as a 0/1 binary dichotomy. Then the DMs surely have at least some faith in the divine. They sing 'Jesus Christ was calling me', not 'The Church was calling me' or 'the priests and nuns were calling me'; or even the more ambiguous and PC 'a higher power was calling me'. The DMs are not concerned about offending anyone's sensibilities here. In fact, the DMs' possible religious faith here increases the drama quality and the urgency of the band's message (and their moralism): if Jesus Christ is *literally* calling me then this is a much more significant than if the Church is calling me in the purely cultural sense. So we are left with an important

postmodern message: we can dare to have religious faith and allow it to influence our worldviews. This faith is best seen as the socially radical left-wing Catholicism of the Second Vatican Council, John Paul II, and Polish Solidarity. Whilst the DMs romanticise an a-historical Ireland their approach remains nonetheless contemporary and a product of the contemporary world.

‘THE STATE OF MASSACHUSETTS’

In ‘The State of Massachusetts’ the band locates its own modern concerns in the State of Massachusetts, USA, which has ‘Irish’ Boston as its capital city. The joyfulness of the band’s music seems incongruous with the serious, somewhat depressing, and clinically ‘social realist’ lyrical message. The complex lyrical theme involves the taking away of two children by the State of Massachusetts. The two children, Billy and Tommy, belong to a couple, friends of the band, who are not able to care for the children properly. The band walks the fine line between compassionate responsible humanism and unreflexive moralism in this song. The upbeat musical sounds are clearly designed to make the moral message more easily digestible to the band’s fans. The band members know the fictional wayward couple, and the mother is referred to throughout in second-person singular. The mother is variously chastised and remonstrated with, the band being convinced that ‘she has had her last chance’ with the children and that the DSS (Department of Social Security) was right to take the children away. The woman is not judged by the band; the band aims simply to help her accept the dictates of reasonableness. The chorus refrain ‘they’ve been taken away’ hangs in the air poignantly but you can easily imagine the line being sung raucously by the crowd in concert, its original meaning being ignored (much like on the 2001 DVD *No Bull*, when AC/DC perform the song ‘Hell’s Bells’ in front of an audience of 18-year-old partying Spanish youth, the song becomes simply another anthem of celebration, its original meaning as an angry and confused response to the death of Bon Scott being forgotten).

The DMs’ social realist position and its humanitarianism make this song a partial success. Clearly the Catholicism referred to in ‘Famous for nothing’ has influenced the worldviews of the band members so that they are willing to take a strong moral stance on issues such as child abuse and neglect. The song does reflect some existential angst to the extent that the woman is clearly well known to the band and they hold affection for her; nonetheless they believe that the DSS was

right to take the children away. The band does not celebrate the taking of the children away; there is a strong sense of regret and anguish as they ponder over what might have been (the ‘paths not taken’) and allow themselves to connect with the women’s feelings of loss, anger and bitterness. Nonetheless, there is also an emotion of relief present as the band members believe that the decision made, now a fait accompli, was in the best interests of the children. The song begins as follows:

She had excuses and she chose to use them/
She was the victim of unspeakable abuses/
Her husband was violent, malicious and distant/
Her kids now belong to the state of Massachusetts.

They've been taken away! Hey!
They've been taken away!

The very ethical position of the band, that refuses to be swayed by ‘excuses’ and ‘victimhood’, renders the DMs as a (post)modern band that has accepted the wisdoms of many traditional values. The woman’s hard past and difficult present are acknowledged by the band but do not cause the band to change its decision to support the actions of the DSS. Next we are introduced to the children who are well known by the song narrators:

Billy was a bright one, Tommy's off his head/
Mother loved them both the same, at least that's what she said/
I don't predict the future, I don't care about the past/
Send them both to DSS, now you've had your chance.

The line ‘I don't predict the future, I don't care about the past’ reinforces the band’s position that sentimentality will not be allowed to rule their decision-making processes. The mother may claim to have reformed, but the future may well turn out to be just like the past. Clearly, the band believes that now is not the time for a second chance. The next verse, sung in the manner of a chorus, nearly mocks the mother for her unrealistic stance and her appropriation of ‘victimhood’, and then the verse after this one puts the band’s responsible humanism centre-stage by arguing that it is the children’s future that matters the most:

The poison stole your babies/
The judges took your rights/
You can have your children or the night.

I suppose you've been a victim, I
 suspect you may have lied/
 Have you lost all ambition, won't
 you give this thing a try/
 If you can't and you fail, you won't
 be the only loser/
 These kids don't stand a chance with
 you in their future.

The use of the word 'lies' again, as in 'I suspect you may have lied' brings to the forefront again the shadow of Catholic values, but even here the band is not willing to make a direct accusation of 'lying'. Instead, they simply say that the mother is 'suspected' of doing so.

'TOMORROW'S INDUSTRY'

This is a rather strange song with a somewhat veiled lyrical message. The band is clearly ranting against the song's main protagonist, an old-fashioned ultra-competitive capitalist small businessperson. However, exactly what the person has done wrong and how he can make amends is only hinted at. The band is less successful in conveying one clear moral message here, especially when listening to the song as opposed to studying the lyrics. The opening clever first verse introduces the main protagonist, clearly a driven alienated careerist such as Ivan Ilyich in Tolstoy's famous short story 'The Death of Ivan Ilyich' (see Feldman 2004; James et al., forthcoming). The person aims to pay for 'Catholic school' fees, introducing the Irish dimension, and he adopts the old-fashioned business values of hard work, thrift, sacrifice and tough but fair competition:

Young kids in Catholic schools/
 Elderly parents living under your
 roof/
 You pay the bills and you pay the
 price/
 You don't back down and you won't
 play nice/
 The disgraced values of the company
 man/
 Are why you fight and sacrifice/
 Don't bend or break for their one-
 way rules/
 Or run from battles you know you'll
 lose.

The song does not succeed in the way it should as one fears that there is no one strong clear and coherent message unlike in 'The State of Massachusetts'. Instead, we have some lovely suggestive phrases thrown together (which is the essence of Žižek's (2010) recent critique of Adorno). Possibly giving a name to our fictional protagonist may have helped matters here. The following chorus also puts together

some lovely turns of phrase but the listener is left to piece them together by herself to form a coherent message. Our preferred interpretation is that 'yesterday's values' are not being presented favourably here so we have no simple romanticisation of the past. The contradiction the band argues for, between 'yesterday's values' and 'tomorrow's industry', suggests that 'tomorrow's industry' will be a more caring, more just, kinder place where social and environmental concerns are placed at centre-stage. This inoffensive PC message seems somewhat naïve and inconsistent with the band's strong support for hardcore trade unionists on earlier albums (such as 'Worker's Song' on 2003 album *Blackout* and 'Which Side Are You On?' and 'Heroes From Our Past' on 2001 album *Sing Loud, Sing Proud!*). The chorus is as follows:

Greed is blinding you/
 But we can see/
 He's got yesterday's values/
 Living in tomorrow's industry.

The shift from second-person to third-person singular halfway through the chorus is confusing also: is it the same person being talked about? We suspect that it is. The band drifts off-topic in the last verse and the song does not end strongly. In the last verse we depart from our lead character and the band makes some social commentary about the rising cost of living and the need for families to have two jobs to pay the bills. Overall, it is hard to be sure whether the lead character is being portrayed as a hero or anti-hero, and, whilst in other songs this complexity works, we argue here that it merely confuses. The last verse is as follows:

The weight falls hard on the stand up
 guy/
 The one you can count on you can
 rely/
 This is your future it don't seem
 right/
 But this is your battle, this is your
 fight/
 Something in this country has got to
 change/
 If we're ever going to see those days
 again/
 Your parents may have done it with
 just one job/
 But now we're working for less and
 twice as hard.

Whilst the song contains many good ideas, its impact is weak, compared to the impact of the other songs discussed here. In the first half of the song the Catholic businessperson is criticised but later on he is praised for his 'principles'. The band, whilst lamenting the present, seem to want to return to the old days

of our leading character where each family's sole breadwinner had to put the children through Catholic schools solely through his own efforts.

'ECHOES ON "A" STREET'

In what is, musically speaking at least, an extremely powerful song, 'Echoes on "A" Street' tells the story of a faithful young wife staying at home patiently waiting for her husband to come home in silent devotion. As a listener you presume that the narrator is remonstrating with a young male friend urging him [the friend] to see his own wife's good qualities. This is the impression that the song creates since the narrator addresses all his remarks to an unnamed 'you'. However, the last refrain of 'Shannon I'm coming home' (which is also the song's chorus) introduces some confusion/complexity as here the narrator seems to be acknowledging and praising his own wife. Have we then got a song like the 1976 Kiss ballad 'Beth', on the *Destroyer* album, where the singer-on-the-road addresses his patient faithful wife-at-home (although 'Beth' had at least some sincerity clearly the DMs song has more)? It is probably better to simply view the chorus as a juxtaposition of the Shannon relationship with the other relationship being referred to in the song in the same way that 'Famous for nothing' juxtaposes past and present. We then have a song similar to 'State of Massachusetts or, on the previous album, 'Walk Away'. The first verse then appears particularly strong and insightful:

Anxious nights give way to daylight/
She don't cry and she don't complain/
To honour, cherish, protect and keep you/
She took your problems and took your name/
All she wants to do is stroll down the island/
She don't care if there's wind or there's rain/
Only a women of her stature/
Could shield you from the venom of this town's disdain.

There is an element of juxtaposition of past and present here as well with the last line of the verse suggesting some past event in order to set context. We have a narrative that is similar to a lawyer building up a carefully crafted argument; the goal here is surely to persuade the male friend of his own wife's goodness in the context of the possible temptation to abandon everything and run away. *The citation of the wedding vows adds a clear Catholic presence to the powerful*

narrative. This verse is sung slowly and authoritatively and every word can be heard clearly especially in the pivotal first four lines before the song builds up some momentum. The third and fourth lines especially are sung slowly, with conviction and authority, and are clearly audible. The song's message will certainly impact many in the band's audience, although its message may be largely lost on younger fans that have not yet had similar life experiences.

As often happens with DM songs lyrically the first verse is the strongest or at least the most in line with principles of social realism. By the time we reach the second half of many DM songs emotion and pathos take over and careful descriptions and logical argument tend to be put to one side. We can see this happening here later in the song with the following melodramatic verse. For any band other than the DMs we might think that this verse is a send-up (imagine it in the hands of 'Fat Mike' Burkett and his joker buddies from NOFX; James 2010). However, clearly, the DMs are completely serious. They simply prefer the emotional melodramatic approach that the Irish traditionally (and stereotypically) tend to be known for. The second verse is as follows:

As she waits patiently by the window/
She knows you'll be coming home soon/
She'll sit quiet there and won't go/
Her dedication can't be moved/
She hears the echoes marching down "A" street/
Like footsteps on the cobblestone/
A pace too heavy to be her master/
They pass her by and she's still alone.

The references to her 'master' and the 'cobblestones' will have some laughing in derision, although clearly they do still have cobblestones in Ireland. Without doubt the band is having some fun here; possibly they have given themselves licence to do just that after communicating the very serious message in the first verse. Only an Irish-American nationalist band could 'get away with' words like this but they do not drag down the song as a whole since the first verse has already proved so effective. It is interesting that in some songs the DMs can be so very PC (see 'State of Massachusetts') whereas here they are anything but. It could be that the contexts of the two songs simply warrant different responses – in 'State of Massachusetts', the case has already been decided in a public context involving judges and government departments. Hence a carefully worded response is required. By contrast, in 'Echoes

on A Street', we simply have a friend's private relationship (that is a non-public setting) and the band can be freer in its choice of words. Also the 'State of Massachusetts' had an official YouTube video clip and was for wide public consumption whereas 'Echoes on A Street' is more of an 'in-house' song aimed at dedicated fans. In both songs, however, the moral message is extremely clear and delivered with strident conviction. At the same time the veiled Catholicism is also clearly evident.

CONCLUDING REMARKS: THE MURPHYS AND MIGRANT SECURITY

So despite their project as 'merely' a punk band, and despite what we have identified as some of the ambiguities in their moral poise – particularly with respect to Irish nationalism, American jingoism and (more interestingly) their Catholicism – it is indeed a complex imagining that is the DM's Diaspora. This rich texture stands alongside other ethnographic and indeed ethnomusicological accounts of the migrant/Diaspora experience presented at this Symposium (see, for example, in this volume, Baak 2010; James, et al. 2010; Mason 2010) and juxtaposes heavily with both those discourses that are state-centric on the one hand, and indeed rights-centric by way of reply. Arguably, in these latter discourses the experience of migrant security is conveniently simplistic – perhaps for the sake of policy formulation – yet it may indeed be in this convenient rendering that these dominant discourses miss the opportunity of crafting more nuanced prescriptions. For this reason, and for their own complex integrity, the DMs do well and deserve to be taken seriously. Their (very popular) approach and worldview might provide something of a wake-up call to those researchers who see no place for religion in public life and a clarion call for adding complex and conflicting meanings to the lived experiences of migrants.

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The Dutch on the Tweed

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Abstract

This paper describes a planned investigation into the experiences, activities and perceptions of some of the current second-generation Dutch-Australian residents of the Tweed Shire in northern New South Wales. The participants are Dutch Australian residents who were born in the Netherlands and who arrived in Australia as the children of Dutch immigrants. The focus of this qualitative, sociological investigation is the civic engagement of these residents with the Tweed Valley community. The first stage deals with the working-life aspects of civic engagement, including voluntary work. A significant methodological issue is that the researcher is himself a Dutch Australian resident of the Tweed Shire.

Keywords

Civic engagement, Dutch, Dutch Australian, migration, social cohesion

INTRODUCTION

This paper describes a proposed sociological investigation into the experiences, activities and perceptions of a number of second-generation Dutch Australians currently resident in the Tweed Shire, an urban-rural local government area in northern New South Wales. The investigation will focus on their involvement in the local community. It will explore their perceptions of the significance of their Dutch background in this involvement. The projected outcome of the investigation is a greater awareness and understanding, by the participants and other residents, of the contribution the Dutch Australian citizens make to the civic life of the Tweed Valley community.

It is proposed to conduct the investigation in two stages. The first stage will involve extensive, in-depth interviews with a small number of participants. These interviews will initially explore only the participants' civic contributions which relate to their working lives, including their voluntary work. For the purpose of this first stage, the definition of 'Dutch Australian' will be 'born in the Netherlands'. The term 'second-generation' will mean 'arriving in Australia as children between the ages of one (or less) and

eighteen'.¹ The term 'civic engagement' will be used to denote community involvement. The second stage will involve a greater range of methods, more participants, a wider definition of 'Dutch Australian' and a broader concept of civic engagement. This paper deals mainly with stage one, although reference is made to stage two where appropriate.

CONTEXT OF THE INVESTIGATION

Selecting the Tweed Shire as the site of the investigation was largely a matter of convenience. However it is important to relate this choice to the Dutch Australian presence in NSW and in Australia. According to the Tweed Shire Council (TSC 2008), at the 2006 ABS Census the number of residents of the Shire who were born in the Netherlands was 329. As the population of the Shire was just over 79,000, the proportion of residents born in the Netherlands was 0.4 per cent. This is the same as the national percentage. The Netherlands-born constituted the fourth largest group of overseas-born residents. The other groups were UK (6.3 per cent); New Zealand (2.5 per cent) and Germany (0.5 per cent). The number of overseas-born people was 11,305, or 15.3 per cent of the Shire's population. The comparative figure for NSW is 23.8 per cent and for the nation as a whole 22.2 per cent (TSC 2008). The statistical division of Richmond-Tweed had a smaller percentage of overseas-born (11.5 per cent) but it still ranked in the top thirty divisions, nation-wide (DIC 2008). Hence it can be said with some confidence that the Dutch Australian presence in the Tweed region is not atypical of that presence in the wider State and national community.

Similarly, an indication of some of the national features of the Dutch Australian presence may help to provide a context for exploring those features in the local setting. According to the Department of Immigration and Citizenship (DIC 2008), at the 2006 ABS Census, just over 310,000 Australians claimed

¹ Note that the Australian Bureau of Statistics defines the second generation as the Australian-born off-spring of foreign parentage.

Dutch ancestry and almost 79,000 gave the Netherlands as their birthplace. Of these, almost 19,000 (24 per cent) resided in NSW. At 0.4 per cent of the Australian population, the Dutch Australians born in the Netherlands ranked thirteenth in the top thirty birthplace groups. The Dutch language ranked twenty-second in the top thirty overseas language groups but did not figure at all in the statistics about internet connection type by language spoken. Just over 36,000 Dutch Australians reported speaking Dutch at home (0.2 per cent of the Australian population) but Dutch did not figure at all in the statistics about languages spoken at home by persons who speak English not well or not at all, nor did it figure in the statistics about the thirty fastest growing overseas languages. Just over 13,000 people were affiliated with the Reformed or Free Reformed Church (These terms are taken to refer to the two main Dutch Protestant denominations, the 'Hervormde' and 'Gereformeerde Kerk', respectively).

By comparison with the figures for the Australian population, the educational attainment of the Netherlands-born was somewhat higher. Fifty-two per cent of those aged fifteen-and-over had a certificate or higher qualification compared with thirty-seven per cent for the Australian-born. Only eleven per cent had less than twelve years of schooling, compared with forty per cent for the Australian-born. As a percentage of those working, thirty-eight per cent of the Netherlands-born were employed as managers or professionals, nine per cent as labourers, compared with thirty-two and ten per cent respectively for the Australian-born. Fifty per cent of the Netherlands-born earned less than \$399 a week and fifteen earned more than \$1000, compared with forty-two and twenty-one per cent respectively for the Australian-born. These figures give a brief overview of the socio-economic position of the Dutch Australian people in contemporary Australian society.

Two other important sets of data need to be noted – one in relation to the Dutch Australian presence nationally (but not available locally) and one in relation to the Dutch Australian presence locally. Both are relevant to the subject of the investigation. The first concerns voluntary activity. At the 2006 Census, the participation rate in voluntary activities, for the preceding twelve months, for those born in the Netherlands was 21.2 per cent. This placed them fifth in the top thirty, ahead of Australia (seventh), UK (eleventh) and New Zealand (thirteenth). The list was headed by the USA, followed by Canada, Kenya and Papua New Guinea with Switzerland in sixth place and South Africa in eighth. (DIC 2008:38). As the investigation will focus strongly on voluntary

work, these data provide an important context for the investigation. The second set of data concerns some aspects of the working population profile of the Netherlands-born residents of the Shire. The Community Profile (TSC 2008:145, Table 6.5.3) shows that for the Shire as a whole, 1,575 persons out of a total of 22,280 employed, or seven per cent, were owner-managers of incorporated enterprises. The equivalent figure for Netherlands-born residents was five out of seventy-one, which is also seven per cent. However, for owner-managers of unincorporated enterprises, which are likely to be family-owned and small businesses, the equivalent figure for the Netherlands-born was eighteen out of seventy-one, or twenty-five per cent, compared to 2,994 out of 22,280, or 13.4 per cent for the Shire as a whole. As the investigation will focus strongly on the work-related aspects of community involvement, such as participation in employer/ employee organisations, these data provide an important context for the investigation.

The focus, nature and site of the investigation having been decided upon, the main task that needs to be completed before data collection can be commenced, is the selection of the major fields of scholarship that would appear to be relevant to the investigation. The major paradigms within each of these fields need to be examined and tentative positions have to be developed on each of these.

PERSPECTIVES

Neuman (2006) in his comparative analysis of quantitative and qualitative approaches to social research, develops a model of the latter approach which emphasises the 'highly self-aware acknowledgement of social self' as the first step in the research process. Neuman suggests that this acknowledgement of self leads qualitative researchers 'to ponder the theoretical-philosophical paradigm ... in an inquisitive, open-ended settling-in process as they adopt a perspective' (2006:15). The investigation is in its early stages and very much concerned with developing a perspective. Significantly, the author is himself a Dutch Australian, who was born in the Netherlands and became an Australian citizen at the age of seventeen. This presents him with some opportunities of cultural and linguistic access but also some potential threats of myopia and selective blindness in conducting the research in a scholarly manner.

The investigation is motivated by personal interest but also by the broader, sociopolitical agenda of contributing to the debate about social inclusion, integration and cohesion in present-day Australia (Jupp & Niewenhuysen 2007). The current political turmoil in the

country of the author's birth over the impact of an immigrant (worker) population on the host society is not entirely irrelevant to the investigation. There is anecdotal and scholarly evidence that many migrants and their children maintain regular contact with their country of origin. For example, Bottomley (1979, 1992) refers to return visits by Greek Australians and Peters (2006) to visits by Dutch Australians. It is important, therefore, to maintain a flexible and global, transnational perspective on the participation of different cultural groups in the civic life of a nation. Also relevant is the Tweed Shire Council's Vision Statement that 'The Tweed will be recognised for its ... strong community ...' (TSC 2010). Highly significant also is the work of Tesoriero (2010) on community development. One of the more practical outcomes of the investigation may be that greater awareness and understanding of civic engagement will lead to a greater participation by the Dutch Australian residents of the Tweed Shire in the civic life of the local community and hence the progressive attainment of the civic ideal of a strong community in the Tweed Valley.

The investigation is not a migration study, although the participants were, and may acknowledge themselves as still being, former migrants. There is a vast amount of literature within the rubric of Australian migration studies, by both migrant and non-migrant observers. However, its relevance to the investigation is marginal. For example, a recent publication (Kijas 2007) includes Dutch migrants to the Tweed Shire amongst the subjects of its migration study but it is not an investigation of the civic engagement of its subjects with the Tweed Valley community. As with most other studies based on oral histories, its focus is the story of the arrival and settlement of some migrants, told largely through their eyes, and of their early difficulties. The study does not pretend to be, nor is it, anything other than an historical narrative. It is not an ethnography and not a sociological study.

The author distinguishes between what he calls 'a migration study' and what might be termed 'a migrant study'. The distinction is crucial to defining the focus of the investigation. The former concentrates on the experience, and its impact on the migrant and on the host society, of leaving one's country and making one's home in another. The two post-departure phases of this bold, often traumatic, but always risky action are: (1) arrival (early impressions, interactions and adjustments) and (2) settlement (long-term adjustments and economic and social establishment). This has been, and continues to be, well-documented, most recently focusing on the involuntary immigrants, or

refugees, from countries with cultures very different from ours. By contrast, the investigation looks at what the author sees as the third 'moment' in the movement called migration – the more or less active participation of people with a different cultural (national/ethnic) background in the civic life and culture of their adopted country. This participation merits being examined from a basis of equality with native-born citizens, since, in legal terms, a Certificate of Naturalisation confers equal rights and obligations of citizenship on the recipient. The investigation may therefore be seen as a migrant study, since its participants are former migrants, but its concern is with these as citizens. The comparison is not with their former status but with native-born citizens. Although ethnicity is perhaps one aspect of such a study, class and gender may also be factors (Bottomley 1992).

Another important distinction is between this investigation and research into the psychological dimensions of the (re)acculturation process, with special reference to second-generation migrants, whether born in Australia or overseas. Much research has been and is being conducted into this aspect of the migration process at a number of Universities and Research Centres across Australia – Ladzinski at Curtin University, Colinetti at Swinburne University, Turunen at Charles Sturt University, to name just a few current studies.² Although it is acknowledged that psychological factors may be significant in explaining the nature and level of civic engagement, their identification or measurement is not an objective of this investigation.³ Nevertheless, childhood experience may be found to be relevant to the investigation because an awareness of the parents' civic engagement, or lack of it, during the later stages of family settlement in Australia, may affect current community involvement and this will be explored in the investigation. The author's own life history is relevant here and some auto-ethnographic research will be carried out. Some research may also have been done on the voluntary activity of first-generation migrants as part of more general studies on volunteering, such as those by Oppenheimer (2008), and there is

² Many of the papers delivered at the National Symposium on Migrant Security, July 15-16, 2010, at the University of Southern Queensland, dealt with issues related to the migration process as they affected the children of migrants from this point of view. Many authors were themselves such children as the author is.

³ Nevertheless, one of the outcomes of the investigation may be to generate some testable hypotheses for a quantitative, explanatory study into the causes of civic participation or non-participation.

clearly some statistical evidence for this activity, as noted earlier in this paper. This is an area of the literature that remains to be reviewed by the author.

Of central importance to both stages of the investigation are the ideas of civic engagement (Verba, Scholozman & Brady 1995; Ehrlich 2000) and social capital. (Sibeon 1999; Putnam 2000). Neuman (2006:38) cites a (2002) research study into 'the relationship between civic engagement ... and higher education among young people in Great Britain'. He defines civic engagement as encompassing 'volunteering and participation in churches, labor unions, environmental groups, political parties, women's groups, parent-teacher associations, and sports clubs' and takes social capital as meaning 'having social connections with other people' These are useful and practical definitions. However, there are ideological aspects to both ideas and neither is unproblematic. Underlying both of them is the highly contested concept of citizenship. This is not the place to do more than ask the question, what is the relationship between civic engagement, citizenship and social capital? The intention of the researcher is to explore the Dutch Australian contribution to the civic community of the Tweed Valley in empirical terms such as level, or intensity, and field, or direction, of civic engagement but theoretical questions will be addressed. As Wright Mills (2000:66) points out – empirical data without theory are blind and theories without data are empty.

Much scholarship has also been directed at understanding the civic engagement of the Dutch within North American society. The Association for the Advancement of Dutch American Studies is actively engaged in this scholarship and the researcher will seek to tap into this resource with a view to establishing some comparisons in civic engagement between Dutch Americans and Dutch Australians. In the course of making these comparisons, it will become evident that there are substantial differences between the two societies, especially in relation to the importance of local government and politics in the spectrum of political engagement. It may also become evident that there are substantial differences between the two societies in what might be termed the culture of volunteering. A hint of this may be seen in the statistical evidence, alluded to above, for the differential participation in voluntary activities by American and native-born Australians and by Australians born in other places.

Another reason for tapping into the Dutch American experience is that the time span of contact between the Netherlands and Australia and between the Netherlands and America is

almost identical – 1606 and 1609 to the present, respectively. However, taking this Olympian view risks losing sight of the detail of historical differences between the two connections. These will be taken into account in comparing the two. In other ways also historical dimensions are relevant to this investigation. Mention was made earlier of the emphasis, in the literature on migration to Australia, on exploring the individual and collective historical narratives of Dutch and other migrants. By contrast, the author has stressed that the investigation seeks to address the present-day concerns of the Dutch Australians currently residing in a present-day community. However, the historical perspective is a critical constituent of the sociological imagination (Wright Mills 1959, 2000; Berger 1963; Willis 2004). The investigation will be informed by such a perspective with reference to Dutch history (Schara 1987, 1991) and specifically to the 400-year-old connection between the Netherlands and Australia.⁴

Of central importance, also, to both stages of the investigation, are the ideas of culture (Williams 1973, 1986) and ethnicity (van den Berghe 1981, 1987)⁵ and the tension between the two. As with the ideas of civic engagement and social capital, there are ideological aspects to both and, as with the former, neither is unproblematic. Even more so than with civic engagement and social capital, scholars have taken a wide range of ontological positions on culture and ethnicity. As with the previous concepts, this is not the place to do more than ask the question, what is the relationship between culture and ethnicity? Again, whilst the investigation is driven by a search for empirical evidence, it is not empiricist. The stance taken by Layder (1998) on 'adaptive theory' linking on-going empirical research to generating social theory, has much to recommend it.

In considering the ideas of culture and ethnicity, it is worth pointing out that the requirement to take an historical perspective seems even more compelling in this case than in considering civic engagement or social capital. Much of the investigation will search for markers of what van den Berghe (1981,1987) has called 'the persistence of

⁴ The author's undergraduate training was in history and literature and these two are still his primary intellectual pursuits along with philosophy.

⁵ The reference to van den Berghe is not intended to be an endorsement of the socio-biological approach to ethnicity, as opposed to the cultural one, although it seems that van den Berghe has been misinterpreted in some quarters and it is incorrect to read him as a biological determinist like Richard Dawkins.

ethnicity' especially as this may or may not be related to language maintenance, and especially in its absence. Consciousness of a shared historical past is such a marker. At the same time, consciousness of a shared culture, whether in the narrow sense espoused by T.S. Eliot (1948,1962) and Mathew Arnold (1869,1963) or in the much broader sense delineated by Raymond Williams (1958,1963), is also a marker. When the consciousness of a shared culture coincides with the consciousness of a shared historical past, both acquire a diegetic effect greater than one or the other alone. Delineating and exploring the remnants of Dutch culture and of Dutch ethnicity in the present-day second-generation, and (later) the third and fourth-generation, Dutch Australians, may not only prove to be of significant relevance to his or her civic engagement and deployment of social capital, it is a worthwhile endeavour in its own right. It may well be of course that we will find ourselves witnessing what van den Berghe has called 'the demise of ethnicity' (1981).

One of the objectives of presenting the various perspectives is to illustrate the 'inquisitive, open-ended settling-in process' that Neuman (2006:15) sees as characteristic of the qualitative approach to social research. This process, Neuman suggests, marks the transition from acknowledgement of social self to adopting a perspective. The author has already indicated, at the start of this paper, that he is aware of his position as a Dutch Australian, partly educated in the Netherlands, now slowly reclaiming his Dutch heritage and language after perhaps relinquishing both too readily (although understandably so) in his youth. He is conscious of his history and his culture, though perhaps in denial of his ethnicity, and even now only reluctantly coming to terms with it. Above all the author has always been, still is and always will be acutely aware of 'being between two worlds'. He is therefore happy to acknowledge his social self, but he also acknowledges that at this point he is still some distance from 'adopting a perspective'.

Lastly and finally, of central importance to both stages of the investigation is the highly contested idea of globalisation (Cohen & Kennedy 2000). Mention has been made of the return visits by second and third generation migrants to their country of ancestry Both anecdotally and statistically there seems to be plenty of evidence of the increasing incidence of such visits. Exploring the frequency and reported impact of such visits may prove to be of some relevance to the engagement with the Australian community of Dutch Australians and the way they distribute or invest their social and cultural capital. Of special

significance may be their response to the perceived impact of foreign workers on the present-day societies which their parents left behind many decades earlier. It could be argued that the Netherlands are a prime example of the current socio-political turmoil accompanying a large influx of foreign workers. However, it is not only global travel that may prove relevant to the level and extent of the community involvement of Dutch Australians. Globalisation may also impact on their everyday lives, especially if it is refracted through the medium of their Dutch cultural background. It has been suggested (Cahill 2006) that Dutch Australians differ significantly from other overseas-born Australians in the nature and degree of their ethnicity. One of the objectives of the investigation is to search for empirical evidence of this assertion and to explore the theoretical links between ethnicity and globalisation.

Contemporary Dutch Australians on the Tweed, and arguably elsewhere in Australia, may be seen as caught up in a three-cornered 'contest' between community development, cultural diversity and globalisation. The Dutch have been profoundly involved in all three historically – from environmental innovation to international law to a model of community organisation that has spread from New Amsterdam (New York) to New Holland (Australia). Can Dutch cultural traditions be reinvented to help shape a new world? Can we call on the second, third and fourth generation Dutch Australians to rediscover and reinvent their Dutch traditions and bring them to bear on their civic engagement with the present-day Australian community?

It remains now to link the planned investigation to the research that has been and continues to be undertaken into the presence of the Dutch in Australia.

RESEARCH ON THE DUTCH IN AUSTRALIA

The investigation is part of the on-going scholarly endeavour to examine, describe and eventually explain the Dutch Australian presence in Australian society The Dutch were the first European people to set foot on the Great Southland they called New Holland and seem to have been the first (albeit accidental and unwilling) European inhabitants of the continent but they did not come to Australia in significant numbers until after the Second World War. A significant body of literature has been built up in the last thirty or so years examining and describing the arrival and settlement of Dutch immigrants, as part of the now very extensive research into the post-war

Australian migration project. A relatively recent addition to the literature on the Dutch in Australia is the work being done on the 'Indisch' Dutch immigrants (those who fled from the Dutch East Indies after the war and the Declaration of Independence of what then became Indonesia) (Coté 2010; Peters 2006).

The literature on the Dutch falls into two major categories – 'migration studies' and 'migrant studies'. The latter such as those of Velthuis (2005) and Overberg (2006) cover Dutch communal life, and, more recently, efforts to provide social services for, largely first-generation, elderly Dutch Australians. A significant part of the literature has been produced by Dutch researchers and the author is therefore in the position of maintaining a respectable, scholarly tradition.⁶ However, with the notable exception of Peters (2006, 2010), there does not appear to be a large body of fine-grained micro-sociological research on the civic engagement of the Dutch Australians with their local community. Peters has carried out very extensive field work around Australia, consisting of 470 taped interviews, 20 taped focus group sessions, 520 completed questionnaires and 300 family histories of migrants, including Dutch Australians.⁷ Much of her work has dealt with immigrant enterprise, rather than with the community involvement of those migrants, but there is obviously some overlap between the two areas of interest.

'The Dutch Down Under 1606-2006' (Peters 2006) is a collection of scholarly articles on various aspects of the Dutch Australian presence from historical, sociological and demographic perspectives. As suggested by the title, it was published to celebrate 400 years of the Dutch-Australian connection. Cahill's contribution focuses on the nature of the Dutch Australian presence and suggests a number of ways in which this differs significantly from the migrant presence generally. Cahill contends that not only are the Dutch different, which is hardly debatable, but that they are differently different – and this is somewhat more debatable. Cahill does not provide any empirical or micro-sociological evidence for his claims but his thesis nonetheless provides a valuable starting point for an empirical study on the nature of the Dutch contribution to Australian society.

Since the investigation aims to establish not only the easily recognised but largely unacknowledged fact of Dutch Australian community involvement, but also the

somewhat more elusive, hypothetical 'Dutch' nature of this involvement, the Cahill thesis is worth outlining. Based, at least in part, on some questionable primordialist assumptions about the nature and operations of ethnicity, the Cahill thesis is that the 'core cultural baggage' the Dutch immigrants brought with them to Australia after the Second World War helps to explain both the particular pattern of Dutch (re)settlement in Australia and the distinct nature of Dutch adaptation to Australian society. Cahill sees this adaptation as being characterised by a qualified accommodation to the then existing Australian values rather than an unreserved assimilation of those values, as is often asserted. He argues that the high degree of similarity between the two societies – the Dutch and the Australian societies of the day – largely accounts for the widely acknowledged and popularly esteemed integration of the Dutch into the Australian society. However, the Cahill thesis also suggests that this apparent integration masks a paradoxically but pervasively "Dutch" contribution that helped post-War Australian society to make the transition from a then largely mono-cultural Anglo-Saxon society to the present multicultural one.

In similar vein, Peters (2010) has written about 'aanpassen' which is the Dutch term for 'accommodation'. The Dutch word for 'assimilation' is 'gelijkmaken'. The investigation is not about 'aanpassen' but about 'aansluiten' (connecting) and in as far as the thesis of the investigation has 'a moral message', it can be summed up in the phrase "aanpassen is niet aansluiten" (accommodating is not the same as connecting). In essence, the term 'aanpassen' indicates a degree of (p)reservation of Dutch culture. Expressions of this reserving and preserving can be readily found, for example in the establishment and continued existence of the, after hours, Dutch and Flemish language and culture schools in Sydney and Brisbane – the Kangoeroe and Duyfken schools respectively. This is not the place to argue the merits of this endeavour but the preservation of Dutch migrant heritage, and beyond that of Dutch (pre-migration) cultural and linguistic heritage, may well in some yet-to-be-explored way have a bearing on the nature and extent of the 'aansluiten' of the Dutch Australians on the Tweed with their local community.

CONCLUSION

The investigation described in this paper seeks to take the scholarship of Dutch migration and migrant studies into a new and as yet but little explored direction. It does so in answer to the imperative need for scholarly engagement with the social and political problems associated with new forms of transnational migration and

⁶ Notably Duyker (1987) arguably the 'father' of this scholarly tradition, but many others since then.

⁷ Personal communication to the author.

the issues of national and global citizenship that have arisen. Multiculturalism was a timely and necessary answer to the problems of social cohesion in the seventies and eighties of the last century but a new 'culturalism' is now needed based on greater participation in the local community and accompanied by a much wider metacultural and global perspective. It is conceivable that the Dutch are well placed by heritage and tradition to play a role in the transformation of Australian society in the twenty-first century.

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The importance of global immigration to South Korea's nation branding strategies

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Abstract

The development of nation branding during the last two decades has been dramatic and is still growing. Many states are trying their best to brand their country in the world environment to gain sustainable competitive advantage over the other countries. As part of that process, over the last five years countries that have traditionally relied on exports for their foreign revenues, such as South Korea and Japan, have attempted to build their visitor numbers to broaden their image to embrace foreign direct investments, worker migration, tourism exports and other sectors. For example, more than half a million foreigners reportedly resided in South Korea in 2006 and Korean society is rapidly becoming a multiethnic society (Kim 2009). However, many South Koreans prefer to have an ethnically homogenous society and insist on an almost zero-migration policy (Kim 2009).

The chairman of the Nation Branding Institution in South Korea recognised a lack of understanding about multiculturalism among South Koreans as a major challenge for their nation branding policies. Due to globalisation, South Korea's international migrants continue to increase and therefore, the South Korean government needs to develop policies to change the negative mindset of South Koreans about the migrants. This is in order to ensure the maximum advantage from international migration and to raise the international profile of South Korea. Those policies must include more targeted and improved policies for migrants' settlement and better support for those families. Helping this way, Koreans may become better global citizens.

While the field of nation branding is developing rapidly, no one has attempted to identify the importance of global immigration to South Korea as part of their nation branding strategies. Therefore, this paper aims to identify the importance of global immigration to South Korea for its nation branding strategies and provides insight into the importance of global immigration to nation branding in a developed country in Asia.

Keywords

Global Immigration, Multiculturalism, Nation branding, South Korea

THE HISTORY OF BRANDING

The process of branding has spanned centuries, as it has been found that brick makers in ancient Egypt placed symbols on

their bricks to identify their products. However, brand names first appeared in the early sixteenth century. According to Farquhar (1989), whisky distillers shipped their products in wooden barrels with the name of the producer to achieve two objectives, as the first was to identify the distiller for the consumer and the second was to prevent substitution with cheaper products by tavern owners. In the eighteenth century the 'brand' concept replaced the producers' name with names and pictures of animals, places of origin, and famous people. The new purpose was to strengthen the association of the brand name with a product. This led to making it easier for consumers to remember products and to differentiate between products. According to Farquhar (1989), a related purpose for branding emerged in the nineteenth century when a brand was used to enhance a product's perceived value through such associations. In the twentieth century, brands began to be used to achieve competitive advantage for companies as strong brands have sufficient resiliency to endure crisis situations and also a strong brand name can be a barrier to the entry of competing products into some markets. In the 1980s, companies used an existing brand name on a new product in a new category to benefit from an existing brand name's attributes, imagery awareness and association to gain consumer trial, retailer distribution, and so forth, in the new category (Batra 2010). A more recent application of the branding concept is that of nation branding.

From product branding to nation branding

Continued growth in international trade and in global communications due to globalisation has created enormous opportunities for companies to extend their products over their domestic and regional markets. A strong brand is a key asset for a global company (Khermouch, Holmes & Ihlwan 2001). Similarly, nationality is an important and valuable tool for a product. According to Sorrel (2002) 70 percent of the companies believe sources of origin is significant in the

purchasing decisions of customers and there are stereotypes attached to most nations that drive consumers' prejudices and perceptions. Some prime examples of such stereotypes include German engineering skills, French fashion styles, and Italian foods. Research by Paswan, Kulkarni & Ganesh (2003) and Papadopoulos & Heslop (2002) also highlights the importance of a country of origin for global products and services. Therefore, it is worth noting that the success of a product or service is mostly depending on the image of the country of origin. As a result, countries now seek to promote their image in international markets to gain an advantage for their products and services over other nations.

Some theorists consider that nation branding is similar to product branding (Dinnie 2008; Sorrel 2002). Such theorists argue that it is similar to when marketing specialists seek to achieve competitive advantage through successful product branding strategies for a product. Therefore, nation branding strategists aim to achieve competitive advantage through successful nation branding strategies for a nation. This means that a nation brand is much like the corporate brand of a large conglomerate. However, some theorists argue that nation branding is something more than product branding (Anholt 2003; Fan 2005). While a product has smaller number of services and stakeholders, a nation has a much greater number of services and stakeholders. The stakeholders of a nation include permanent, temporary and prospective residents and those include business companies, tourists, students, politicians, retired people, and the labour force and so on. Therefore, nation branding is something more than product branding and as a result nation branding is a complex, controversial and exciting phenomenon (Dinnie 2008). Thus, the study of nation branding is not a simple task.

According to Fan (2005), a nation has a brand with or without nation branding. Anholt (2004:213) further explains Fan's notion by stating 'most countries of any size or age already have a brand image whether they like it or not. People have heard of them and believe certain things about them'. However, a country can challenge people's prejudices by telling something new and relevant about a country. Loo & Davies (2006) identify that managing a country's reputation in the international market has been an important factor for Chinese branding strategies to increase their competitiveness. Therefore, nation branding is about challenging people's prejudices by telling something new and relevant about a country to achieve competitive advantage over the other countries. This may include increase the

number of tourists, foreign direct investments, or exports.

What is nation branding?

Anholt (2004:214) defines a nation branding strategy as 'a plan for defining the most realistic, most competitive and most compelling strategic vision for the country, region or city: this vision then has to be fulfilled and communicated'. This includes recognising the principal resources of the nation as well as the primary determinant of their 'brand essence', which is as much the people who live there as the things that are made and done in the place (Anholt 2004). A country therefore, concentrates on 'finding ways to direct some of the energies of the population towards better communication of its qualities and aspirations' (Anholt 2004:214). According to Anholt (2004:214) the acts of communication in which places commonly engage include:

- The brands which the country exports.
- The way the place promotes itself for trade, tourism, inward investment and inward recruitment.
- The way it behaves in acts of domestic and foreign policy, and the ways in which these acts are communicated.
- The way it promotes and represents and shares its culture with other places.
- The way its citizens behave when abroad and how they treat strangers at home.
- The built and natural environment it presents to the visitors.
- The way it features in the world's media.
- The bodies and organisations it belongs to
- The other countries it associates with.

Gilmore (2002) proposes a model for nation branding that comprises three layers, including the spirit of the people which reflect the national character, the 'positioning' of the country, and stakeholders. According to Gilmore (2002) the core of a country's brand must capture the spirit of the people in that nation and their shared values. The positioning is what a country will derive from its core values and spirit and this process is the most difficult part of the branding exercise because the positioning needs to be aspirational, inspirational, challenging and differentiated (Gilmore 2002). The final layer represents the stakeholders of a country. These include present and future residents, investors, students, skilled workers, retirees, foreign

governments and so on. Gilmore (2002) further highlights the importance of developing a brand that has holistic potential and will not alienate one stakeholder group at the expense of another.

When considering Anholt (2003) and Gilmore's (2002) models it is important to understand the role of country's citizens in their nation branding. However, in the process of nation branding, many countries have been more concerned about achieving economic goals rather than identifying their people's role in their nation branding process. On the one hand, only a few countries identify the importance of their citizen's in their nation branding policies. On the other hand most of the scholars in nation branding talk about a competitive advantage that can be achieved through successful nation branding. However, this paper will argue that the ultimate goal of nation branding must be a *sustainable* competitive advantage and not just competitive advantage. Therefore, to achieve sustainable competitive advantage for a country it is important to have core competencies that can keep their sustainable competitive advantage for a longer period of time.

Table 1: Estimated world migrant stock at mid-year, 1970-2005(millions)

	1970	1975	1980	1985	1990	1995	2000	2005
Europe	18.8	20.2	21.9	23.5	49.4	55.3	58.2	64.1
Asia	27.8	28.0	32.1	37.2	49.9	47.2	50.3	53.3
Northern America	13.0	15.3	18.1	22.1	27.6	33.6	40.4	44.5
Africa	9.9	11.0	14.1	14.4	16.4	17.9	16.5	17.1
Latin America & the Caribbean	5.7	5.7	6.1	6.3	7.0	6.1	6.3	6.6
Oceania	3.0	3.4	3.8	4.2	4.8	5.1	5.1	5.0
World	81.3	86.8	99.3	111.0	154.9	165.1	176.7	190.6
More developed region	38.4	42.5	47.5	53.6	82.4	94.9	105.0	115.4
Less developed region	43.0	44.3	51.8	57.4	72.6	70.2	71.7	75.2
Least developed countries	7.2	6.8	9.1	9.1	11.0	12.2	10.2	10.5

Source: UNDESA (2006)

According to the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), South Korea was ranked 13th amongst 50 countries in economic development but it was ranked 33rd in Nation Branding Indexes. It is suggested that these developments can negatively affect South Korea's economic development in the longer term. The main reasons for low nation branding rankings were South Korea's poor infrastructure, lack of democratic characteristics in South Korea's government policies, and lack of contributions to other countries.

The major factors that can affect the nation branding rankings of a nation include social

and political relationship, exports, brands of products and services, people and culture, Foreign Direct Investments (FDIs) immigrants, diplomatic relations and tourism. Therefore, this paper will examine the importance of global immigration for South Korea's nation branding strategies.

GLOBAL IMMIGRATION

People migrate to other countries for different reasons such as to escape from political repression, searching for better economic opportunities, and/or to join their families (Kong, Yoon & Yu 2010). Migration can occur in a range of ways, from developing to developed, developing to developing, and developed to developed countries within and across regions. Lee & Hernandez (2009) explain immigration theories by drawing on the disciplines of psychology, sociology, and anthropology that offer explanations for the individual, family, and other groups that experience immigration. However, countries in the globe react in different ways for these migrants. For example some countries welcome newcomers, others merely permit them to enter for various economic reasons, and still others attempt to seal their borders

(Kong, Yoon & Yu 2010). According to the United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs (2006) in 2005, the total number of migrants across the world reached 190.6 million, with an average growth rate of 13.4 percent every five years since 1970. There used to be more migrants in less developed countries than more developed countries, but this trend has reversed since the late 1980s. In 2005, about 40 percent of migrants resided in less developed countries (See Table 1).

According to Lee (2003) over the past decade, the term 'human security' has become a buzzword in the global security debate as it has emphasised the government's

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responsibility to protect not only territorial security and sovereign integrity of the state, but also freedom and rights of its citizens. Therefore, now it is government's responsibility to guarantee the human rights and safety of their immigrants. As a result many countries introduced laws and multicultural policies to safeguard their immigrants. Thus, immigration links with multiples areas and as a result the development of an immigrant policy is a difficult task for any government.

Understanding the politics of immigration is of increasing importance in the current era of economic globalisation and mass migration (Henry 2009), because immigration policy determines the openness or closure of societies (Hollifield 2000) and has multiple effects for a country. Political theorists often use economic theory to explain the development of immigration policy in industrialised or liberal nation states and political economic theory gives priorities to economic factors than political or cultural factors when determining immigration policies (Henry 2009). According to Meyers (2000) the elements that have a impact on the development of specific immigration policies in the industrialised world include demand for cheap labour; threat of economic crisis; unstable markets; and ongoing tension between the working and capitalist classes and so forth. Meyers (2000) further explains that during economic crises, liberal governments tend to alter their immigration policy by tightening borders, reversing or expanding immigration policy or restricting the rights of immigrants. Therefore, immigrants can be an easy target of such governments during economically difficult periods. However, such short-term reactions can negatively affect those countries in the long run. For example tightening the borders for refugees might create a wrong perception about a country among other countries in the world map.

According to Piper, the number of migrants in Asia is likely to grow more rapidly as the region plays a more important economic role in the twenty first century (2004 p72). A number of scholars have identified South Korea, Japan, Hong Kong, and Singapore as attractive destinations for migrant workers (Lee 2009; Han 2007; Choe 2008, Kim 2005). However, Seol and Skrentny (2009) believe East Asia has a small amount of migrant settlement because of the lack of regional institutions pushing for family reunification rights, an elite political culture has sacrificed immigrant's rights for economic growth and order, and migrant perceptions of greater immigration control in Asia.

South Korea experienced the transition from being a country of emigration to a country of immigration due to the economic developments achieved through last two decades. According to Seol and Skrentny (2009) after sending citizens abroad for centuries, since the 1980s, South Korea has been hosting an increasing number of low skilled migrant workers. South Korea started to import foreign workers in the early 1990s and it was reported that the number of the unskilled foreign labourers, as of 2005, totalled more than 285,000, including undocumented labourers (Kim 2009). According to Kim (2009) the demand for foreign labour has largely come about due to better-educated and wealthier Koreans turning away from certain occupations and wage levels, especially the so called 3-D (difficult, dirty and dangerous) manual jobs prompting the Korean government to utilise several labour importing schemes since 1992.

It has been reported that international marriages account for 12 percent of all marriages in South Korea (Choe 2008). Prior to the 1990s, the large majority of international marriages were between Korean women and foreign men (generally Japanese or US citizens). Another trend of inter-ethnic marriages began to take off in the early 1990s, when a large number of Chosonjok¹ women began moving from China to marry Korean men, especially those living in Korea's rural areas. The number of marriages between Korean men and Chinese women grew 37,171 to 70,163 from 1999 to 2005 (Lim 2010; Kim & Shin 2008). Another 90,295 marriages between Korean women and foreign men (large number of men from China and small but significant number of men from Pakistan, Bangladesh, Philippines, and Nepal) occurred during this period (Lim 2010). In addition, the possible huge influx of North Koreans to South Korea will further increase the number of immigrants in South Korea in the near future. Therefore, the state of South Korea is increasingly experiencing multicultural characteristics within its current culture.

According to the latest figures released by the government, the number of foreigners living in South Korea exceeded 1.2 million in the first half of 2010 due to an increasing number of short-term visitors (Lee 2010). The increase came mainly from the number of short-term visitors, which grew by 13.5 percent this year, while foreigners staying longer than 90 days

¹ *Chosonjok* translates into English as 'ethnic Koreans living in China'.

increased 0.4 percent. Furthermore, foreign students and marriage migrants grew by 8.4 percent and 8.2 percent respectively (Lee 2010). Thus, having an efficient immigration policy is extremely important for South Korea.

Due to Korea's rapidly aging population, low birth rate, and brain drain the demand for foreign labour is expected to increase in the future (Choi 2008). Also, as Asia's third largest economy, Korea is now regarded as a land of opportunity for people in less developed Asian countries. Given these factors, Korea is rapidly becoming a multiethnic society. However, the majority of Koreans prefer to have an ethnically homogenous society. In its 5000 year history, a national identity and a homogeneous population have become deeply embedded as values in Korean society and politicians and the educated classes continue to promote this desire of racial homogeneity (Kim & Fernando 2009). As a result, many potential problems such as racism, discrimination, and unequal opportunity can arise from the increase in cultural and ethnic diversity in South Korea. These problems can negatively affect the image of South Korea in near future. Therefore, it is important to address multiculturalism as a strategic issue for South Korea.

In responding to the increasing number of immigrants, South Korean immigration policy has undergone a number of changes over the years. The major immigration policies introduced by the South Korean government towards foreign workers in South Korea include Foreign trainees program for overseas firms (1991), Foreign industrial trainees program (1993), Employment permit system (2003) and Working visit H2 Visa in 2007 (Lee et al 2007 & Yoo et al 2005) In addition to these policies, the Korean government introduced a number of policies to cope with multiculturalism as an alternative value. However, Han (2007) insists that current discourses and concerns on multiculturalism in Korea is merely political rhetoric and sloganism, not the constructive and analytical concepts required for transforming a society.

The Korea Multicultural Congress (KMC), a nationwide association, was established recently with the purpose of helping bring harmony to Korean society that is fast becoming multicultural. Current multicultural policies in South Korea include the promotion of cross-cultural education programs, changes to immigration legislation and the promotion of tolerance and acceptance programs of people from different cultures who reside in South Korea (Watson 2010). According to KMC 'There are 1.2 million foreigners in Korea now, but the number will soon grow to

4 or 5 million and therefore, Koreans have to accept multiculturalism and education will play an important role' (Kwon 2010). KMC is expecting to provide education about multiculturalism to government employees, military personnel and police officers first and according to the president of KMC 'those are the people leading Korea. It is important to educate them first and if they understand multiculturalism, citizens will follow the idea' (Kwon 2010). However, inequality of migrants continues as they experience problematic cultural attitudes, discrimination and racism. According to Watson (2010) multiculturalism in South Korea suffers for three reasons. First, the ideological window dressing of state-led multiculturalism is ideologically obscuring the continuation of these inequalities and exclusions. Secondly, state led multiculturalism is an expedient policy of cultural assimilation into a privileged and homogeneous Korean culture. Finally, state-led multiculturalism is driven by a sense of 'having to' rather 'want to be' (Watson 2010). In other words it is worth noting that South Korean government is introducing multicultural policies because of the pressure put on them by the human rights and other global institutions but not because of them to overcome the current problems that facing by the immigrated people in South Korea.

Choe (2008) highlights the importance of South Korea having a vision to deal with increasing cultural diversity. Choe (2008) proposes 'multicultural citizenship' as a solution for South Korea's problems in their multicultural society. According to Choe (2008:125)

South Korean society should take a close look at multicultural citizenship – its principles and institutions, as well as the civil consciousness that surrounds it – it that has developed in countries that experienced multiculturalism ahead of South Korea and adopted multicultural citizenship as a means to resolve various problems arising from multiculturalism, for example, The United States, Canada, and several western European countries.

IMPORTANCE OF GLOBAL IMMIGRATION TO SOUTH KOREA'S NATION BRANDING STRATEGIES

As explained earlier, South Korea's demand for foreign workers will increase in the future. Therefore, the government of South Korea will have to rely on foreign immigrants to address labour shortages. Similarly, the South Korean

government will have to face a number of problems that arise from cultural diversity. Therefore, it is up to the South Korean government to have a clear immigration policy to deal with the increasing number of foreign immigrants in South Korea. The current conservative government has preferred to adopt economy theory to develop policies for immigrants. As a result foreign immigrants have to face for difficulties especially when the country is facing economic difficulties. However, this paper proposes that the South Korean government must look at their foreign immigrants as an asset that will bring long-term benefits for the country. The South Korean government also needs to develop policies to link their foreign immigrant's cultural values with Korean cultural values that help them to settle in South Korea easily. South Koreans need to show to the world that we are a tolerant nation. This message will lift the image of South Korea among other countries. For example countries like Canada, Norway, Australia and Switzerland successfully passed this message to other countries. These countries used their foreign immigrants to lift their image around the world and as a result all these countries remain on top of the nation branding rankings. Therefore, South Koreans need to develop multicultural characteristics such as acceptance of diversity. Such a shift in approach will also help South Korea to attract a higher number of tourists and migrant workers in the future and in doing so will lift the image of South Korea in the world map. This is a central aspect of nation branding. Therefore, this paper argues that a good immigration policy should be seen as a core competency for a country and will help them to achieve sustainable competitive advantage through nation branding.

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, Korea is rapidly becoming a multicultural society. However, it would appear that a majority of Koreans preferred to have an ethnically homogenous society. As a result many problems arise from the increase cultural and ethnic diversity such as racism, discrimination, and unequal opportunity have been seen among foreign immigrants in South Korea. These problems may negatively affect the image of South Korea in the long run. To respond to increasing number of immigrants, South Korean immigration policy has undergone a number of changes over the years. In addition to these policies, the Korean government has introduced a number of policies to cope with multiculturalism as an alternative value to their policy and social movement. However, this paper found that government led multiculturalism does not work properly among foreign immigrants in South Korea. It was also found that South

Korea needed to introduce radical changes for their immigrant policy to overcome their current problems that arise from foreign immigrants. Therefore, this paper recommends the government needs to recognise immigrants as an asset that brings long term benefits for the country.

When it comes to nation branding, this paper has put forward the argument that the ultimate goal of nation branding must be a sustainable competitive advantage. Therefore, a nation must create core competencies in order to achieve sustainable competitive advantage through their nation branding. This paper recognises that a good immigration policy can be a core competency for a nation that will help to achieve sustainable competitive advantage. Multicultural characteristics such as tolerance and acceptance are extremely important for South Koreans when they deal with foreign immigrants. By having those characteristics South Koreans can use their foreign immigrants to lift South Korea's image on the world map.

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Rural Migrant Workers and Civil Society in China: case study of a migrant labour NGO

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Abstract

This paper explores the participation of rural migrant workers in the emerging Chinese civil society through the case study of a grassroots, non-profit and non-governmental organisation (NGO) in Beijing that provides legal aid to migrants. The existing scholarship on rural-urban migration in China tends to focus on their working and living conditions with few studies looking at the agency of migrant workers in creating their own organisation and actively participating in the emerging, if problematic, civil society. My field research at Migrant Aid, founded a decade ago by a migrant worker, adopts a relational approach to examine its long history of relations and active negotiations with the state, its constituency and international donors within the context of China's transition to a market economy. In particular, this paper focuses on the opportunities, constraints and problems facing Migrant Aid as a result of these relations and how they have shaped Migrant Aid. The paper will highlight that while its close relations with the state and international donors have served Migrant Aid well, it may become increasingly problematic for the organisation to be depended on the state and international funding.

Keywords

China, civil society, international donors, legal aid, migrant workers, non-governmental, non-profit.

INTRODUCTION

In the past three decades, millions of rural migrants in China have come to the cities in search of work. Their living and working conditions have been extensively documented in scholarship (Chan 2001; Lee 1998; Pun 2005; Solinger 1999). However, there have been fewer studies focusing on their participation in the emerging – if problematic – civil society in China, as a number of migrant labour NGOs have sprung up in the past decade engaged in service provision to rural migrants (Jacka 2006). While their absolute number remains small, their real and symbolic contribution to the welfare of migrant workers and to the development of civil society in China is not insignificant. Based on my field research, this paper explores the participation of rural migrant workers in Chinese civil society through the

case study of a grassroots, non-profit and non-governmental organisation in Beijing – Migrant Aid – which provides legal aid to migrant workers. This paper will adopt a relational approach to examine the opportunities, constraints and problems facing Migrant Aid – shared by many similar migrant organisations – by analysing its long history of relations and active negotiations with the state, constituency and international donors in the context of China's transition to a market economy.

It is useful to briefly recount the history of Migrant Aid and to give an overview of its daily tasks. Migrant Aid was founded in 1999 in Beijing by a migrant worker, Min.¹ He set up a telephone hotline to offer what he described as 'mutual aid' for his fellow migrants, focusing particularly on their workplace problems. In the first few years of Migrant Aid, Min tried to directly negotiate with employers on behalf of migrant workers. But Migrant Aid remained small and its activities limited as there was little funding except small donations from friends. However, he was successful in organising volunteers for public-interest work that drew positive media coverage in newspapers and television, which proved critical for Migrant Aid's later development. In 2004, Migrant Aid was designated as a People's Mediation Committee by the local Judiciary Bureau upon reading about its story in the newspaper. Later in the same year, an international organisation provided the first substantial foreign funding to Migrant Aid, followed by more frequent funding from a number of international organisations and foreign government agencies in the next few years. It was also around this time that Migrant Aid began to consolidate itself as a migrant labour NGO with a team of full-time staff and volunteer lawyers focused on offering legal aid to migrants. It has since expanded rapidly, opening two more offices with more full-time staff in two other cities that have large numbers of migrant workers.

¹ I have used pseudonyms for the organisation and its founder in this paper to protect their privacy.

The daily tasks of Migrant Aid consist of answering telephone hotline calls and talking to migrant workers who visit its office, which opens 7 days a week from 9am to 5pm. Besides Min, there are currently four staffers in its Beijing office, two of whom have formal legal training. Their work mostly involves discussing with migrant worker callers and visitors about their cases and then making phone calls to the employers verifying the situation, informing them about the relevant labour laws and urging them to comply. The negotiation with the employer known as 'mediation' has a rather high success rate according to Migrant Aid's estimate and confirmed by my field observation. If the phone call fails to produce a satisfactory result, the staff may try to arrange a meeting with the employer. If either the meeting cannot be arranged or it does not lead to a resolution, the staff will then usually suggest applying for labour arbitration which is a legally required step before going to the court. They will advise the migrant workers how this may be done and help them prepare their case. As a last resort, the staff would ask a lawyer in partnership with Migrant Aid to represent migrants in court at a reduced fee. Depending on the time of the year, the number of hotline calls and visits by migrant workers may vary considerably. During my field research, which was not a particularly busy time, there were about 15-20 calls and 10-15 visitors per day. According to Migrant Aid's report, in 2009 the Beijing office answered more than 7,000 phone calls and received more than 3,000 migrant worker visitors. It is an impressive number considering the small size of the organisation.

MIGRANT AID AND THE STATE

It is helpful to begin with an analysis of Migrant Aid's relations with the state as the state continues to play a dominant role in regulating and controlling Chinese (civil) society in which Migrant Aid is embedded and operates. It is not surprising that the relations between grassroots civil society organisations like Migrant Aid and an authoritarian state are complex, contradictory and problematic. In Chinese studies literature, the two prevailing analytical paradigms are state corporatism and civil society. The state corporatist approach analyses the structural and corporatist control of the state over society which requires all grassroots organisations to be officially sponsored and registered with the government (Unger 2008). Those who cannot find official sponsors – including Migrant Aid and many similar organisations – continue to be excluded from state support and marginalised, often registering as private business and thus having to pay tax. The civil society

perspective focuses on the small and relatively independent and autonomous grassroots organisations on the margin that have emerged in the past two decades and their potential in developing a genuine civil society in China (Ma 2006b; Brook & Frolic 1997; Zheng & Fewsmith 2008). This perspective has been further expanded upon in more recent studies which draw attention to the dependency of civil society organisations on the state despite apparent autonomy and independence (Lu 2008; Ho & Edmonds 2008) This paper builds upon all these perspectives and highlights the fact that Migrant Aid and similar grassroots organisations have sought to develop genuine civil spaces – not by distancing from the state – but by actively building close relations with state organisations and local authorities for legitimacy and support, producing often contradictory state-civil society relations. I will then discuss the impacts on Migrant Aid with regard to the issue of independence and autonomy.

The history of Migrant Aid's engagement with the state began not long after it was founded when Min and a group of like-minded migrants concluded that Migrant Aid needed the support of government for resource and legitimacy to survive and expand. Subsequently, they made contact with local government officials and eventually succeeded in establishing a volunteer group under the official sponsorship of the local branch of the Communist Youth League, which conferred some legitimacy on Migrant Aid. But the Communist Youth League later terminated its sponsorship, explaining that Migrant Aid may cause it unwanted trouble. Migrant Aid continued to try to build close relations with authorities. In 2004, it was approached by the local Judiciary Bureau which designated Migrant Aid as a People's Mediation Committee, a low-level popular institution originated in the Maoist period. Crucially, this took place against the background of a state-led national campaign for the protection of migrant workers. It was a time when violation of basic labour rights was endemic and produced much social conflict which seriously concerned the state. The designation, which does not give Migrant Aid any substantive power, nevertheless greatly strengthened its position vis-à-vis employers who are hesitant to confront what they often perceive as a government agency and thus are more easily persuaded to comply with labour laws and regulations. Min certainly has recognised this and attributed the high success rate of dispute resolution to the legitimacy derived from the designation of People's Mediation Committee. But negotiations with local authorities to secure this designation for its two other offices have failed.

The experience of Migrant Aid helps demonstrate the often complex and contradictory nature of its relations with the state. On the one hand, the state has initiated national campaigns, championed the 'rule of law' enacting a number of important laws and regulations favourable to migrant workers and encouraged them to use legal means to defend their interests (Diamant et al. 2005; Lee 2007). Migrant Aid and other similar organisations have responded to this call by offering legal aid to migrant workers often with tacit government support. On the other hand, the state remains distrustful of independent organisations and has often frustrated their endeavour, for example, by making it difficult for them to register as non-profit organisation and by periodically disciplining certain organisations, as we shall discuss.

Given the contradictory state-civil society relations, it is relevant to explore its effects on Migrant Aid's independence and autonomy. Based on conversations with the staff at Migrant Aid and field observation, there is almost no direct interference by state authorities including the local Judiciary Bureau and there is little such concern about government interference on the part of Migrant Aid. However, during my field research I observed a brief visit by officials from the local Judiciary Bureau. But such visit is rare and *pro forma* and there does not seem to be any close monitoring of Migrant Aid's activities. But the significance of the rare visit is its signalling to Migrant Aid that the authorities are keeping an eye on the organisation. The absence of direct control may be partly explained by the limited but significant retrenchment of state control over society since the 1980s and partly by the state's strategy to set the boundary of acceptable behaviours instead of direct control. It is widely understood that civil society organisations engaged in 'sensitive' issues risk the danger of state suppression. An incident occurred during my field research when a non-profit, lawyers' organisation was shut down and its leaders detained because it took up human rights-related cases. Like the rare visit by local Judiciary Bureau officials, the state's periodic disciplining of civil society organisations which cross the line serves to remind other similar organisations of what is and is not acceptable by the state. In a conversation with a senior staffer at Migrant Aid, he took a rather unsympathetic view of organisations engaged in sensitive issues, showing a keen awareness of and willingness to observe the boundary.² The state thus controls civil society not so much by direct intervention but rather through establishing

boundaries, periodic disciplining and the self-censorship among civil society organisations.

In this sense, the independence and autonomy of Migrant Aid and similar organisations appear to be severely constrained. Nevertheless, within the boundary sanctioned by the state Migrant Aid in fact still enjoys a considerable degree of autonomy in its daily activities, which may help explain their general lack of concern with autonomy and independence. A survey of 1,540 NGOs conducted by the Chinese NGO Research Centre similarly suggests that 'too much government intervention' is ranked the last of their concerns (Ho 2008). However, this result should be interpreted with caution. It is plausible that many civil society organisations recognise that they are unable to challenge the state so state encroachment on their independence and autonomy becomes less of a concern. However, it is also plausible that most of them, like Migrant Aid, genuinely experience little direct government interference as they observe the boundary and frame their work using the state rhetoric of building 'harmonious society'. Their utmost concerns instead become 'lack of funding' and 'insufficient government support' (Ho 2008). It is therefore not surprising that Migrant Aid has actively sought close relations with the state despite the fact that in recent years there have been recurrent campaigns to discipline and restrict even non-human-rights-related civil society organisations (Unger 2008; CLNT 2010).

MIGRANT AID, MARKET REFORM AND INTERNATIONAL FUNDING

In contrast to the state-centric approach often adopted in studies on Chinese civil society, this paper argues that analysing the impact of the economic restructuring and the transition to market economy in which civil society organisations are embedded and marginalised – in conjunction with an analysis of the state – is necessary for a holistic understanding of the situation faced by Migrant Aid and similar civil society organisations. It is worth noting that the emergence of migrant labour NGOs like Migrant Aid has precisely been precipitated by the development of a market economy considerably predicated on low-wage migrant labour, the social consequence of which is being dealt with by Migrant Aid and others. In fact, the early scholarship on the emerging civil society in China demonstrates an appreciation of the relations between civil society and the development of a market economy in China which led to redistribution of power away from the central state to the rest of society presumably to the benefit of (civil)

² Interview with Liu on 21 August, 2009.

society (Brook & Frolic 1997; Gordon White 1996). This paper hopes to update the analysis of the relative power relations between the state, the market economy/private business and civil society and in particular how the reconfiguration has affected civil society organisations

This paper argues that the redistribution of power is highly uneven. While the tight grip of the state over society has been weakened and state power decentralised, the primary beneficiary is not the civil society. Private business has flourished thanks to the state's pro-growth and developmental strategy; but the migrant workers many businesses employ have fared poorly with their employers in collusion with local authorities bent on economic growth often ignoring labour regulations. The substantially reduced role of the state in social welfare provision means migrant workers could expect little support from the state. Instead, the social welfare function of the state has been to some degree delegated to civil society. However, the non-profit civil society sector which could not yield a profit and does not attract investment has benefited little from the redistribution of power away from the state. This manifests perhaps most visibly in the lack of financial security faced by almost all civil society organisations. Migrant Aid has to constantly worry about its source of funding even as it has successfully received a stream of international funding in the past few years.

The economic reform and development of market economy have therefore resulted in great disparity of power between private employers and local governments on the one hand and the migrant workers and grassroots migrant labour NGOs on the other. This is where it is important to not confine the analysis of civil society to the state-civil society relations. Furthermore, the conflict that immediately confronts migrant workers and their NGOs is often not one with the state but with individual employers despite the fact that the underlying conflict is national and structural. And the state – ever concerned with social stability – has become a *de facto* if reluctant ally of Migrant Aid and others in individualising and localising labour conflict and directing grievance at employers. Here the state and migrant labour organisations united in the goal of resolving labour disputes are non-antagonistic, in fact often cooperative. This further explains why Migrant Aid has actively sought state support and has been largely successful.

Lacking domestic funding, Migrant Aid and similar organisations are considerably dependent on international funding. In the past few years, Migrant Aid has received millions

of Yuan in funding from international organisations, foreign government agencies and foreign embassies in China. The influence of such a large influx of funding into civil society in China is little understood. This is not to suggest that behind international funding there is necessary any political or economic agenda, as the government in China sometimes claims in order to justify suppression and restriction of some civil society organisations. However, it is worth considering how international funding and the dependency of Chinese civil society organisation on international funding may affect the development of civil society in China.

The positive contribution of international funding cannot be overestimated. In the absence of any significant domestic funding, international funding has been instrumental in enabling civil society organisations in China to better deliver their service to those in desperate need (Ma 2006a). Migrant Aid would not have been able to survive let alone develop without the crucial international funding it has received over the years. It has also benefited from personnel training and institutional capacity building programs provided and funded by the same international organisations and more broadly from the dissemination of ideas and practices of international NGOs.

But there are also existing and potential problems confronting migrant labour NGOs like Migrant Aid as a result of their dependency on international funding. The government in China has carefully screened and monitored international funding to root out any potential risk and periodically clamps down on NGOs – including migrant labour NGOs – that are deemed to be controlled or manipulated by 'foreign forces' due to their foreign source of funding (CLNT 2010). It puts Migrant Aid further at the mercy of the state and threatens its financial security or even survival. Moreover, given the fierce competition among grassroots organisations for international funding, Migrant Aid often has to resort to designing programs that appeal to international donors but which have little realistic prospect of implementation. Furthermore, I argue that it sometimes creates tension between the need of Migrant Aid to appeal and answer to international donors and its responsibilities to its constituency as well as potentially distort Migrant Aid's priorities. This may result in Migrant Aid objectively distancing from its constituency.

MIGRANT AID AND ITS CONSTITUENCY

Another dimension – the relations between civil society organisations and their constituency, namely migrant workers – has also been largely overlooked in studies of civil society organisations in China. This is understandable given these grassroots organisations often do not have a membership base nor a well-defined constituency as such. However, I argue that the relations affect both the organisation and its constituency in important ways. In this paper, I will analyse Migrant Aid's relations with its constituency with a focus on the changes over time. I will then discuss the issue of Migrant Aid's accountability to its constituency.

It is useful to take as the starting point the provision of legal aid which is at the core of Migrant Aid's activities and its relations with its constituency. The work service-based model previously described has served Migrant Aid and its constituents well in terms of legal aid provision. But what are the effects of this service-based model on migrant workers as well as on Migrant Aid? Here I argue that it could have real if contradictory effects in at least three ways. Firstly, through discussing their case with staff, migrant workers generally acquire some basic legal knowledge relevant to their situation, making them more aware of their legal rights in the workplace. To some extent, Migrant Aid thus helps empower their constituency. Secondly, because of the asymmetric access to legal knowledge, information, expertise and resource, the empowerment is limited and migrant workers will remain dependent on Migrant Aid. In turn, this also conditions the working model of Migrant Aid, making it difficult to change its *modus operandi*. Thirdly, given that Migrant Aid often makes the decision as to how cases should proceed, the politics and orientation of the organisation necessarily limit the range of solutions and hence shape the outcomes. In the case of Migrant Aid, it adopts a pragmatic and conciliatory approach seeking 'mediation' and legal redress and this precludes the possibility of collective action by individualising the issue and channelling it into legal institutions.

However, the current service-based model of Migrant Aid is not the only possible mode of operation. It has been an early goal of Migrant Aid to help build horizontal ties between migrant workers through 'mutual aid'. However, precisely what 'mutual aid' means in practice is not clearly articulated despite constant reference in their pamphlets and reports. It is worth pointing out that the creation of Migrant Aid itself can be seen as

an exercise of 'mutual aid' by migrant workers, having helped tens of thousands of fellow migrant workers. But it has been less successful in facilitating 'mutual aid' among its constituency. During my field research, I observed an interesting case which may be considered as the kind of 'mutual aid' envisioned by the founder of Migrant Aid. It took place when several groups of migrant workers were in Migrant Aid's office waiting for their turn to talk to the staff. Listening to the discussion, one migrant worker – a small sub-contractor – apparently felt sympathetic toward another migrant worker whose salary was not paid by his employer. So he offered him a job as they happened to work in the same home innovation business, promising to pay him adequately and on time. Then he began a conversation with another group of migrant workers about doing business together. This small and indeed rare episode hints at the potential of genuine 'mutual aid' among Migrant Aid's constituency and the possibility of lessening dependency on the state and international funding.

But why is 'mutual aid' among Migrant Aid's constituency not happening more often? It is plausible to suggest that trust and prolonged contact are the necessary preconditions for 'mutual aid' and there are several reasons why the preconditions are often absent. Firstly, migrant workers' own lack of resource and power means that they are often unable to help each other even if they want to. Secondly, there is division and often mutual suspicion within the heterogeneous migrant community differentiated by locality and socioeconomic status which is not conducive to building trust. Thirdly, migrant worker visitors spend on average only 15-20 minutes in Migrant Aid's office and do not usually talk to each other, thus little chance of building ties. Partly because of these realities and partly because of its own lack of resource and personnel, Migrant Aid has not focused on facilitating 'mutual aid' in any concerted way in recent years. The increasing reliance on international funding also means that 'mutual aid', which may have been a necessity in the early years of Migrant Aid when it had little external support, is no longer essential for the organisation. Finally, the state has been suspicious of independent organising and this might have deterred Migrant Aid from facilitating mutual aid.

Migrant Aid's constituency has not been entirely passive, however. Indeed, the active participation of many migrants working as volunteers over the years helped to build up and sustain the organisation. When Migrant Aid was created in 1999, it had little resource itself and no public exposure. So it was decided, critical to its subsequent

development, to organise 'public-interest' volunteer activities in the hope of drawing public and government support to their good work. Over the years, Migrant Aid organised numerous such volunteer activities entirely dependent on the contribution of its constituents – their fellow migrants. It received substantial positive media coverage and was viewed favourably by local authorities, which has been instrumental in building good relation with the government and international donors. The constituent-volunteers continue to offer their assistance to Migrant Aid to this day.

Having discussed the relations between Migrant Aid and its constituency, it is relevant to briefly explore the extent to which Migrant Aid is accountable to its constituency and more broadly how decisions in this migrant workers' organisation are made. In this respect, it has undergone some important changes over the decade. In the early days of Migrant Aid, decisions were more or less collectively made or at least often widely discussed and consulted among the small group of migrant workers associated with Migrant Aid. This continued for some years but eventually only Min stayed on while others drifted away from the organisation for various reasons. The decision-making has since been concentrated in the hands of Min, who is seen as the indisputable leader in the organisation. Nevertheless, despite the fact that there is no established mechanism to hold the leader or the organisation accountable to its constituency, Min continues to consult with others, including the staff and migrant workers who have been supporting Migrant Aid. Moreover, Migrant Aid has made their work at least more transparent by publishing monthly and annual reports for the past four years both on their website and in hard-copies freely available in their office. The reports contained detailed statistics of the number of phone calls and visitors as well as brief descriptions of events and activities Migrant Aid either organised or participated in. This no doubt helps keep the constituents informed and build up trust between Migrant Aid and its constituents while also keeping the government and international donors informed and reassured. But still the fact remains that the broad constituency has little decision-making input and can little influence Migrant Aid as an organisation.

CONCLUSION

In summary, this paper has offered a case study of a migrant labour NGO in China – not untypical of many other migrant labour organisations – by analysing its relations with the state, international donors and constituency

in the context of China's transition to a market economy.³ It shows both the agency and ingenuity of migrants in organising their own organisation as well as the difficulties and constraints confronting them sometimes as unintended consequences of their close relations with the state and international donors. The active participation of rural migrants in the development of civil society in China – while fraught with problems and against enormous odds – points to the real potential of their project and gives hope to the gradual emergence of a genuine civil space for rural migrant workers and other marginalised social groups. This paper hopes to have contributed to our understanding of this important development.

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³ Still, it should be noted there exists important differences, for example, between migrant labour NGOs founded and run by migrants and those by academics; or, between those in the North and those in the Coastal South. However, it is not within the scope of this paper to explore all these differences.

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Workplace Experiences of International Academic Staff in South Australian Universities

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Abstract

The last two decades in an increasingly globalised tertiary education system has witnessed academic staff and postgraduate students from other countries working and studying in Australian institutions, a situation which has its problems (Guilfoyle 2006; Symons 2001; Ingelton & Cadman 2000). Language, isolation, teaching and learning, cultural shock and personal problems are being reported by international academics as factors affecting their work.

This has necessitated a rethink of both teaching and learning practices. Moreover, the diversity of academic staff in tertiary institutions evokes interesting patterns of interaction with other staff, students, teaching and learning materials, academic cultural teaching styles and contexts. This mixed methodology research study explores how international academics from non-English speaking backgrounds at three universities - University of Adelaide, University of South Australia and Flinders University - experience cultural change, language barriers, academic challenges and differing teaching styles and expectations. The experiences of the respondents from diverse geographic, cultural, professional and educational backgrounds are documented.

Under scrutiny in this research paper are various types of international academic staff: lecturers, tutors, and supervisors across a range of disciplines. Five academics were interviewed to document their experiences of cultural change, challenges regarding language and varying teaching methodologies and what they were expected to impart to students and how. A case study was conducted to analyse those factors that influence their employment in the university context and the impact these had. Twenty staff members, ten males and ten females from the University of Adelaide, Flinders University and the University of South Australia participated. Data was collected and analysed quantitatively.

Keywords

International academics; internationalisation; cultural attitudes; cultural experience; cultural values; cultural shock; psychological experience; humanistic sociology; Australian universities

INTRODUCTION

International academic staff have become much more globally mobile during the last decade and this has forced a rethink of both teaching practices, and closely related to them, curricula and assessment practices. Moreover, the diversity of academics in an educational setting, be it a classroom, lecture theatre or seminar presentation, evokes interesting research and psychological experiences with locally-born professionals. A review of the literature has highlighted that between 1990 and 2010 the number of international academics doubled in Australia (Frew 2006). From the academics' perspective, this could be due to factors such as the promotion of Australia as an educational expert commodity, the value some societies place on overseas recruitment in order to gain a global reputation, as well as the quest for better professional credentials and expertise in a foreign land (Frew 2006; Wang 2004; Beaver & Tuck 1999). For Australian universities, international academics are becoming increasingly important sources and dispensers of knowledge.

Employing overseas academic staff in Australian universities is not without its problems. Language, isolation, teaching and learning culture, and personal issues are generally reported by them as factors affecting their work. Many staff members coming to Australia are in the mature age category as well as experts in their chosen disciplines back home (Frew 2006). Internationally recruited academics in a wide variety of fields who do come to Australia on a specific contractual basis do make a commitment to return to their home country amidst great difficulties as well as stress from "family, home and academic institutions" (Symons 2001: 6). This study was undertaken in order to reassess and shed new light on the experiences of international academic staff in Australian universities. The case study unfolded to address six themes: factors affecting choice of institutions; teaching and administrative support; differences in teaching and supervisory styles;

attitude of the host society and predominantly Anglo-Celtic staff towards internationally recruited staff members; success in achieving promotions; and success in winning grant applications.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Scholars advocate that it is important to look at an individual's psychological well-being in the context of their teaching and/or research experience in Australia. Previous studies on the idea of social process in teaching and research projects by Albert Bundura (cited in Woolfolk 2001), which is known as the 'social cognitive' theory, focuses on people's cognitive factors such as self-perceptions, expectations and beliefs. This theory distinguishes between firstly, active learning, i.e. learning by doing and experiencing the consequences of that action, and secondly, vicarious learning, which is learning by observing others.

Cultural aspects, on the other hand, distinguish between one ethnic or national group and another. Their existence derives from well-established human needs and nature. These aspects identify the tradition, language, religion, social class and values of the individual. Smolicz (1979) contended that these must be viewed in one's own original setting or in a plural society. Some aspects of cultural values alter over time, changing contexts and the impact that modernisation has on a culture, while others remain fundamentally important as the centre around which all other social and identification systems revolve (Maadad 2009). A major issue that does influence international academic staff's psychological well-being is culture shock, particularly if they have come from a predominantly religious society and are now teaching, research and/or supervising in a secular one. If left unaddressed, it may seriously impinge on what they hope to achieve professionally and personally. Patterns of interaction in a university faculty, school, or department are another factor that may or may not influence successful participation in a program or course structure. Finally, attitudes of the host society towards international academics, directly or indirectly shapes feelings of comfort, security and happiness (Maadad 2009). The following sections will expound on these factors.

A comprehensive literature review on the proposed topic shows that to date no study has focused on international academics from non-English speaking backgrounds. However, many researchers worldwide have recognised the importance of this issue. For example, Cummings (2008), includes increased internationalisation of academic personnel in

his discussion on Dimensions of the Changing Academic Profession. He contends that internationalisation is an important issue on which data have to be compiled and further research conducted. Another study (Metcalf 2008) states that examining faculty and the academic profession in higher education in Canada are central research topics. However, due to limited funding there are very few national-level surveys that might facilitate better understanding of the changing face of the academic profession. Faculty members, particularly scientists, are considered 'highly qualified personnel' in various public policies relating to Canada's role as an innovative and knowledge-centric society (Langford, Hall, Josty, Matos & Jacobson 2006). Luke (2005) stresses that Canadian institutions compete internationally to attract skilled researchers and scholars to enhance Canada's position within global knowledge production flows.

Furthermore, Metcalfe (2008) examines the internationalisation of Canadian higher education in terms of in-country or foreign degree attainment by Canadian faculty, the internationalisation of teaching, and international dimensions of research. However, Metcalfe (2008) does not include studies on academics from non-English backgrounds and under internationalisation has conducted surveys on obtaining a degree (such as a Canadian getting his/her PhD in the USA), collaborating with institutions from other countries or internationalisation of the subjects taught. Metcalfe (2008) also recognises the importance of understanding if immigration status, citizenship, country where a degree is attained, gender and other demographic variables bear any relationship to international research collaboration or the incorporation of international themes in teaching.

A study was conducted on the current state of Australian universities with the aim of developing strategies to attract more people into the academic workforce. In their recent research briefing titled 'The attractiveness of the Australian academic profession: A comparative analysis' Coates et al. (2009) provide an analysis of challenges that are hindering the sustainability and development of the academic workforce in Australia. They claim to draw together insights from national statistics collections and a number of recent studies that aim to shed light on current characteristics of the academic profession, and to identify key problem areas. However, they do not discuss the experiences and challenges faced by academics from non-English speaking backgrounds, many of whom have earned their degrees overseas and currently comprise a substantial part of the academic

workforce in Australia. Coates et al. (2009) suggest that:

efforts to attract, retain and train young academics need to be made on a variety of fronts. However, in a broad sense, three key issues are of crucial importance:

- attracting a greater number of high quality candidates to the PhD;
- increasing the completion rates of those who enrol in doctoral degrees; and
- encouraging a larger proportion of PhD completers to take up academic postings.

Here again they do not include the highly qualified group of people from non-English speaking background who could largely contribute to maintaining and repopulating Australia's academic profession. In discussing the importance of the environment in which academics work and recognising its impact on shaping their perceptions of the job, Coates et al. (2009) do not include issues like cultural diversity, language barrier, or lack of sufficient interaction between academics from English and non-English speaking backgrounds.

Coates et al. (2009) rightly state that

workforce analysis and planning usually gain momentum when there is a crisis that needs resolving. Waiting for a crisis may be too late for higher education, however, given that with the exception of immigration it takes an absolute bare minimum of seven years to produce an academic. ...there is a clear and present need to plan now about maintaining and repopulating Australia's vibrant academic profession.

Although this briefing contributes to advancing understanding of the academic workforce in Australia to some extent, it leaves out a very important group of professionals who are willing and can bring valuable contributions to Australia's university system if given the right guidance, support and attention. Many academics coming to Australia are experts in their chosen disciplines (Frew 2006). They are from a wide variety of fields and arrive in Australia on a specific contractual basis or as skilled migrants. Generally, they experience difficulties while adjusting to the culture in a given university.

This study is shaped by the principles of humanistic sociology, which seek to

investigate individuals' attitudes, feelings and self-reflections on how they adapt to the culture of their society and environment (Smolicz 1979, 1999). The capacity to do this depends completely on the individual and their reflections on their feelings and consciousness, as they go through the different stages. In considering immigration-based research on academics, humanistic sociology can be applied on many different levels. These include an examination of participants' experiences by analysing their points of view, and evaluating the social and cultural outcomes.

PSYCHOLOGICAL EXPERIENCES IN REGARD TO TEACHING IN A FOREIGN ENVIRONMENT

The literature on existing approaches to understanding cultural shock focuses mainly on migration where the individual or academic's family faces a whole new life in a society about which they know little or nothing at all. Such an approach comprises many important broad perspectives, the first one being a combination of psychological, sociological and philosophical theories and their relationship to social change and learning (Cross 1981; Long 1983; Candy 1991; Meriam & Caffarella 1991, all cited in Tenant 1997, 1-3). In contrast, international academic staff face the same problem, especially those who come from countries where culture, language and religion are different.

There have been many theories supporting the fact that both internal and external factors influence cultural changes and adaptation. The social environment seems to be the most influential factor that stands out in personal relationships. There is also an ongoing research that focuses on emotional development. Its emphasis is on how our concepts of self and conflict proceed and develop in life. Rogers and Maslow (cited in Tenant 1997) did much research on humanistic psychology and developed a number of categories for people's motives that were related and connected. Basically, unless individuals have reached a level of satisfaction at the most basic stage, they do not move on to the second step. Rose (1993) also discussed the influence of general prejudice in society and its impact on individuals, and the importance of inter-group connections in order to reduce that prejudice.

Cultural values vary from nation to nation and they also vary in their influence on different families and groups within one nation. According to Sandel, an individual self does not exist as an independent entity because no

one has the ability to stand completely outside his or her experience, or outside of society (Sandel, cited in Theophanous 1995). This explains the extent to which each individual is shaped and influenced by their own community or society, and the psychological stresses that they have to go through in order to adjust to the demands and pressures of the new society. These reactions could be eased by introducing 'multicultural education' which helps people to cope with changes and differences (Falk & Harris 1983). In this way the cultural background or context can be initiated and students' experience of cultural shock and fear of alienation will be reduced.

The degree of cultural shock depends on the degree to which the individual or family is separated from similar ethnic groups (Di Leonardo 1984). For instance, international academics arriving from places such as Singapore to teach in Australia, find it less difficult to adjust to the change because of their previous exposure and understanding of the English language. They will only have the cultural challenges to deal with (Di Leonardo 1984). However, international professionals who arrive from China or Japan to work in Australian universities will face more difficulties as a result of the language barrier as well as cultural differences. In recent decades most countries have changed the aims and practices of education as a deliberate result of policy because economically the world is more globalised, competitive and interconnected. The educational contexts in which procedures and policies are formed are determined by a nation's particular socio-political history, character and traditions (Lewin & Lewin 1945).

EXPERIENCE

For many international teaching and research professionals, a fundamental problem when they begin working in a foreign university is grappling with teaching styles or becoming accustomed to an academic culture that is alien to them. Often, perceptions of staff in the host institution magnify the problem because these international academics are perceived to be at risk, in the sense that they come from a culture that is ignorant of Western learning styles, more specifically the Australian education system (Beaver & Tuck 1999). Thus, transition into the host university for the period of their teaching or supervisory contract/tenure can be daunting and/or tedious as feelings of self-worth are undermined when their presentation and lecturing skills, writing styles and critical thinking are queried or challenged by their peers, their students or faculty/departmental heads.

Much has been written about the impact of internationalisation on university governance structures and students' experiences, yet the effects of internationalisation on academic work, for example staff mobility and academic careers remains under researched (Mayson & Schapper 2007). Furthermore, the impact of international academics in their teaching role on Australian university students' learning is important, given that in the last two decades academic work has undergone profound changes due to globalisation and internationalisation. Little has been published on the effects of internationalisation on academic work and managing academics in universities that have increasingly become large international businesses. Taking into consideration that the universities in this present research setting are becoming increasingly multicultural, it is evident that academics' past teaching and research experiences as well as cultures are emphasised when they take up employment. They are people who have achieved success professionally in their home culture and may come to the host institution with predetermined expectations about the types of support they would receive.

Additionally, language competency is another problem that international academics are constantly challenged by. For many of these academics, although English may be their second or third language, they are competent and proficient users of the language, with some even teaching the language in the schools or universities back home. To ignore this ability and to classify them homogeneously with other students, as requiring language skills assistance, results in frustration and dissatisfaction. Unlike international students who would be returning home when their studies are completed, there is every necessity for them to embrace Western writing styles as required by fellow teachers, postgraduate researchers, supervisors or staff. This is not, however, to suggest that a 'western model of learning' is necessarily superior (Guilfoyle 2006).

PATTERNS OF INTERACTION

Previous research in the field highlights that there are significant differences in the patterns of interaction between international academics from different backgrounds and the Anglo-Celtic academics. These differences commonly arise from what Ballard and Clanchy (1991) term to be 'cultures of learning'. Thus, academics who want to teach at the university level have had to endure drawbacks because - as Richardson and McKenna (2003) and Richardson and Zikic (2007) have reported - international

academics' desire to take up an overseas appointment did not automatically lead to upward career mobility. Luxon and Peelo (2009) in their analysis of non-UK teaching staff at British universities commented on the substantial practical, cultural and linguistic barriers that may compromise international academics' teaching styles and strategies (see also Smith & Todd 2007). The culture that international academics come from also prohibits them from saying what they actually feel to authority and management in face-to-face meetings. This view is supported by Guilfoyle (2006), who states that international postgraduate students are often not familiar with asking questions or disagreeing with persons of authority. Rather, these staff members turn to other staff who are in similar predicaments to share their problems.

ATTITUDES OF ANGLO-CELTIC ACADEMICS

Smolicz (1979) stressed the importance of the first impression that families or individuals get when arriving to a new country and the attitudes of welcome and acceptance, or suspicion and rejection which they encounter in the host society can reflect greatly on them. As the earlier discussion indicated, adopting to the Australian education system is a process fraught with potential misunderstandings. It was considered important to understand the difficulties that staff face on a daily basis with educational and cultural issues, and language barriers as they related to the experiences they encounter in Australian universities. Some of these experiences refer to the extent to which they can be damaging to their confidence, self-esteem and morale.

In order to provide a basis for communication, studying and living together in a multicultural society, Secombe (1999) has referred to Kloskowska's concept of cultural valency. This involved not just knowledge of a language and culture, but a positive attitude or intimate feelings regarding shared connections. Individuals could develop these in tandem with their own and any other culture they encountered in the course of their lives. Such a concept could be useful in developing mainstream education so that people brought up in the majority cultural system could be educated about the different cultures that they would almost inevitably interact with during the course of their lives.

METHODOLOGY

The methodology for undertaking this research involved the use of qualitative and quantitative techniques, in the form of a mixed-method approach to data collection. This was

considered most appropriate for the study in which cultural and relevant sociological factors were analysed and understood. Data were collected through a questionnaire and semi-structured interviews. The questionnaire was divided into two sections: Section One asked questions about international academics' perceptions about the teaching and research programs, their goals for the future as well as their present experience in the host institution; Section Two asked questions relating to their psychological well-being, particularly in the context of coping with language difficulties and new styles of teaching. The interviews were carried out to confirm their responses in the questionnaire.

The participants (ten males and ten females) were selected through personal and professional contacts. The participants were academics staff members from overseas and now working in three South Australian universities (University of Adelaide, Flinders University, and University of South Australia) all from non-English backgrounds. They were of Japanese, Indian, Singaporean, Chinese, Bangladeshi, Jordanian, Malaysian and German background. Five of them came to Australia to work, 2 completed their PhDs here and got academic positions, while the remainder were immigrants employed by the universities.

Five academics were interviewed. The analysis of the data obtained in this study began once all the interviews were completed and all the questionnaires were returned. The interview and questionnaire data were analysed from an interpretative perspective and from major themes that emerged as important.

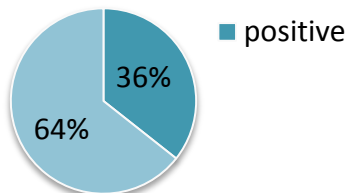
FINDINGS

Data from the questionnaire and interviews were analysed based on participants' responses. The survey results were put into six groups addressing the following aspects of workplace experiences: teaching and administrative support (professional experiences), factors affecting choice of institutions (personal experiences), differences in teaching and supervisory styles (teaching experiences), research support and grant application (research experiences), attitude of host society and Anglo-Celtic staff towards internationally recruited academics (promotional and cultural). The results from the quantitative studies are given in Figures 1-6. They show strong interaction between different experiences.

When considering overall professional experiences 36 per cent responded as having positive, while 64 per cent had negative

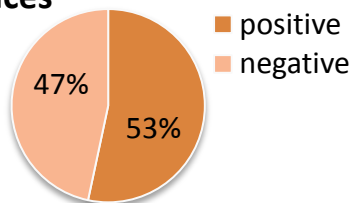
experiences (see Figure 1). The survey participants have recognised the university status, teaching and research environment, interaction with students, public engagements, lack of support and information, pressure to perform and isolation as important aspects influencing their overall professional experience.

Figure 1: Professional Experiences



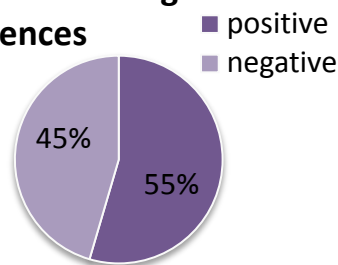
When it came to personal experiences 53 per cent of the survey participants registered positive with 47 per cent registering negative experiences (see Figure 2). Most of them are concerned with the high workload and lack of time to maintain outside contact, to take part in professional activities and attend conferences.

Figure 2: Personal Experiences



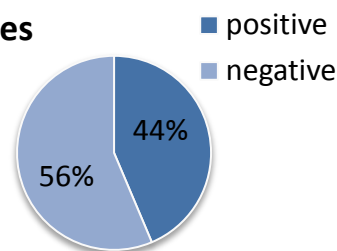
The highest satisfaction was registered for teaching experiences with 55 per cent positive and only 45 per cent being negative (see Figure 3). Many of the survey participants found teaching to be both a rewarding and challenging experience. Although many participants have pointed out that the teaching style at Australian universities differs from their home country's universities, they did not find it difficult to understand and perform according to the Western academic culture and style.

Figure 3: Teaching Experiences



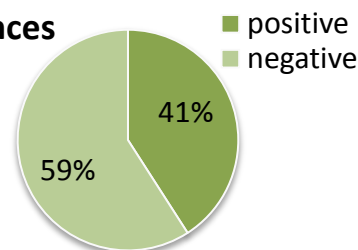
According to the survey research experiences are largely affected by: firstly, heavy teaching and administrative workload; and secondly, difficulty in obtaining grants. Only 44 per cent of the survey participants noted positive experiences while 56 per cent had negative research experience (see Figure 4). Interestingly, the survey result for research experience is almost the exact opposite of the teaching experience (see Figures 3 and 4).

Figure 4: Research Experiences



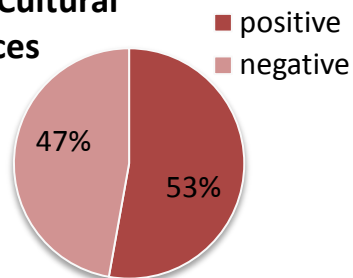
Promotional experiences come right after professional experiences with 41 per cent being positive and 59 per cent negative experiences (see Figure 5). Many survey participants understand what the requirements for obtaining a promotion are but do not see those as fair and reasonable.

Figure 5: Promotional Experiences



The survey on cultural experiences resulted in 53 per cent positive and 47 per cent negative experiences (see Figure 6). Interestingly, these results coincide with the survey results on personal experiences presented in Figure 2.

Figure 6: Cultural Experiences



The analysis of the survey results shows that the international academics register highest percentages of positive experiences in teaching, followed by personal, cultural and research experiences. The promotional and professional experiences attained the lowest positive percentage.

The implication of the findings for key stakeholders in academia is that the international academics who participated in this study are highlighting discontent in regard to the transition program. Additionally, they have expectations in regard to the types of support and mentoring they perceive themselves to require, in order to carry out their duties effectively. The findings highlight that issues such as factors influencing choice of institution, expectations of the institution and study program, future goals, problems experienced whilst in the study program, learning support, ability to adapt to a new culture as well as societal differences in the host country, ultimately all play a major contributing role to learning outcomes. Successes in teaching outcomes are grounded in the experiences felt throughout the transition program. Failure on the part of key players to acknowledge these factors could result in feelings of dissatisfaction, which ultimately may impact on their performance.

Additionally, the findings of this study highlight that international academics come to Australian universities with pre-conceived expectations. Among others, these academics expect the transition to be well structured, to provide sufficient support and mentoring to facilitate their settlement into their new academic environment. Although a majority of the academics who took part in the study stated that their expectations were met, there were a few who were undecided and yet others who claimed that they were disappointed with the structure as well as support. A majority of the academics claimed that they were unhappy with the induction program in their university. The participants of this study indicated that they would have preferred more support in the form of induction and administrative work, with mentoring and guidance to help with Western teaching styles. What this implies is

that there was a big gap between expectations and what was actually delivered. Inevitably, this may contribute to psychological problems as well and ultimately compromise successful teaching outcomes.

The findings of this study demonstrate that nine respondents claim to experience more difficulty teaching in the host institution than they would in their own homeland. This is a result of the mental discomfort and pressure that they are facing. Being away from their home, their culture, their family, friends and having pressure put on them to adjust at the workplace and perform well can create many hurdles with their teaching. Five of the respondents said that these pressures are based on the assumptions that they have to adjust to and the expectation that they adopt Australian teaching practices swiftly. Seven of the respondents also pointed out that they found language was a factor that contributed to their problems (problem with their accent); it impacted on issues that facilitated assimilation such as social connections, communication with the general mainstream public, occupation and in addition to academia. Eight respondents listed that teaching styles and load added to the difficulties and the differences between what they were used to. What is expected of them caused them a great deal of grief. Six respondents highlighted other academic staff mainly for the reason that they cannot speak freely, nor complain when not satisfied or even explain their feelings; this is consequently related to the different cultural behaviour concerning dissatisfaction. Moreover, five of the participants also stated that cultural differences made it difficult for them to perform in the host institution, not just societal culture but also academic culture. This factor is a critical one but it can be resolved with the help of staff members and local postgraduate students.

Institutional managers in the university should endeavour to reassess current induction and mentoring programs so that these issues raised by the international academics can be resolved. The psychological well-being of these academics very much depends on how comfortable and satisfied they feel in the host institution. The host institution should strive to offer more language support to these academics; more mentoring when needed, as well as train academic staff to be more aware of the problems faced by them. Ideally, those in managerial positions should be more understanding, sympathetic as well as supportive towards international academics as their overall psychological well-being is a big determinant of positive outcomes in their teaching. These academics have to adapt to a new teaching and learning environment as well as a new culture. Additionally, apart

from the emotional and cultural separation, six academics felt that they were working much longer hours than local academics and the expectations of them is a lot higher in order to attain the same status as those who are equivalent to them. They have also reported that it may be impossible for them to achieve any promotions. Some say that it is a struggle to receive local grants unless they have the other academics involved. All these factors identified in the study play a major role in the mental, physical and emotional well-being of the international academics studied.

CONCLUSION

In an increasingly globalised higher education environment, Australian universities, are taking their education services overseas, and international academics who teach in Australia are challenging the prevailing understanding of an academic role and tasks at every level. Yet, despite the rhetoric of internationalisation, very little is known about the efforts made by universities and their various departments in recognising and drawing on the wealth of knowledge and skills of academics from overseas as a resource for teaching and disseminating knowledge. International academics are expected to work in environments, climates and classrooms that are culturally very different from their own. Assumptions about university education and teaching methods are being shaken and academics find themselves having to return to, and question, the basics of their teaching, learning and assessment practices. It shows that the 'novel experiences' of transnational teaching encourage content, process and premise reflection that can, with appropriate support, ultimately improve teaching practice not just in the transnational context, but also back home. Judging by the results reported here in this literature review, there is very little research on international academics and ongoing work on this type of data is important. This is due to the profound changes that are occurring in academic work resulting from globalisation and internationalisation.

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Rethinking Resentment: Political memory and identity in Australia's Salvadoran community

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Abstract

The paper questions how former refugees from El Salvador have settled in Australia, and particularly in metropolitan Queensland. It is positioned at the intersection of history and citizenship studies, and addresses the lack of research into the effects of remembered social upheaval on migrants' settlement in Australia. The paper uses qualitative data from interviews and online blogs to interrogate the nature of migrants' engagement with El Salvador, and, significantly, the impact on their conceptualisation of Australian liberal democratic values and civic society.

The community remains highly politicised, and is connected with both local and global contacts. Since fleeing El Salvador's civil war in the 1980s, Australia's Salvadoran community has developed in a markedly different manner to the much larger communities in the United States. Salvadorans in Australia use transcultural rhetoric to justify their engagement with Australian politics and multiculturalism. Democratisation in El Salvador has had a profound impact on Australian Salvadorans' identity, with key implications for their engagement in multiple civic societies. Whilst their ongoing contact with home communities in El Salvador has declined, there has been a re-assertion of the transnational Hispanic identity of the radical Left, which draws on migrants' pre-migration memories of social conflict.

Keywords

Multiculturalism, civic participation, Salvadorans, political participation.

THE SALVADORAN MODEL

Australia's Salvadoran community offers a case study of a politicised group that experienced serious social trauma prior to their emigration. Most pertinently, it provides an exemplar for long-term Australian immigrants who experienced social and political violence, and are digitally literate. The Salvadorans are particularly noteworthy, as many community members continue to identify with transnational sentiments and a sense of historical injustice, applying this in Australia after decades of settlement.

This paper uses the Salvadorans to argue, firstly, that transnational political identification and frameworks of morality may be reinforced by the progressive 'ethnicisation' of migrant identities (undermining the aims of Australia's multicultural policy framework). The paper argues that migrants frequently draw on formative historical and social memories to transfer anti-capitalist frameworks of radical resistance to Australia. Finally, the paper argues that the low to medium density population of groups such as Australian Salvadorans suggests a new model for civic engagement. Whereas Salvadorans in the United States retain an interest in reproducing authority in their former homes, Australian Salvadorans lack the requisite social capital for this. Instead, they are focussed on the application and enactment of what they perceive to be transcultural norms in wider Australian society, informed by past experiences.

LEAVING EL SALVADOR

A strong sense of historical injustice continues to exist in contemporary El Salvador, based on an entrenched oligarchy and long-term structural poverty. These tensions erupted violently during the country's civil war, which lasted from 1980 to 1992. During this period, right-wing government forces sought to end a left-wing insurgency led by the 'Frente Farabundo Martí para la Liberación Nacional' (hereafter, the FMLN). Throughout the war, the United States was closely associated with the government forces, and was implicated in a number of human rights violations that remain seared into emigrants' memories.

Large numbers of displaced persons fled El Salvador during the hostilities. Many sought the comparative wealth of the United States. Significantly, those Salvadorans who settled in the United States occupied a position of legal ambiguity that amplified their sense of vulnerability. Classed as economic migrants, their traumatic experiences were rarely accorded public recognition. However, a

number of Salvadorans also resettled in Australia, where they were afforded refugee status. Most of these had been based temporarily in Costa Rica, where they had lived in the local community as recognised refugees. Australian officials flew from Mexico to interview refugees for potential resettlement, leading to significant numbers eventually being granted access to the country under the Refugee/Special Humanitarian Programme.

The first Salvadorans arrived in Australia in 1983, and about 1,200 refugees were accepted in the following three years (Immigration Museum 2009). Henceforth, private sponsorship would rapidly accelerate the Australian community's growth, and the population more than tripled within five years. In 2006, there were approximately 20,000 Salvadorans living in Australia (although this number does not take into account return migration). Most now live in Sydney and Melbourne, with about a quarter of the national population based in south-east Queensland (Sanchez-Castro & Gil 2009). These numbers stand in sharp contrast to the approximately three million Salvadorans currently in the United States. Yet, those in Australia were afforded a limited public recognition of their trauma and grief, and have not been viewed through a predominantly economic or utilitarian prism (as was the case in the United States).

Very little research has been carried out regarding Salvadorans' settlement in Australia, beyond analyses of early intervention strategies (see Pittaway 1991; Santos & Webber 2009). Langer, writing in the 1990s, asserted in a number of articles that Australian Salvadorans had successfully 'become ethnic' and had relegated politics 'to history' (Langer 1990: 9). This paper argues that such a position misrecognises the complexity of social memories and the function of ethnicity for migrant groups. Indeed, migrants' experience of democratic transition in Australia has been obscured by the predominant multicultural paradigm, with its scholarly emphasis on ethnic identities and the practical desire to facilitate access to social welfare. Langer's position has been further undermined by the communication revolution caused by the internet. Opportunities to communicate instantaneously across international borders, and to receive regular information from sympathisers across the world, have transformed the relationship between ethnicity and local space. This paper argues that new opportunities now exist to enlarge multiculturalism's meaning beyond the public emphasis on ethnicity in order to accommodate transnational political sentiment

and coalitions of interest that are based in multiple localities.

PAN-HISPANIC SENTIMENT

There has been a lack of research into the effects of Australian immigrants' historical memories. Historians, such as Neumann (2004) and Tavan (2005), have engaged with migrants' social memories and the role of the past in Australians' welcome to them. However, scholars have not yet fully investigated how narratives of former civil conflicts are reconstructed in Australia (although important work has been conducted by Hage, 2003). This is noteworthy, since refugees and migrants find themselves physically isolated from the institutions that are designed to affect reconciliation in their former homes. This has important implications for how emigrants experience democratic transition, since they are excluded from the national conversations that occur in their absence. Previously, it may have been sufficient to assume that local supports and engagement with Australian civic society would engender a gradual settlement process that was orientated towards Australian citizenship norms. The new era of transnational technologies and social movements means such an approach is no longer credible.

El Salvador's 'Museum of the Word and Image' provides one case study of how Australians from El Salvador may engage with ongoing debates of historical and contemporary injustice (*Museo de la Palabra y la Imagen*, 2010). The museum establishes a framework and narrative of Salvadoran history, through an extensive online digitised collection that ranges from movies to photographic images and memoirs. It is dedicated to creating a reflective space and a visible testimony to Salvadorans' collective pasts (albeit primarily for those living within the national borders). Publicly recognising the divisions of the past, it is designed to facilitate Salvadorans' engagement in their country's history by fighting 'against the chaos of memory loss.' (*Museo de la Palabra y la Imagen*, cited in Rodríguez 2006: 4)

The museum's narrative is emphatically nostalgic and evocative of loss, but is also suggestive of a continuum of national historical purpose. As such, it seeks to create a coherent framework from diverse exhibitions that range from images of 1930s Salvadoran feminists to excerpts from leftwing Salvadoran existential poets and images titled 'The War for Peace'. The aim is 'to foster a society that ... has a sense of placement and belonging.' (*Museo de la Palabra y la Imagen*, 2010). The

very large proportion of Salvadorans who live overseas means that no conceptualisation of belonging or community can be achieved without incorporating the overseas 'Departamento 15' (Rodríguez 2005).¹ Crucially, therefore, the museum helps to include emigrants in the recently emerging narratives of democratic transition in El Salvador.

Emigrant communities had nurtured grievances against the right-wing ARENA government (which had remained in power after the civil war until 2009), given its opposition to public commemorations of the conflict. The discursive space now occupied by the online museum is shared by emigrant groups, who seek to perpetuate and memorialise memory of the losses. A clear narrative of ongoing conflict continued amongst politically active Australian refugees, based on absolute terms of moral certainty. In an open letter in 2009, Australian refugees claimed that '[t]en Salvadorans are assassinated each day, [a situation that is] tolerated by the state justice and public security bodies. State officials are implicated in homicides. The unilateral amnesty legislated by ARENA is a false instrument for the protection of criminals' (FMLN Australia 2008). This certitude was reinforced by the validation they found in the gradual formation of local emigrant community structures – although political attitudes remained circumspect at the start.

Rather than simply reflect on events in El Salvador, emigrants began to locate their grievances in Australia. Areas, such as Brisbane's West End and Wacol, witnessed a series of Latin American forums from the late 1980s. Groups, such as 'Resistance', were comprised of leftwing academics, community activists and (often) musicians. Many such groups identified with the refugees' presumed political identification, and sought to offer support and validation to them. Community members were frequently wary, however, and unsure of conventions of liberal democratic expression in Australia. Over time, they learnt the norms governing public space and political expression, but vehemently rejected models of community activism based on subjective political negotiation. Whilst grateful to well-meaning Anglophones, one community member commented that in El Salvador 'there is no choice [regarding political identity]. You have to be one side or the other. If you are in the middle, you will be caught in the crossfire.

¹ El Salvador is administered through 14 local government areas or 'departments'. The term 'Departamento 15' is used to signify the country's large emigrant population.

The best thing is to take sides'. (Interview B 2010, pers. comm., 1 August)

Emigrants' social memories were framed by a broad empathy with pan-Hispanic sentiment. For many, Salvadoran identity was understandable through a prism of radical Hispanic experience, which had been central during the turbulent 1970s and 1980s in Latin America. This political and moral framework subsequently informed their ability to interact with local Anglophone Australians. However, it also proved fundamental to managing the guilt many felt at leaving El Salvador (Hage 2003), a sensation that was progressively reinforced as the right-wing government characterised them as 'subversives' (Landolt, Autler and Baires 1999: 304). Such frameworks of engagement (with Australian and wider Salvadoran communities) provided a moral impetus to organise beyond the boundaries of their designated ethnic community.

This engagement focussed initially on Australian student groups (which were strongly involved with Latin American Solidarity movements that ranged from anti-Pinochet protests to support for Nicaraguan Sandinistas). This contact helped to inform new generations of political and social actors in the migrant community. There was little opportunity for capacity building projects within the low density Australian community. Instead, new leaders associated Australian attempts to improve social inclusion with social justice campaigns elsewhere in the world, connecting localities that featured in their diverse social imaginary.

This sense of Solidarity was enacted in a number of ways. Salvadorans were at the heart of regular ongoing trips by Hispanic Australian youth leaders to Cuba, for example. Sentiments of Solidarity also produced an Australian volunteer movement that regularly sends groups to Venezuela, in order to provide electoral support for Hugo Chavez' Bolivarian revolution. Very clearly this provides an ongoing framework for anti-American imperialism, validating the community's social memories. One Australian Hispanic, Roberto Jorquera, is active in the pro-Chavez 'Brigades to Venezuela' movement. As with other community commentators, his views are projected in online and local forums. Jorquera is also a regular contributor to websites such as *Direct Action*, the *Australia-Venezuela Solidarity Network*, and the influential *Green Left*. The notion of Latin American Solidarity (so vital to the formation of an early public presence in Australia) has been further reinvigorated by the internet. Blogs, but also iconic radio such as the Civil War *Radio Venceremos*, are now available online. Not

only does this provide information, it supports the cultural milieu previously lacking for migrants.

TRANSNATIONAL ELECTIONS

It is important to question how historically conditioned transnational sentiment affects immigrants' involvement in social movements based in their former homes. This is particularly significant given the dearth of prior research on the nexus between disaggregated citizenship and communities' location. Seminal American works, such as Michel Laguerre's (1998) *Diasporic Citizenship: Haitian Americans in Transnational America*, were written and researched prior to the communication revolution and the internet. Academic debate has paid relatively little attention to the manner in which transnational sentiment and contact with former homes inform political processes of democratisation. The lack of research is all the more noteworthy given the interest in migration and securitisation that followed the '9-11' terrorist attacks in New York.

The opportunities provided by real time communication have transformed relationships between community and place. The former Salvadoran belligerent group, the FMLN, has had a global strategy to marshal support since the 1980s, and actively targets emigrant communities for funds (Landolt, Autler and Baires 1999). In 2001, for example, FMLN leaders in Salvador explicitly urged 'Australian activists to travel to El Salvador to act as international observers' ('El Salvador' 2008). More generally, May Day marchers in all the main Australian capitals continue to have an FMLN contingent, and sausage sizzles and BBQs raise money for the FMLN throughout the year. It is the process of participation that is most important however, with former migrants desperate to maintain the moral affirmation secured by public meetings. New technologies have heralded improved opportunities for more direct contact between the FMLN's political leadership and its sympathisers worldwide. They have also facilitated access to improved information, with interested Australian Salvadorans holding monthly video conferences with elected FMLN politicians, at which they request clarification and information on policies of interest (Interview A 2010, pers. comm., 5 May).

Much of the FMLN's success in Australia, and internationally, can be attributed to its organisational structure of autonomous cells. This was endorsed by Australia's key liaison body, which declared that it believed in 'a

non-authoritarian, non-hierarchical and non-patriarchal form of ... solidarity with Latin American grassroots movements in resistance and struggle' (LASNET 2010). Not only does this echo the historical and wartime experiences in El Salvador, it is firmly aligned with the much larger American communities that use the internet to meet, organise and fundraise.

Various FMLN politicians have toured Australia, and lower level contact between sympathisers is relatively constant. In 1997, for example, the Legislative Member and former combatant Maria Chichilco toured Australian capitals to consolidate the country's various Solidarity Committees. Speaking to key themes of 'dignity' and 'justice for all', she was strongly critical of 'the ... continuing human rights abuses by the government' as well as 'a failure ... to prosecute those accused of ... human rights abuses during the civil war' (Chichilco, cited in Jorquera 1997). She drew a line from past to present, helping to define community boundaries by existential questions of personal morality and politics. Ethnicity as a Salvadoran, in terms of family origin, was insufficient for membership in this active community.

Whilst politicised members of the Australian community are very proud of the arrival of FMLN representatives, much more research is needed on how migrant groups have reacted to the FMLN's transition from a belligerent group to a democratic party. Blogs suggest there is generally a focus on empathetic and moral issues, rather than specific questions of political negotiation and compromise. This is partly related to the nature of the formation of textual comment on internet blogs, which often encourage clear cut judgements amongst like minded-individuals. Community members state they do follow political decisions when possible, and recognise the necessities of political negotiation (Interview B 2010, pers. comm., 1 August). They are equally unequivocal that this is a process to pursue a moral requirement, and is not an end in itself.

For migrant communities to perpetuate this focus, historical memories must remain applicable to contemporary experience. In one example, the recent formation of a 'Commission for the Disappeared' by the new Salvadoran President, FMLN member Mauricio Funes, was widely reported online and in the Australian community. At its launch, the Minister for Foreign Affairs 'explained the importance of ... the historical memory of the country. [He said] "Forgetting is laying the groundwork for other boys and girls in our country to continue being [forcibly] disappeared"' (Martinez, cited in 'FMLN Creates Commission for the

Disappeared' 2009). The significance of this historical memory is widespread, as Salvadoran emigrants negotiate life narratives in both Australia and in El Salvador. A particularly significant consequence is the altered processes by which perceptions of ethnic and political difference are formed within Australia.

AUSTRALIAN POLITICS

It is crucial to question how empathy with El Salvador and transnational sentiments are enacted within Australia's multicultural policy context. The Latin American Solidarity Network (with whom Salvadorans' FMLN groups are affiliated) declared that their aim is to 'build bridges of struggle and resistance between Latin America, Australia and the whole Asia Pacific Region' (LASNET 2010). It is not simply a matter of recognising that Salvadorans empathise with anti-Americanism. This paper argues that their initial contact and coalition-building with New Left groups proved crucial to Salvadorans' gradual civic integration, as these issues were subsequently brought into the Australian mainstream. Thus, in Australia, American anti-imperialism and mining sentiment is translated into support for the Greens and Indigenous issues amongst the general Salvadoran community.

One example of a weekend visit to Hobart by senior FMLN politician, Jorge Schafik Handal Vega, demonstrates the process of transferral. Having been welcomed by community members, Handal Vega then met Terry Martin, former independent member of the Tasmanian parliament (who crossed the floor to oppose Gunns' pulp mill). He also met Lisa Singh, ALP MLA, who was the only ALP member to abstain on the pulp mill, and then went on to meet the key renegade trade union leader David O'Byrne, before finally dining with Bill Harvey (a Green's alderman for Hobart).

Very clearly, reciprocity of interest exists between radical Hispanic sentiment, trade unionism and environmentalism in Australia. For the purposes of the paper's case study, this is informed by events in El Salvador – where American mining companies now threaten the country's sovereignty and are believed to represent a continued form of American imperialism. In their website, Tasmanian Salvadorans draw the frequent motif that mining companies act as a proxy for American economic imperialism in Australia, and offers a similar foil for American cultural penetration (Busch 2009). This is not a unique example, and community sites typically redirect users to a variety of articles on connections between environmental exploitation and entrenched

local poverty, as well (crucially) as the power of communities to counter this.

Concern for local communities and environmentalism is also demonstrated by Hispanic support for Indigenous issues in Australia. Salvadorans do not regularly engage directly with the local Indigenous community. They do recognise the importance of the struggle however, viewing it as part of the history of Indigenous dispossession by white capitalists that is replicated throughout Latin America (Interview B 2010, pers. comm., 1 August). As such, Indigenous poverty is viewed as one function of capitalist imperialism and its alleged proclivity for reducing local communities' control of their resources.

Thus, ideas of historical justice and radical social memories come together in an informed support for certain causes in Australia. As a final example of the projection of these synergies in Australia, one Melbourne workshop run by Hispanic groups brought together key facilitators for a discussion in 2001 (LASNET 2009). These included a Columbian trade union leader, an anti-mining organiser from Bougainville, a 'Free West Papua' representative, an Aboriginal leader, and an anti-uranium activist. This makes a very clear connection between Indigenous peoples, environmentalism and support for community-based initiatives in Australia. Whilst it does so from the security of a widely-recognised 'Hispanic identity', experiences in Australia are seen as one part of a global movement that comprises multiple localities. Each of these possess intersecting local coalitions of interest. Within Australia, it is the space afforded by a sanctioned Hispanic ethnic identity that facilitated this.

The 2001 Melbourne workshop strongly evoked Bhaba's comment that 'political empowerment, and the enlargement of the multiculturalist cause, comes from posing questions of solidarity and community from the interstitial perspective' (2003: 3). For Australia's Salvadorans, this constitutes an ever-broadening coalition of transformative action situated simultaneously in both local and international contexts. The community was particularly gratified by Obama's electoral rally cry of 'Yes We Can', for example. One blogger rightly noted its origins in the 1970s American Latino/a slogan – *Sí Se Puede* – and continued to note that the slogan 'can only be transformative when "we" is in a constant process of widening' (Hardy 2009). A community leader made this even more explicit in an interview, taking overt pains to endorse the fight for Indigenous and women's rights (which have a long genesis in El Salvador's Left), but also endorsed less

conventional points of overlap – such as vigorous support for Queer Rights (Interview B 2010, pers. comm., 1 August).

CONCLUSION

The remembered experience of trauma in low density migrant communities has a clear impact on the manner in which forced migrant and refugees approach, conceive and engage with liberal democratic values in Australia's multicultural context. This is powerfully mediated by transnational sentiments that embed the Australian context in a dialogous relationship with events elsewhere.

There has been little historical research on the long-term impact of remembered violence and social trauma on groups' ability to engage with Australia's civic values. This paper has focussed on issues of social justice, but argues that there has been an over-acceptance of the ethnicisation of identity in Australian discussion of multiculturalism - to the detriment of investigation into perceptions of political and civic norms. Transnational identification, political or otherwise, need not be an impediment to local integration. Rather it facilitates migrants' conceptualisation of their place and social roles, above and beyond that of bounded ethnicities.

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Migrant Symphonies – the symphonic contribution of resident British composers to Australian musical life

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Abstract

During the period from Federation to 1960 a significant number of British-born composers worked in Australia, some for many decades. Of them, the following composers wrote symphonies which received their first performances in Australia: Joshua Ives, George Marshall-Hall, Fritz Hart and Edgar Bainton. Should these symphonies and their composers be considered British or Australian, or both? Which country should 'own' them, and who has the responsibility for archiving and preserving their heritage? This paper will survey and evaluate these works, with particular focus on the symphonies of Ives, Marshall-Hall, Hart and Bainton.

Keywords

Australian symphonies, British expatriates in Australia, Edgar Bainton, Eugene Goossens, Fritz Hart, Joshua Ives, George Marshall-Hall, National 'ownership' of musical works

SITUATING THE CANON

Deconstructing or reconstructing canons is a significant theme in recent music history writing. However music historians of Australian concert music lack a coherent canon that one can reconstruct. With the exception of Roger Covell's ground-breaking work *Australia's Music: Themes of a new society* of 1967, no one to date has attempted a comprehensive survey of the development of Australian concert music. Covell considered the new Australian music of his own period as the first really significant body of Australian works; works by local composers like Sculthorpe, Meale, Dreyfus, Werder and Butterley who were tuned into the most recent developments in European and American music. Other commentators like James Murdoch (1973), and the contributors to the 1978 compendium *Australian Composition in the Twentieth Century* tended to agree. With a few exceptions, the older composers of the previous decades, several of whom were still active in the 1960s, were seen as derivative and old-fashioned. For example, John Antill was hailed for one work, *Corroboree* in 1946; Raymond Hanson was recognised 20 years too late to be influential in the 1940s and 1950s, and Margaret Sutherland was hailed for

showing evidence of her awareness of modernist composers like Bartok and others in her works of the 1940s and 50s and for her continuing development during the 1960s.

Other figures who have been equally neglected are Australian expatriates like Ernest Hutcheson, Arthur Benjamin, Hubert Clifford and Malcolm Williamson who featured strongly in musical life in Britain or America. Australians have 'claimed' as 'Australian' Percy Grainger and Peggy Glanville-Hicks who, like the others mentioned above, spent the majority of their active composing years outside Australia. However, our 'claim' has not extended consistently towards the relatively large number of British-born and trained professors, organists and conductors who were the mainstay of Australian university musical life until the 1970s. Some have written them off as second-raters offering a paler version of British music college education. But amongst them were composers of real distinction whose music deserves revival and representation in editions of scores and recordings. Joshua Ives (1856-1931), George Marshall-Hall (1862-1915), Fritz Hart (1874-1949) and Edgar Bainton (1880-1956) were all here in Australia for more than twenty years each – at the height of their powers. None of them are represented composers with the Australian Music Centre. Eugene Goossens, who is represented with the Australian Music Centre, remains a special case because of the remaining glow of his 1947-1956 stint as conductor of the Sydney Symphony Orchestra. Nevertheless, his infamous and sudden exit from Australia is far better known than his music, especially his two symphonies which were performed here during the late 1940s. The British immigrant composers have fallen between the cracks of their home country and their adopted country in obtaining recognition for their music. And yet, analysed and set in their context, their works are of considerable artistic merit and in advance of many locally-trained composers.

This paper focuses on the Australian-based British conductors and professors who were also composers of symphonies which were performed in Australia since 1901 until 1956.

How did these works influence the musical scene here and who should take responsibility for maintaining and claiming their heritage today?

BRITISH OR AUSTRALIAN MUSIC?

Five Cases

Joshua Ives came to Australia as the first Elder Professor of Music at the University of Adelaide in 1885. This was the first music professorial position in any Australian university. Ives's musical training was at Cambridge University and he set up the first music degree in Australia modelled on the Cambridge pattern during the 1890s. He supplemented his income as Professor (in contravention of his terms of employment) as the Adelaide City Organist and with private instruction. Unfortunately he was a poor teacher and, during his tenure of 15 years only 7 students completed the Bachelor of Music degree despite strong enrolments. Ives was dismissed from his post in December 1901 (Bridges 1983: 450-1). From there he moved to Melbourne and taught music privately, eventually dying in the Melbourne suburb of Kew in 1931. Unfortunately, his spectacular dismissal and his vilification of both Chancellor and Vice Chancellor and at a large public function is better known than his musical contribution (Bridges 1992: 15-18). On Saturday, July 20, 1901, at the opening of a new organ at Elder Hall, Ives conducted the premiere of his Symphony in D minor, *L'Australienne*, which was hailed by *The Advertiser* as having 'the unique distinction of being the first to be written by an Australian musician' and 'written in honour of the visit of the Duke and Duchess of Cornwall' (*Advertiser*, 22 July 1901). The four movement work was hailed as a great success by the capacity audience. Despite the existence of an autograph full score of the work in the Barr Smith Library, University of Adelaide, the work is largely unknown today despite its closeness to the events of Federation. The somewhat sketchy nature of the 64 pages of full score and the composer's directions to himself about repeating certain bars or adding instrumentation suggests that there was once a final fair copy of the score that was the basis of the orchestral parts. This would require some substantial editing work to get the score in shape for a modern performance or recording.

The status of Ives's symphony as the first written in Australia is open to conjecture. In Melbourne, George WL Marshall-Hall (a protégé of composer Sir Charles Hubert Parry and who was admired by music critic Bernard

Shaw) was appointed the first Ormond Professor of Music at the University of Melbourne in 1890. Like Ives, Marshall-Hall was appointed as Professor as a young man with little established experience in the UK. Marshall-Hall composed two symphonies during his time in Melbourne, one in C minor dating from 1892 and a second in E flat major dating from 1903. Both scores are extant, with the E flat symphony being published in Berlin, perhaps before the London performance of 1907 (Radic 2002). A recording made of the second symphony during the mid 1980s by the Queensland Opera Orchestra demonstrates that Marshall-Hall was far in advance of any Australian-based composer of his period in terms of the quality of his work. Sadly, the controversies behind his dismissal in 1900 (almost contemporaneous with that of Ives) following the publication of alleged licentious verse two years earlier (Radic, 2002), have overshadowed Marshall-Hall's real achievements, like his music and his establishment of a professional symphony orchestra in Melbourne which sustained an existence for over a decade. Although he was absent in the UK from 1912-1914 prior to his short-lived reappointment to the Ormond Professorship in 1915, he was active in Australia for over twenty years.

In recent years, owing to the research of Warren Bebbington, Therese Radic and Richard Divall, there has been some renewed interest in Marshall-Hall in Australia. This may be due partly to Marshall-Hall's reputation as a 'larrikin' – a composer who knocked around with the great Australian impressionist artists Arthur Streeton and Tom Roberts and was painted by them, who was a friend of both Lionel and Norman Lindsay, who jostled with authority and the representatives of the status quo, and who was happy to consider himself Australian. Prior to his coming to Australia, Bernard Shaw described him as 'a representative of young genius, denouncing the stalls, trusting to the gallery, waving the democratic flag, and tearing around generally' (Radic 2002: page 7). Consider, for instance, his expansive program note to a 1908 performance of the Symphony in E flat at one of his concerts, as preserved in the Grainger Museum, Melbourne:

This symphony was originally conceived of a summer holiday whilst camping out in Sydney Middle Harbour with a couple of congenial comrades. I found that in it I had unconsciously gathered together as a harmonious whole the many heterogeneous [sic] impressions of Australian life and scenery which my stay in this country had engendered. Hence its buoyant

cheerful tone. For what have we Australians, in this fresh unattempted land which absorbs all our energies, to do with the self-questionings, the too often morbid introspectiveness, that the gloomy climate and cramped-life conditions of our English ancestral home more and more tend to induce? Here we grow up under a genial Southern sun, amid an environment which makes it a delight merely to be alive. In every direction new paths open before us. Our every faculty, every energy, finds countless fields for healthy exertion. For us the world is only beginning (Programme, Marshall-Hall Orchestra, 10 July 1908).

Additionally, the cover of the published score of the work bears the printed inscription 'Dedicated to my friends and comrades under the Southern Cross'.

The optimistic energy and flamboyance of Marshall-Hall's program note is reflected in the outer movements of this three-movement symphony. In particular the first movement is marked by a strong sense of flow and continuity. Its virility reflects the idiom of early Wagner, of Schumann in chivalric mood, of Parry and early Elgar. By 1903 standards, the work is by no means as backward-looking as Alfred Hill's music of the same period. This is music worth hearing now without embarrassment. The work was performed in London in the 1907 Promenade series under the direction of the great British conductor Sir Henry Wood, founder of the Promenade concerts, but after a Sydney performance in 1917 (Orchard, 1952, p.93) was silent until the 1980s.

Fritz Hart (1874-1949) trained at the Royal College of Music at the same time as his friends, Gustav Holst and Ralph Vaughan Williams, and was one of the many pupils of the composer Charles Villiers Stanford. His musical style immediately sets off resonances with the British compositional generation after that of Marshall-Hall (who was just five years younger than Elgar) – composers like Hart's friends Vaughan Williams and Holst. Hart first came to Australia in 1909 to conduct operas for JC Williamson. From there, he took up the position of Director of the Albert Street Conservatorium that Marshall-Hall founded after being kicked out of Melbourne University. This institution blossomed under Hart and was strongly patronised by Dame Nellie Melba, who supported Hart's leadership. Hart remained in Melbourne as Director until the mid 1930s, was the conductor of Melbourne Symphony Orchestra between 1927 and 1932, and composed prolifically in the genres of opera, concert

song and orchestral music (Radic 1983: 219-20).

Hart left two large-scale orchestral works from his long Melbourne sojourn, his five movement Symphonic Suite *The Bush* of 1923 and his three movement Symphony of 1934. *The Bush* was revived by conductor Richard Divall during the 1990s, its first performance since a partial one in 1945. It can be heard at the Australian Music database, ABC FM website in its entirety. The piece is astonishing in its authority and superb finish. The only orchestral work by an Australian of its general period which approached it was Grainger's *The Warriors*. Who would expect that only three or so years after the premiere of Holst's *The Planets* (first complete public performance 1920) that a work of similar idiom would appear in Melbourne? The fourth movement has some uncanny resemblances to Holst's 'Jupiter' from *The Planets*, although the big tune that emerges twice in the movement ambles along in a 5/4 gait that is intriguing.

Hart was convinced that the future of Australian music was to rest on a strong foundation of British music transplanted here. And yet, the suite is undergirded by a program which attempts to pierce the mystery and the terror of the bush (Forbes, 2007: 207). Hart declares through this work his allegiance and emotional ties to the natural Victorian landscape.

Despite his remarkable legacy to Melbourne musical life, not least his championing of three emerging female composers Margaret Sutherland, Peggy Glanville-Hicks and Ester Rofe and the remarkable flourishing of opera that occurred at the Melba Conservatorium, Hart was elbowed sideways from the centre of Melbourne's musical life by Australian Bernard Heinze, an inferior musician but skilled and ambitious in forwarding his own agendas (Radic 1986). As Heinze muscled in to take charge of the Melbourne Symphony by combining it with the University Conservatorium Symphony orchestra, Hart took on the role of guest conductor of the Honolulu Symphony Orchestra from 1933 onwards and eventually left Melbourne to settle in Hawaii in 1937. He returned to Melbourne once in 1945. The fate of his 1934 Symphony is testimony to his poor treatment in Australia. The autograph score of the work (174 pages of full score) in the State Library of Victoria remained virtually unmarked in 2004-5, suggesting that it has never been heard. By Australian dimensions, the existence of an unknown symphony like this one by a significant composer is akin to the existence of a Vaughan Williams symphony that has never been touched. At the time of writing, Richard

Divall is editing the work in preparation, hopefully, for its first performance. Other champions of Hart at present are Phillip Tregear and Anne-Marie Forbes (for examples see Richards 2007).

Dr Edgar Bainton was appointed to the Directorship of the New South Wales Conservatorium of Music in 1934 in preference to local contender, the veteran Alfred Hill (Collins 2001: 78-83). Like Hart, Bainton was a product of the Royal College of Music and a composition pupil of Stanford. From 1901 until 1934 he taught piano and composition at the Conservatorium of Music, Newcastle upon Tyne, and was Principal from 1912 onwards. His long service there was interrupted by a four year internment in Germany during World War 1 owing to his presence at the Bayreuth Festival in 1914 at the outbreak of war. He was also conductor of the Newcastle Philharmonic Orchestra from 1911-1934 (Bainton 1977: 146-7). His role in the development of Australian musical life during the 22 years he lived in Sydney has been grossly underrated: at 53 he was at the height of his powers as a composer when he arrived in Australia, and his music has not been evaluated fairly. Dianne Collins in her account of the history of the New South Wales State Conservatorium of Music suggests that from the start he was considered a 'second-rater' who had been recruited from the English provinces.

No one pretended that he was a musician of the first order. His career was solid rather than inspiring...Bainton arrived in Australia in 1934...A few decades before, Bainton was photographed with Elgar and a group of English musicians, all elegantly assembled in an English garden. When Bainton arrived in Australia, he came very self-consciously as an evangelist of these men and the pastoral musical tradition which they represented. As his friend Neville Cardus later wrote: Bainton belonged 'to a ripe period in English life – a period in which truly English thought and feeling seemed to burgeon to an inexhaustible harvest'. But no amount of overblown tribute could hide the fact that, in 1934, most of musical Australia did not want him (Collins 2001: 80-1).

Collins later lists Bainton's accomplishments in turning around the fortunes of the Con and restoring good relationships between it and the Australian Broadcasting Commission (ABC). Nevertheless this paper argues that she underestimated his ability and his status.

Sir Henry Wood, arguably the most important British conductor of the period between 1900-1940, came to a different conclusion in his 1938 book *My Life of Music*.

Edgar L. Bainton is a composer who should have taken a more prominent position than he has. I thought so well of his [tone-poem] 'Pompilia'...I have often met Bainton at Newcastle-on-Tyne where he was Principal of the School of Music (Wood 1938: 174).

Bainton had two major orchestral works selected and published by the Carnegie Trust – his choral symphony *Before Sunrise* and his *Concerto Fantasia* for Piano and Orchestra. His music appears six times in lists of new works performed at the Proms in London between 1903 and 1937 (Wood 1938: appendix). Although he was not in the same ranking as Elgar, Vaughan Williams and Walton, his place in British music as composer was not insubstantial. The trouble was, moving to Australia removed him from the close music network of Britain and, after 1934, he was relatively forgotten there. For Covell, that was not a sufficient sacrifice to merit more than the following in his book:

Dr Edgar L. Bainton...is not a sufficiently distinctive composer to require a claim from Australia...Bainton's more ambitious music, such as the symphony in C minor he wrote in Australia, shows a complete familiarity with the styles of Elgar (as in some of the passages for strings and barking trombones) and with the pastoral reflectiveness of utterance characteristic of a school of English composers; and to these he added a certain modest, woodland grace of his own (Covell 1967: 144).

In fact, he was probably the right person for the job. David Tunley, a student of Bainton, wrote:

The versatility of Bainton's musicianship brings to mind the best qualities of the 17th and 18th century Kapellmeister. Composer, performer, conductor, teacher – in short, a master of his craft and, like so many of these admirable men who upheld the standards of their art, Bainton enriched the repertoire of music without in any way altering the course of its development (Tunley 1963: 55).

Bainton's most important works are, arguably, the ones he wrote in Australia which is why Covell's comments seem so unfair. The one-movement Symphony No.2 in D minor was

composed during the late 1930s, and includes reference to birdsong that he heard at Bundanon while trekking (his principal form of recreation). The work was performed in Sydney in 1941 under the composer's direction and later recorded for broadcasting by the ABC. The British recording company Chandos released a recent digital recording of this work which confirms it as the finest Australian-based symphony of its era in terms of its command of thematic material, its scoring and its sense of continuity.

Bainton's opera *The Pearl Tree* was composed and produced at the New South Wales Conservatorium (more commonly known as the NSW Con) during 1944 and was awarded a glowing review in the *Sydney Morning Herald* by Neville Cardus (best known as critic for the *Manchester Guardian* who was resident in Australia throughout the war years):

Dr Bainton's score is spontaneously and sensitively composed. I would not risk saying off-hand that any opera by an Englishman since Delius is more continuously poetic in texture than "The Pearl Tree"...All in all, this was probably one of the richest and most potential seeds ever sown for the future of music in this country (*Sydney Morning Herald*, 1944, news clipping held in the Bainton Collection, Mitchell Library).

Bainton was vastly overshadowed by his successor at the NSW Con, Eugene Goossens, who commenced his reign there in 1947. Nevertheless, Bainton continued to compose, teach and examine, and was one of the three-member Australian jury of the Commonwealth Jubilee Composers competition. His last work, the four movement Symphony No.3 in C minor, was composed between 1952 and 1956 and only completed weeks before his relatively sudden death at Point Piper beach in Sydney. Although the idiom of the work really belongs to the world of Bax and Walton of the 1930s, it is far more advanced and accomplished in its musical language than the contemporaneous local symphonies of Hughes and Douglas. The symphony is large, of almost 40 minutes duration, and was premiered in Sydney during the 1957 subscriber series of concerts by the Sydney Symphony Orchestra, and then recorded. Owing to the score being held by the ABC in Sydney, the work never received a performance in Britain. In 2008, the Bainton Society in Britain financed the first digital recording of the work by Dutton recordings and the music received strong reviews. Sadly, the existence of this CD is not widely known in Australia, but my references to it in a

research paper from 2004 (McNeill 2004) are quoted in the record notes. Once again, the music demonstrates that Covell's assessment of Bainton was underdone.

Eugene Goossens (1892-1962) is often considered to be the major architect behind the rise of Australian orchestras and composition during the second half of the 20th century. In many ways this is a fair assessment given Goossens's ability as a conductor. As a composer, Goossens wrote in a more hard-edged idiom than Bainton (although he had the same teacher, he was influenced by Sergei Prokofiev and Igor Stravinsky through his first hand experience of directing their music), but the superiority of his music to that of Bainton is not immediately evident to the listener. Prior to arriving in Australia, Goossens had composed two symphonies for the Cincinnati Symphony Orchestra in 1940 and 1944 respectively, as he was resident in the US for most of the period from 1923 to 1947. Both these works were performed in Sydney during the first few seasons of Goossens's tenure (Sametz 1994) (The only recordings of these works currently available are, curiously, Australian ones). His stature as conductor of the Sydney Symphony Orchestra was a major factor in creating an unsurpassed demand for subscription concerts. By 1950, every concert in the major series was given three to four times to cater for the demand.

Another major contributing factor to this demand was the immigration of non-British European people to Australia, both immediately prior to the Second World War, and after 1946 – especially Jewish refugees. These people were familiar with high culture in their home countries and formed a network of concert-goers, concert entrepreneurs and music critics who backed the recent formation of full symphony orchestras in every state of Australia during the late 1940s.

However, despite the glamour of Goossens's time in Sydney, it is arguable that his teaching was influential or that his compositions had impact on local composers. Sixty years on, Bainton's music compares strongly with that of Goossens and, given Goossens's notably shorter stay in Australia – 9 years against 22 – suggesting the Australian claim to Bainton should be stronger.

In summary, Ives, Marshall-Hall, Hart and Bainton made strong contributions to Australian symphonic repertoire that deserve to be recognised because their mark on Australian musical life was actually stronger here than elsewhere. Their status as British immigrant composers, however, has unfairly stained their reputation and the estimate of their relevance here. From our standpoint of

2010 it is easy to dismiss them as British rather than Australian, but prior to World War 2, Australian people still regarded themselves as 'outriders of the Empire'. British-born and trained professors and conductors were considered essential to lead the relatively new tertiary music institutions. They have tended to be dismissed or resented as part of a 'reverse cultural cringe'. When one inspects the music, however, it is hard to avoid the conclusion that they composed most of the best symphonic music on offer in Australia at that time. In the past 15 years, Bainton's reputation has been reviewed positively in Britain as one of the unfairly 'forgotten' composers – probably due to the shifts in musical fashion that have occurred as a result of post-modernism. It is time that Australian scholars, did the same.

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Researching People Beyond the State: A Preliminary Study of German Expatriates in Hong Kong and Governance Performance

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Abstract

This paper provides some preliminary findings of ongoing research about German ‘expatriates’. Specifically, it offers some initial insights into the demographic profile of the German migrant population in Hong Kong and a generic discussion about their concerns and needs in terms of the German government. The paper draws on the author’s recent fieldwork research conducted in Hong Kong, including survey-questioning and interviewing. The paper begins with a few introductory remarks concerning the current state of, particularly, German migration research and an outline of the questions framing this paper as arising from the preceding considerations. This is followed by a short introduction of the materials and data collection methods behind the paper. The paper continues by presenting an early overview of the size and composition of the German expatriate population in Hong Kong. It then delves into some governance issues pertaining to them. A concluding section sums up the most important findings of this research to date.

Keywords

Composition, expatriates, Germany, governance, Hong Kong, migration research, profile

GERMANY AND PEOPLE BEYOND THE STATE

‘People beyond the state’—that is, persons residing in a country other than the one of their birth for varying reasons and periods of time—constitute a distinctive phenomenon in events of the present day. However, while the human movements behind such circumstances seem to be ‘more geographically extensive than the great global migrations of the modern [i.e., preceding] era’, they still appear to remain ‘on balance slightly *less* intensive [i.e., numerous]’ (Held et. al. 1999: 326, *italics* added in Brubaker 2005: 9).¹ Yet, one could argue that

¹ Today it is generally agreed that the total number of persons worldwide residing outside their country of birth for more than 12 months ‘is most likely in excess of 200 million’ (IOM 2008: 2). Some observers cite their number at around 230 million (see Esman 2009). While this total represents some

these social phenomena matter more today than ever before, not only because of their widening reach and greater immediacy, but also because of the enhanced acceleration and increased frequency with which they occur² and because of the aggregate impact of those factors on individual identity and collective organisational conflicts that can be linked to the movement of people across international borders.

Researching people beyond the state is specifically important because it firstly shows how distant components of a nation state’s society think about issues related to their belonging and security in the context of increasing human interactions worldwide. It also reveals the ability of state polities to address the needs of associated populations located outside their sovereign territory by taking into account the concerns held by the core community with a view to a similar set of questions. And, finally, it helps to define principles and forms of governance that are capable of dealing with the varying demands of these populations and their overall well-being, and to draw more general outlooks about human socialisation and especially about the role of states in such circumstances.

Academic research, to date, has dealt with people beyond the state and related issues largely in terms of ‘non-privileged migrants’ from developing countries; only fairly recently, has attention been shifted to include more ‘affluent movers from Western societies’ (Fechter 2007: 53), and such other analytic categories as ‘diaspora’ (see Cohen 2008;

two and a half times the figure of 76 million in 1960 (see IOM 2005: 379), it is still about the same percentage in terms of the world’s overall population—namely about 3 per cent—and apparently no more than in earlier times.

² A closer look at current developments in the field of more short-term movements and/or stays may underline this argument. It shows that the number of tourist arrivals worldwide has risen to a remarkable 850 million in 2006—up from around 440 million in 1990, and only 25 million in 1950 (see Wearing et. al. 2010: 3; IOM 2008: 129).

Safran 2005, 1991) and ‘transnationalism’ (see Pries 2008; Glick Schiller et. al. 1992). Since then, new criticism has emerged about these notions deeming them to be insufficient in comprehensively describing all migrants’ experiences (see Brubaker 2005; Castles & Miller 2003: 30). In addition, some Western countries, such as the Federal Republic of Germany (hereafter Germany), have remained relatively neglected in terms of both generic and, especially, more detailed academic research efforts (Sauer & Ette 2007: 5). So far, only limited statistical information has become available about the numbers, compositions, destinations, motivations and durations of German ventures abroad (see Dumont & Lemaître 2005; StBA 2009; Sauer & Ette 2007). Moreover, only a few researchers have delved very deeply into such issues as the evolving identities, attitudes and living conditions of specifically-located German communities and their individuals, such as in Indonesia, Singapore and England (see Fechter 2007; Meier 2009, 2006), not to mention their security and governance concerns or needs. Thus, there are several themes that generally await deeper academic study (see McMillen 2007).

This paper is framed by the author’s wider and ongoing doctoral research project at the University of Southern Queensland, Australia, which aims to address some of the themes and issues mentioned above. It is an early attempt to present a few initial impressions and insights drawn from data primarily generated by the author’s most-recent fieldwork research about German ‘expatriates’ (expats) in the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region (HKSAR) of the People’s Republic of China (PRC) as well as preliminary archival-documentary investigations of available information sources.

For the purpose of this research, German expats are defined as both German citizens and persons of another nationality with significant ties to Germany who have ventured beyond the German state on a longer-term basis—that is, for periods of approximately one year.³ The concept of ‘expatriation’ has been employed in the project congruent with renewed scholarly interest (see Fechter 2007; McMillen 2007) in this well-known idea and its possible discriminatory power (see Cohen 1977), and to examine if the term can stand the test as an alternative theoretical framework to inclusively capture the diverse life-styles, conditions and attitudes of people beyond the state. While the present paper does not delve into this discussion in great depth, the limited purpose here is to focus on two of the many

questions of concern in the overall research project, namely:

- What is the demographic profile of German expats in the HKSAR?
- What are some of the governance issues noted by German expats in the HKSAR?

RESEARCH AND DISCUSSION CONTEXT

The materials on which this paper is based have been drawn from data primarily generated by the author through survey-questionnaires, in-depth interviews and informal conversations. Information also has been collected through some expert interviews with persons having a significant connection to the German population in the HKSAR and a few extended dialogues with members of the respective expat group that also included a short visit to, and observation of, their actual living conditions and views in this particular environment.

Most of these activities were implemented as part of the author’s research within a conventional fieldwork site and during a personal visit he undertook to the HKSAR from 1 May to 11 July 2010. Some research, however, took on the form of what the anthropologist Louisa Schein (2000: 26) has called ‘secondary or “armchair” fieldwork and was conducted from places outside the HKSAR both prior to and after the author’s visit to that specific site.

Therefore, a first round of short survey-questionnaires was administered by the author from outside the HKSAR over a four-week period between 22 March and 18 April 2010. It targeted members of the German expat population residing in the designated site and was designed to generate initial profile data that was also utilised for subsequent interviewee selection. This questionnaire was distributed by e-mail through a number of relevant research facilitators. These facilitators were comprised of both individual actors as well as groups, primarily based in the HKSAR, but also included some in Germany (and a few in other Chinese places having a connection to the selected site), and were either of partially or entirely of German background, or had a completely different nationality but maintained significant ties to the targeted expat population. They were related to government bodies, public institutions, private businesses, cultural associations or other societal organisations. Completed questionnaires were returned directly to the author.

³ This is similar to the official definition of a long-term migrant by the United Nations (1998: 13).

The in-depth interviews (as well as the expert interviews, the extended dialogues and most of the informal conversations) began after the author's arrival in the HKSAR and lasted throughout his stay there. During this period, as additional research facilitators became identified and available, some further rounds of short survey questionnaires were distributed by the author and were to be completed within four weeks by the participants. Responses were then applied to the continuing interview candidate selection process aimed at identifying people of most-different social backgrounds and based on such criteria as gender, age, occupation, duration of stay, and attitudes towards the German government.

In addition, two sets of more comprehensive survey questionnaires were designed and administered by the author. The first of these was distributed amongst initial informants and given to those participants who had engaged in the short survey questionnaire and agreed to further involvement. The other was offered to new participants following the closure of the short survey questionnaire and after final interviews had taken place. The latter survey was made available for participation for some twelve weeks until late September 2010. While comprehensive surveys of the first set could be passed on to initial participants directly by the author, questionnaires of the second set were again distributed by research facilitators.

Of the 78 respondents who became involved in the research through the several rounds of short surveys administered by the author, 74 or some 95 percent were identified as German expats according to the above-definition.⁴ This represents a reasonable response rate of some 2-4 percent given the estimated total of German expats in the HKSAR, officially said to number some 2000-3000 persons (Nieberg 2010, pers. comm. with the German Consulate-General in the HKSAR, 22 April).⁵ In addition, an overall number of 26 in-depth and 3 expert interviews, as well as 2 extended dialogues, were conducted by the author in the HKSAR, while the numbers of returned comprehensive survey questionnaires totalled 36 at the time of writing.⁶

⁴ Note that for reasons of examining the threshold for long-term expatriation, respondents with duration of stay in the HKSAR of 7-12 month have been included in the analysis.

⁵ It may be noted that, as the ultimate gross population which finally became involved in the survey remains unknown since mediating through research facilitators and snowballing is nearly untraceable, the actual sample could be higher.

⁶ Note that there may still come in some further completed surveys over the next few weeks as participants mail their responses by post.

Given the limitations of this paper and the ongoing process of data analysis, the material presented in the following sections especially relates to the short survey questionnaires and some transcribed interviews. Therefore, these findings must be considered only as preliminary. In addition, it should be noted that the author only has had the time to calculate the frequency of results, and as yet has not been able to run cross-tabulations and computer-based analyses—which will be done in the near future.

PRELIMINARY PROFILE DATA OF GERMAN EXPATS IN THE HKSAR

The demographic profile of the German expat group in the HKSAR—as presented here—has been drawn from the short survey data and obtained from the best available interview material reviewed to the present date. Accordingly, nearly all respondents were exclusively German citizens (93 percent). Just a few persons reported holding an additional citizenship to that of Germany and/or citizenships of a completely different nationality (7 percent). While only two respondents stated holding HKSAR and PRC-citizenships respectively (note that the HKSAR citizenship was alongside a German one), some longer-term venturers detailed in personal communication with the author that they had obtained HKSAR permanent residency status in addition to their German citizenship. This condition is granted by the HKSAR government after seven years of continuous stay in its jurisdiction. It includes an unlimited permit to stay and enables people of different nationalities to participate in communal politics and elections, if they wish. When long-term German citizens were asked in dialogues if they would consider taking up HKSAR-citizenship, nearly all respondents had refused to do so. Even those interviewees who strongly identified themselves with the HKSAR rejected such an option by referring to the fact that they therefore would have to give up their German citizenship demurred because of concerns regarding the “uncertain political status” of the HKSAR in relation to an “undemocratic China” and “possible limitations of basic rights” (especially relating to the freedom of movement). This, and further data provided below, concerning the duration of German venturers to the HKSAR indicates that this group of expats has only temporarily settled in this location. This, however, does not necessarily mean that they intend to permanently return to Germany, as will be shown.

The vast majority of respondents were born in Germany (93 percent). Other reported

countries of birth included Belgium, Brazil, China and the HKSAR, respectively. While females constituted 46 percent of the German expats who completed the short surveys, males comprised 54 percent. These gender numbers are basically in line with recent official data on German emigration streams which noted that males have held a share of 53-59 percent of the total group departing from Germany since 1990 (Sauer & Ette 2007: 40).

Seventy-six percent of respondents reported being married or were living with a partner. Twenty-four percent stated that they were living in the HKSAR as singles. The predominant age group among respondents was 31-45 years of age (55 percent), but another significant group was the 46-65 aged persons (31 percent). It can be proposed that these age groups constitute families and individual persons who are most likely to have completed their education and established an employment or career path. The latter group may especially include couples whose children are already grown up, thus providing such parents with the opportunity for desired and possibly fairly uncomplicated experience abroad as far as daily family responsibilities are concerned. This aspect was noted in some frequent responses of interviewees when they were asked about the reasons and circumstances of their departure from Germany. Persons who have spent most of their work career abroad and have now been sent to the HKSAR by their companies also may be a feature. For them, as with many others, a concern about not finding appropriately challenging or financially rewarding positions in Germany (as compared to those in the HKSAR) seems to be a major driving factor.

A closer look at the occupations of respondents may support this view. Fifty-one percent of the respondents reported working for an employer in the public or private sector and ones of German, local or international background. Some 20 percent stated that they either had their own company or business (usually of smaller size), were engaged in a joint-venture, or were self-employed. For this group, the business-friendly environment of the HKSAR and the simplicity and non-bureaucratic ways of establishing business there appears particularly attractive. The conservative Heritage Foundation, a US-based think tank, regards the HKSAR as the purest market-economy worldwide and its income and company taxes remain the lowest in the world. Ten percent of respondents reported being either students/trainees or pensioners. This data indicates that the HKSAR is only of fair importance in terms of education and is not a major destination for retirement and permanent stays. Nineteen percent of

respondents stated that they were housewives or housemen, either currently unemployed, seeking employment or working on a part-time basis. During the interviews it became clear that many expats who initially came to the HKSAR accompanying their spouses/partners and bringing along their children have, over time, begun to engage in some form of work. This is made possible there due to the local housekeeping system, involving a considerable number of 'maids' from across Southeast Asia. For other working German women, this system played a major role in the decision of whether or not the family should move to the HKSAR or to another location abroad. An additional interesting finding in this regard is that housemen have started to organise themselves into groups that are similar to the classical spouse and women-groups. An international association called 'Home Alone Dads' was identified by the author.

Nevertheless, data concerning the duration of respondents' length of stay indicates that a fair proportion of German expats tend to stay in the HKSAR on a rather long-term basis. Accordingly, 28 percent reported to have lived in this locality for more than 10 years which is far beyond the normal periods of corporate deployment to places abroad (which varies between 2-8 years). Further information drawn from interview dialogues suggests that a considerable proportion of this group becomes involved in relationships with local partners that determine they should remain and switch their work contract from expat deployment (in a pure technical sense) to local conditions. The author also was told by interviewees that they knew a fair number of people who had temporarily come to the HKSAR as employees and had quit their job upon their return to Germany only to move back again (or elsewhere) to establish their own business for the reasons mentioned above. Others returned to find work with a local or international company or simply because they enjoyed the frequently cited "convenient life" of the HKSAR. Some older interviewees had lived in the HKSAR or elsewhere for many years of their lives and stated that they either would not have the money to repatriate/relocate to Germany or were afraid of not again finding work there, considering their age. They expressed an intention either to stay in the HKSAR or to move on to some other place else in Asia where living costs are low enough for them to afford a comfortable lifestyle.

As indicated above, these circumstances raise particular questions concerning official assumptions that Germans who have lived abroad for various periods will sooner or later return to Germany (Sauer & Ette 2007: 71-72). They also blur common notions of temporary

migration that imply back-and-forth movements of people as pertaining to a particular place. As the preceding preliminary discussion about German expats in the HKSAR has shown, movements of people to certain places may be limited, but not necessarily involve a return to their country of origin, which raises questions about conventional conceptions of temporary migration.

SOME SUGGESTIVE GOVERNANCE ISSUES CONCERNING GERMAN EXPATS IN THE HKSAR

A major concern of the author's overall research project is to explore issues related to the governance of German expats and especially the role of the German state in these circumstances. Such questions are considered crucial in the face of heightened social interactions worldwide and the resulting needs and concerns not only of a country's core and distant populations, but also in terms of the latter's respective host environments. The short surveys already sought some initial data in this regard. Thus, respondents were asked whether or not they thought that the German government recognises and sets policies relevant to its expat population in the HKSAR. A number of sub-questions addressed particular issue areas, such as those related to citizenship and voting. While a majority of respondents (32 percent) disagreed or strongly disagreed with the German government's practices of citizenship, only 4 percent indicated their complete satisfaction regarding these matters, though another 16 percent showed principal agreement. Specific problems in this regard concerned citizenship and visa regulations as pertaining to non-German partners. For example, interviewees repeatedly expressed their unease about the difficulties of obtaining long-term visas or citizenship for their long-married non-German partners. In addition, anger was expressed about the treatment of non-German partners in Consular matters, as in the case of visa applications. Interviewees here pointed to instances of avowed "racism", especially in dealings with local Consular staff.

While a majority of respondents (40 percent) agreed or strongly agreed that the German government's policies concerning the voting-system applicable to expats was reasonable, it is notable that 61 percent did not participate in a recent election pertaining to Germany. Reasons drawn from interviews were not limited to disinterest in German affairs, but especially expanded to include concerns about the complexity of the voting-system and poor performance by both German Federal and state

governments in alerting citizens about an upcoming election. As one interviewee noted as view of the most-recent Federal election in Germany: "There was only one advertisement in the *South China Morning Post*—if one missed that, one would most-likely also miss the election if not constantly following up with the news."

In a similar vein, as for the provision of information by the German government about the administrative consequences of venturing abroad—including electoral issues—there seems to be room for considerable improvement according to respondents. Hence, a notable 76 percent either disagreed or strongly disagreed when asked whether the information policies in this regard were adequate.

Governance issues that were deemed to be managed well by the German government included the protection of citizens abroad, in this case in the HKSAR. A majority of 54 percent expressed their agreement when asked this question.

While there was a widespread perception among respondents (53 percent) that the German government does not really value its citizenry abroad, 41 percent also think that it should care more about matters related to them and their families (even though 43 percent did not think similarly). Among the most cited proposals for action, was the establishment of a central institution at Federal level in Germany that could provide information and services to the country's population abroad. Particular worries concerned both highly specific questions related to expats' inclusion and rights in the social welfare system as well as other rather minor issues, such as those regarding the treatment of drivers' licenses and their renewal.

CONCLUSION

This paper has outlined a preliminary profile of the German expat population in the HKSAR and has pointed to a number of governance issues particularly related to them—and perhaps also to Germans elsewhere. Among the most interesting findings at this stage of the data analysis is the circumstance that nearly all respondents still held and wanted to retain their German citizenship, even though they did not necessarily intend to return to Germany. In this context, it is also notable that many expats simply do not know what their next destinations will be and therefore wish for an institution at German Federal state-level that could assist them in various respects concerning matters related to their country of origin. If a further review of the

research findings confirms that German elections inadequately, promoted abroad, this could be an important issue area that needs to be addressed by the German government in the future.

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A Pacific migrant experience: A case study on the impact of alcohol on migrant Niuean men to Auckland, New Zealand

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Abstract

The Niuean population has been migrating to New Zealand for well over sixty years. The migration shift to New Zealand has depopulated the population of Niue to an extent that there are more Niueans living in New Zealand than Niue. Over 22,000 live in New Zealand compared with 1,500 people in Niue. Auckland has a Niuean population of 17,667 (Statistics New Zealand 2006).

Little is known about how Niuean men use alcohol. Although anecdotal evidence suggests that Niuean men tend to drink heavily, few empirical studies have examined alcohol-related behaviours and beliefs among Niuean men. This paper aims to examine how and why Niuean men living in Auckland drink alcohol and the impact of migration on their health, social, mental, and physical well-being. A sector model using four topics was used to interview participants. The model consisted of five topics: history of alcohol, migration to New Zealand, social and festive celebrations, gender and alcohol, alcohol abuse and dependency. A content and thematic analysis was used to analysis the data with multiple readings to determine key similarities and differences.

Alcohol has become integral to the culture of contemporary Niuean men. Historical and contemporary factors have influenced the way Niuean men use and view alcohol. The introduction of alcohol to Niue, the colonial influence, migration to New Zealand, cultural expectations, and contemporary New Zealand drinking styles all contribute to the drinking patterns of Niuean men living in Auckland. Heavy drinking styles that originated in Niue are prevalent among Niuean men in Auckland. Their stories about alcohol practices, uses, and beliefs form the basis of this presentation, coupled with participant observation, literature reviews, and community consultation.

Key words

Niue, Niuean migration, Alcohol patterns, Pacific, Cultural expectations,

INTRODUCTION

This paper aims to discuss the impact of alcohol for migrant Niue men living in Auckland, New Zealand. This paper explores how heavy alcohol consumption by men was reinforced after migrating to New Zealand. The transition from living in Niue (with low alcohol access) to a new sociocultural

environment (with greater access to alcohol) has influenced the way Niuean men consume alcohol. This paper suggests that alcohol consumption was a significant part of men's first experiences when they arrived in New Zealand. Men were enthusiastic that alcohol was not restricted in New Zealand and they were influenced by the New Zealand drinking culture.

PACIFIC MIGRATION TO NEW ZEALAND

Pacific people have been in New Zealand for more than 100 years. Many Pacific people migrated to New Zealand to seek a better lifestyle for their children and extended family. Fairbairn-Dunlop and Makisi (2003) describe the stories of Pacific people who migrated to New Zealand, with male and female contributing writers aged between 30 and 40 years (9 from Samoa, 2 from Tonga, 3 from the Cook Islands, 1 from Niue, 1 from Tokelau, and 1 from the Solomon Islands). Fairbairn-Dunlop and Makisi suggest that a number of young Pacific males migrated for schooling and employment in New Zealand prior to the 1960s. These young men encouraged other family members to join them in New Zealand for a better lifestyle. Husbands migrated first to find employment and then save enough money to send for their children and wife. Many Pacific people lived with their relatives before establishing a home for themselves.

In the 1960s and 1970s there was a rapid increase in the number of Pacific people migrating to New Zealand. This was due to the demand for industrial production in New Zealand. Many Pacific people were recruited to fill gaps in the New Zealand labour market. Auckland had an abundance of employment opportunities for Pacific peoples. Many worked in low paid manual jobs and worked long hours. Many Pacific people were not able to communicate in English nor were they able to read or write. A number of people who migrated at this time found living in an urban environment difficult, as they had lived in

rural centres prior to migrating to New Zealand.

From the late 1970s, the Pacific community became well established in New Zealand, with many different Pacific cultures represented. A number of Pacific people gained tertiary qualifications. The Pacific Islands Presbyterian Church was no longer the only church for Pacific people, as different ethnic groups established their own churches such as Samoan Congregational Christian Churches.

The 1980s and 1990s saw a decline in the New Zealand economy. Many Pacific migrants were affected by price freezes, high interest rates, restructuring and the stock market crash (Fairbairn-Dunlop & Makisi 2003: 35). Many Pacific men were made redundant and were not able to gain employment without formal qualifications. This led to an increase in employment among Pacific women, as the struggle to support a large family became a burden. Poverty was frequent in Pacific homes, with family commitments, church obligations, and education costs. Some families lived in overcrowded conditions which created a number of health problems.

At this time there was also a 'backlash' against Pacific people, with some New Zealanders expressing the belief that Pacific Islanders were lazy and living on social welfare payments from the government. There were arguments that Pacific people should return to the Pacific Islands. During 'dawn raids' Pacific people who did not have a permit to remain in New Zealand were targeted as overstayers and their homes raided by the police.

THE IMPACT OF ALCOHOL AND MIGRATION

Matatumua's (1969) ethnographic thesis examined the attitudes and the impact of alcohol on migrant Samoans living in Dunedin, New Zealand. All 20 of the participants were men born and raised in Samoa and residing in Dunedin. The interviews were conducted in Samoan and participants were asked to talk about their upbringing, work, health, home situation, religion, recreation, and their attitudes towards alcohol. Matatumua outlines how Samoan migrants earned more money in New Zealand and could therefore afford to purchase alcohol. Alcohol had been limited in Samoa due to a 'points system.' On arriving in New Zealand many Samoans felt that they could drink as much as they liked without any restrictions. Matatumua suggests that migrant Samoans are more prone to consuming alcohol because it is the custom among their associates. There may

be peer pressure, so migrants drink in order to be accepted as 'one of them'.

Stanhope and Prior (1979) examined the quantity of alcohol consumed in Tokelau and the impact of migration to New Zealand. They conducted a longitudinal survey of health and disease among Tokelau people in Tokelau and in New Zealand. Nine hundred and seventy-four people participated in Tokelau between 1968-1971 and 807 people participated in 1976. They were asked about their current and previous drinking status and how much beer, wine, and spirits they consumed per week or month. In New Zealand, the same survey was conducted with 356 Tokelauans in 1967-1970, 1034 people in 1972-1974, and 1177 people in 1975-1977.

Stanhope and Prior (1979) found that, compared with females, males consumed more alcohol both in Tokelau and New Zealand. In Tokelau women did not admit drinking at all. However, Tokelau women did drink while living in New Zealand. The rate of female drinking increased from 2 percent in 1967-1970 to 5 percent 1975-1977. In New Zealand, 15-19 year old men were the heaviest drinkers, whereas 20-24 year old females were identified as the heaviest drinkers. Over the ten-year study period, heavy drinking increased from 2.2 percent to 3.8 percent of people in Tokelau and from 4.3 percent to 6.7 percent of Tokelauans in New Zealand. Most people in Tokelau consumed toddy or imported alcohol. In New Zealand, beer was the preferred beverage, although by the 1975-1979 surveys Tokelauans had started to drink spirits and wine. Overall, the findings suggested that alcohol consumption was increasing during this period, although some men also stopped drinking as they got older. This research is now 25 years old. The study was developed from a medical perspective and the authors did not discuss the implications in any depth.

Wessen et al. (1982) stated Tokelau migrants who came to New Zealand had a number of lifestyle and dietary changes. Coconuts, breadfruits and fish were replaced by bread, potatoes and cheaper cuts of meat. The prevalence of drinking also increased. The prevalence of drinking in Tokelau was constrained for a number of reasons such as the lack of availability, the high costs of alcoholic beverages and the strong social and religious beliefs. When Tokelauans migrated to New Zealand, alcohol consumption increased. As Wessen et al. (1982) comments, 'social drinking has become woven into the fabric of the culture' (1982:310). In 1984, Wessen found that Tokelauans residing in Wellington tended to be infrequent social drinkers. Thirty percent of Tokelauan men and 8 percent of

women reported drinking on more than one day per week. Nineteen percent of the men drank more than two days a week. Of those who drank, 64 percent of men preferred to consume beer. Seventy percent of women and 12 percent of men preferred spirits. Wine was not a popular beverage, preferred by only 11 percent of women and 4 percent of men. When Tokelauns consumed alcohol around 60 percent of the men drank heavily.

Tokelauans in the Alcohol Advisory Council of New Zealand (1997b) study indicated that migration provided opportunities such as employment, education, and better lifestyles. Tokelauans worked in manual jobs such as factories and building sites where they were influenced by European and Maori workers' drinking behaviours. Tokelauan men spoke about using alcohol to fit in and adapt to the New Zealand culture. They also used alcohol to reinforce their own identity and sense of community: 'For men, drinking together and telling stories of their homeland and families helped to draw them together, broke down the competition between atolls and helped lessen feelings of homesickness and isolation' (Alcohol Advisory Council of New Zealand 1997b: 4).

METHODS

Qualitative face-to-face interviews were used. The interviews were audiotaped and took between 45 minutes to 2 hours. Field notes were also used. A sector model using four topics was used to interview participants. The model consisted of five topics: history of alcohol, migration to New Zealand, social and festive celebrations, gender and alcohol, alcohol abuse and dependency. A content and thematic analysis was used to analysis the data with multiple readings to determine key similarities and differences. Ethical approval was approved by the University of Auckland Human Participant Ethics committee.

PARTICIPANTS

Thirty-two Niuean men born in Niue and Auckland participated in interviews for this research. Their ages ranged between 18 and 80 years. Their occupations varied from secondary students, university students, office workers, factory workers, church ministers, pensioners, and unemployed individuals. Half were Niuean born and the other half were born in New Zealand. All of the Niuean born men said they came to New Zealand for a better lifestyle and Niuean was their first language. They had migrated to New Zealand at an average age of twenty. Some of these men had not visited Niue since they came to New Zealand. Others had been back to Niue once or

twice. All of the New Zealand born men were born and raised in Auckland. English was their first language.

RESULTS: NIUEAN MIGRATION AND ALCOHOL USE

The mass exodus of Niuean migrants to New Zealand started the depopulation of Niue as early as the 1940s. Migration has been influenced by push and pull factors. Push factors motivate people to leave the island of Niue. A lack of employment, land tenure problems, political problems, and slow economic development led Niueans to seek a better lifestyle so they moved to large metropolitan countries such as New Zealand (Kingi 1996; Nosa 1995; Talagi 1991). In 1974 Niue became self-governing (independent). The people of Niue became New Zealand citizens, which further increased migration.

Pull factors are the conditions and resources which attract people to settle in other countries such as education, employment, and a better lifestyle. Some of the men interviewed said that access to alcohol was a 'pull factor' that influenced them to migrate to New Zealand. Similarly, Stanhope and Prior (1979) comment on how access to tobacco and alcohol was important in the Tokelau migrant experience. The Niuean writer Talagi (1991) suggests that one of the pull factors to migrate to New Zealand was for recreational activities such as the cinemas and pubs. McDonald's (1973) work also supports the idea that one of the reasons for migrating from Niue to New Zealand involved alcohol.

Individual freedom from traditional and communal activities, the relative excitement of urban life, alcohol and films, and the supposed lack of hardship, had appeared attractive while still on the Island (McDonald 1973:19).

Some Niuean men migrated to New Zealand partly to consume alcohol. The older men interviewed stated that they were restricted in obtaining alcohol in Niue. They felt that they were not able to purchase alcohol in Niue because of their status within the community. Men who were seen drinking in public or even had an odour of alcohol on their breath could be arrested and put in prison for three months. These men were tired of being arrested. They wanted to migrate to a place where they could consume alcohol and not be arrested for having a drink. For instance, one older man stated that he came to New Zealand solely for

the purpose of consuming alcohol. He felt that he was restricted by not working in a high status job and therefore access to alcohol was limited.

Hoko mai ke he motu nei koe Niue sila. Fiafia loga fiafia to lahi e fiafia he inu e kava. [I arrived here in (New Zealand) and I am so happy that I can consume alcohol] (Niue born man, 50 yrs, pers. comm.)¹

When the men arrived in New Zealand alcohol consumption increased. For some the frustrations of not being able to drink in Niue encouraged them to consume large quantities of alcohol, to drink more often, and on more occasions in New Zealand where there were no restrictions.

Migrating to Auckland in the 1940-1970s

From the 1940s onwards, large numbers of Niueans began to arrive in New Zealand. They travelled on boats and then later on aeroplanes. Some of the people who migrated were young teenaged men. Another group were fathers who had young families. These men were able to find jobs and save money to bring other members of their family to New Zealand. The most desirable place to migrate and settle was Auckland. This was due to job opportunities and the presence of extended family members who had already settled. Men lived with extended family members until they got established.

Some of the older men spoke about their first experiences when they arrived in Auckland. One man, who arrived in the 1950s, spoke about how friendly the Niuean people were. They were helpful, they looked out for one another, and they provided financial support. People already settled in Auckland arranged jobs for those who had recently migrated. There were plenty of job opportunities.

I came here in 1954 and there were not many Niueans in New Zealand at that time. I think there was 500 Niueans in Auckland at that time here. The Niuean people were very friendly amongst themselves. They were very

friendly and helpful. They helped one another. When they arrived here they looked out for one another. They take them to get a job. There were a lot of jobs in those days. They were not short of jobs. They would take you in and then give you money for you to get by when you first arrive here. They were very good and they were very kind (Niue born man, 64 yrs, pers. comm.).

Generosity and kinship are important cultural obligations for many Niueans. The older Niuean men spoke about their first experiences with alcohol when they arrived in New Zealand and how their relatives used alcohol as part of the welcoming process. For example, many visitors were (and continue to be) greeted by being taken out to sample the nightlife. This involves alcohol consumption in bars and nightclubs. Home parties are also popular.

When I came to New Zealand I found alcohol was like a big thing. It was the sort of thing you look forward to especially when my brother rings and says I will come and pick you up and we will go on a pub crawl (Niue born man, 48 yrs, pers. comm.).

Another participant who was born in New Zealand spoke about how his father had arrived in New Zealand to further his education. However, his father's decision to remain in New Zealand was influenced by the availability of entertainment and alcohol.

When my father came to New Zealand he came here for a six-month secondary school scholarship. His first place where his relatives took him was the old Gluepot in Ponsonby and once he saw the Gluepot in Ponsonby, he did not want to go back to Niue since he was able to drink as much as he could without any restrictions (New Zealand born man, 26 yrs, pers. comm.).

Another man spoke about how alcohol became integrated into his day to day life. He arrived in New Zealand in 1970 as a single man. He found employment and started to consume alcohol with his work colleagues every payday. This man felt that drinking was part of the New Zealand culture. In order not to feel left out, he participated in these drinking sessions. He stated:

¹ All interviews referred to in this paper were undertaken between 1998-2004. However, as there is a possibility that these men may be identified, and due to confidentiality being a major concern for the researcher and among the Niue/Pacific communities in New Zealand, the year and date of each interview is not included in this paper.

When I came to New Zealand it was 1970. New Zealand was a very strange place I had heard a lot of stories about New Zealand, Auckland a lot of bright lights and a lot of partying and so on I felt strange. When I was working with my employer in town I got mixed up with some good guys. We then started having Friday night regular drinks you know drinking down in the pubs and it becomes a habit. You are still young you know you want to go along with the culture then because you don't want to be left out so drinking started every Friday especially pay week you head down to the tavern and that becomes a regular event you are doing at that time (Niue born man, 52 yrs, pers. comm.).

1940s - 1960s: 6 o'clock swill

The 6 o'clock swill emerged when hotel bars closed at 6pm. Workers would converge on the pub and drink as much as they could before the pubs closed. The 6pm closing time was introduced as a temporary measure around the time of World War I, largely to stop soldiers at training camps between heading into town for heavy alcohol consumption. This also meant that men took part in heavy binge drinking. After finishing work at 5pm, men would attend the pubs and consume as much alcohol as they could until closing time at 6pm. New Zealand historian Keith Sinclair described 6 o'clock swill as 'the most barbarous drinking custom in the world' (Watkin 2003).

The interviews suggest that the 6 o'clock swill influenced the drinking styles of Niuean men, encouraging them to drink large quantities of alcohol in camaraderie with other men. Six o'clock swills were major social occasions where large amounts of alcohol would be consumed during a short period.

The 6 o'clock swill the pubs were opened from 4-6 and then it was jam packed in those pubs because nothing else was opened after 6 o'clock. That's what they use to call it because there was a swell of people, like a wave, like a wave of people coming into a bar and drinking as much as they can hard and fast. It use to be a social event going to the pub, some talk and you know from an European perspective for our people it was more of an acceptance and was doing what the New Zealanders do (Niue born man, 57 yrs, pers. comm.).

After work I go for a little beer. In those days it was 6 o'clock closing so after work about 5 o'clock we rush to the station hotel in Auckland city and try an' get there about half an hour and have a couple of drinks and it started from there (Niue born, 61 yrs, pers. comm.).

In 1967 hotel and pub drinking was extended until 10pm, and binge drinking declined. From 1967 onwards the tradition of binge drinking continued in big beer barns and rugby clubs. Around this same period many New Zealanders who had visited overseas and experienced the European model of drinking in moderation and including wine with food began to establish an alternative perspective on alcohol consumption. This may have changed many New Zealander's drinking styles, but many Niuean men continued to follow the principle of drinking large quantities with the aim of becoming intoxicated.

1970s - 1980s: Drinking at pubs

From the 1970s, access to alcohol became more liberalised with alcohol advertising, the reduction of the drinking age, increase in youth drinking, and alcohol use among women and the elderly. There was also a continuing emphasis on high alcohol consumption amongst certain groups especially young men and young women. All of these components of New Zealand society influenced the way Niuean migrants and their families consumed alcohol. The media in the 1970s and 1980s became an important way of promoting alcohol consumption in New Zealand. Advertising may have reinforced the importance of drinking for Niuean men. For example one man spoke about his experience with alcohol in the 1970s when there was an increase of advertising for alcohol at entertainment venues such as movie theatres.

By the [19]70s or the mid [19]70s they started showing alcohol on the intermission at the movies. Every time we went to the movies at the intermissions intervals was about advertising alcohol. The way the media portrayed alcohol had a lot to do with it as well (Niue born man, 61 yrs, pers. comm.).

In the 1970s and 1980s alcohol regulations became more liberalised in New Zealand and alcohol was more freely available. Some of the Niuean men spoke about their experiences of drinking at pubs when they arrived in Auckland during the 1970s and 1980s. They

would congregate at the pub after work or during the weekends. There were specific pubs where men from the same villages in Niue drank together. Drinking with members from the same villages may have offered social solidarity amongst these men. Family support structures may have also been renewed and established within these drinking environments. The pubs were seen as a place where men were able to communicate in Niuean and enjoy each other's company. The pub may also have been used as a place where Niuean men drank for the purpose of coping with anxiety and stress related to adapting to a new city.

The New Caledonian was a Niuean pub where the Liku's, Avatele's and Alofi's drank and the Mutalau's used to drink at the Family and Naval bar. It was a village interrelation. Later on back in the [19]80s as it got on the more Niueans started to congregate together in the pubs. Yeah it was sort of a meeting place because we had no club rooms you know for the older ones it was the Schooner tavern the older ones who had been drinking for a long time some of the men here since 1947 even earlier than that you would see them down at the Britomart which would be open at 7 o'clock in the morning and would close at 5 o'clock in the afternoon (Niue born man, 61 yrs, pers. comm.).

One man suggested that Niuean men who worked together often drank together at a particular pub. For example, the Schooner Pub was located near the wharf and the railways. A lack of transport to other pubs may have influenced these men to attend the closest pub. For some of these men the pub was close to their work premises and it was easier to walk to at lunchtimes and after work. Some of these men had a strong ethos of working hard and 'playing hard' (or drinking hard) whilst in Niue. This may have been reinforced by the New Zealand working class culture of working hard and drinking hard.

The Schooner was the closest pub to the wharf you get the ones that work hard and they drink hard which is from the wharfs. Especially the ones who worked at the railways they always drank hard. They connected and everybody knew everybody in Niue (Niue born man, 45 yrs, pers. comm.).

Niuean men used pubs to bond with other men in a new country and share their experiences. They were also able to support each other with family issues, employment, and accommodation problems. If someone did not have a job then other Niuean men would help them look for a job within their own work places. Some Niuean men may have become homesick and turned to other Niuean men for social support. Pacific people often found it difficult to adapt to a new country (Fairbairn-Dunlop & Makisi 2003). For families who had lived in rural villages, the shift to the city had a number of challenges, including more people, highly urbanised housing, bigger buildings, more entertainment facilities and a larger commercialised area. Some Pacific people may have struggled to cope with the high demands of living in the New Zealand environment.

Since the pubs were male dominated, Niuean men were also able to forge new relationships with other men. They became acquainted with men from other cultures. Communicating in English may have also been practised in the pubs, leading to new friendships. Niuean men became more aware of the way they expressed and presented themselves in the public domain. Pubs also allowed Niuean men to express their masculinity. In the 1970s and 1980s pubs were male dominated arenas. Men could talk freely about women, sex, and sport. Swearing was also acceptable. In some cases, Niuean men were introduced to drinking games such as sculling and these activities continue in Niuean men's contemporary drinking styles.

1990s - 2000s: POST MIGRATION PERIOD

Changes in the advertising and promotion of liquor may also have contributed to the drinking patterns of Niuean men living in Auckland. For example, the late 1980s and 1990s saw the deregulation of broadcast advertising in New Zealand. There was a focus on brand advertising where 'the idea in simple terms, was to gain customers for life by branding the product as a "lifestyle choice"'. Alcohol was not just another product but a "lifestyle choice" and a natural part of our daily life' (Alcohol Advisory Council of New Zealand 2003:1).

By the late 1990s there were further changes to alcohol rules, including allowing alcohol to be sold in supermarkets and reducing the legal minimum purchasing age from 20 to 18 years. This led to increased alcohol consumption in New Zealand, with young people binge drinking large amounts of alcohol at each drinking session (Alcohol Advisory Council of

New Zealand 2003:1). These changes in alcohol availability and access may also have contributed to the way Niuean men consume alcohol

From the late 1990s, Pacific males became more educated. This meant that some Niuean men were able to move into middle class jobs, which in turn provided more income to purchase alcohol. Some of these men were influenced by the drinking patterns of their work colleagues. Drinking commonly took place after work at a pub or with 'happy hour' drinks at work (where an employer would provide free drinks on a Friday afternoon for the workers). Wanting to fit in with New Zealand's heavy binge drinking culture may have encouraged some of these Niuean men to consume large amounts of alcohol.

In the interviews most of the Niuean men saw alcohol as part of the New Zealand culture and they wanted to fit into this culture. An older person commented that alcohol consumption is as much a part of the New Zealand culture as having a barbecue.

Alcohol plays a major part at peoples' party. You have to have alcohol there. It's just way of life you know when you have a barbecue and any social events such as hair cuttings. Even if you have a birthday party alcohol is always there. Parties are just another way to have alcohol (Niue born man, 45 yrs, pers. comm.).

DISCUSSION

Participants suggested that when they arrived in New Zealand alcohol consumption tended to increase. This was because they had greater access to alcohol, were earning more money, and were able to get rid of the 'frustrations' of not being able to drink in Niue. Often men would be encouraged to drink from the time they first arrived in New Zealand. For instance, relatives would take new arrivals to the pub to have a drink or they would offer them alcohol within their homes. This may have been a hospitality gesture, as being generous is part of 'being Niuean.' On the other hand, alcohol may have also been used for integrating the new arrivals and getting them used to the New Zealand drinking culture. Some informants indicated alcohol may also have been used to cope with the anxiety and stress of a new lifestyle.

Some of the Niuean men's drinking patterns were influenced by New Zealand drinking culture. New Zealand culture was built by migrants who 'worked hard and drank hard.'

The sailors, traders, and convicts introduced alcohol to New Zealand and there were no restrictions on early liquor licenses. This allowed a number of drinking venues to open, creating a culture where large amounts of alcohol would be consumed.

Up until the 1970s, pubs closed at 6pm in New Zealand, leading to the term '6 o'clock swill' as people rushed to consume alcohol before the pubs closed. Niuean men participated fully in this culture. They would finish work at 5pm and converge on pubs to consume as much alcohol as they could before closing time. Heavy binge drinking was encouraged by the early closing hours of drinking environments.

Alcohol consumption is an important part of New Zealand life. The stereotyped traditional New Zealand culture revolves around 'rugby, racing and alcohol consumption'. Most of the Niuean men interviewed saw alcohol as part of the New Zealand culture. The men felt that drinking is a common and accepted practice in New Zealand and wanted to be part of this.

Niuean men's drinking may have been influenced by other broad trends in New Zealand society. For instance, there has been an increase in alcohol advertising and in media portrayals of drinking. These environmental factors may have influenced the drinking patterns of Niuean men. If new immigrants see drinking as a normal and acceptable part of the culture, they may wish to do this for enjoyment, relaxation and to 'fit in'.

In summary this paper identifies alcohol is an integral part of the lives of Niuean men living in Auckland, New Zealand and that a number of changes have occurred since migration. Alcohol awareness strategies are urgently needed. Detailed examinations of how the Niuean population could best be educated about alcohol issues would be fruitful. We need to focus on programmes that may be effective for Niuean people. We also need to examine how to incorporate these programmes into Niuean community groups, churches, and youth groups. There may be a lack of alcohol education awareness programmes by health providers outlining the effects and impact of alcohol consumption. As highlighted, older Niuean men's drinking behaviours is heavily influenced by the New Zealand binge drinking culture. Education programmes might usefully target Niuean teenagers since they are more prone to risky behaviour while drinking and often consume large amounts of alcohol.

The church is an important part of the Niuean community. The church could potentially implement strategies to reduce drinking and alcohol related problems. This potential needs further investigation. The church may also

have a more explicit role to play in changing values towards alcohol in the Niuean community as a large proportion of Niueans attend church.

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Changing culture, changing practice: Securing a sense of self

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Abstract

Entering new landscapes is a current day phenomenon with recurring migration flows across national borders. Teachers who shift between cultures, languages and education landscapes require resilience and persistence to navigate changing circumstances as they seek acceptance among current space inhabitants.

Crafting a balance between the old and familiar in new places with new faces in a new culture of work is a complex task. Those who make such transitions must bridge the gulf between the workplace practices left behind and those accepted in the new environment. As they navigate new ways of doing and seeking acceptance they are crafting a new workplace identity. In educational workplaces colleagues born overseas may feel threatened by our Anglo-Australian culture and ethics of work, our relationships and the language we use. Such problems are exacerbated for those whose first language is other than English. The need for migrant teachers to unlearn their previous perceptions of professional and make huge cultural leaps to adapt to local standards indicates failure on the part of institutions and colleagues to value their prior knowledge and skills. Pressures to adapt confuse migrant teachers' perception of being professional.

This paper draws on a study of female overseas born teachers who recalled their transitions to the culture of work in the education system in Victoria. Using interviews, focus group discussions and journal entries the study exposed the teachers' sense of loss, anxiety and emotional insecurity. The words of three women exemplify their determination to gain recognition, satisfaction and sense of professional wellbeing. They reveal the need to support other such teachers and for more inclusive policies that explicitly welcome their bicultural and bilingual competence.

Keywords

Migrant, women, teachers, education, workplace, professional wellbeing, transitions

LANDSCAPES OF CHANGE

Entering new cultural landscapes

As we moved between languages and cultures, the cultural, educational and

language strangeness we experienced was complicated by the fact that the cultures from both landscapes were changing rapidly (He 2002:301).

The migrant's journey is one of departing, crafting, becoming, changing and forever seeking. He (2002) likens it to exploring new opportunities in an ongoing search for meaning. Moving between cultural landscapes where language and traditions differ is no easy feat. Those who cross boundaries to enter unfamiliar environments feel cut off and alone. They are vulnerable to hostility from members of the dominant cultural group whose social traits and ways-of-doing oppose the migrant's tradition (Kostogriz & Peeler 2004). Entering new workplace traditions they walk the hyphen (Fine 1994) between past and present, old and new. They require resilience, persistence and courage to navigate their changed circumstances as they re-establish themselves professionally.

The paper addresses issues faced by a group of migrant women who shifted between languages, cultures and systems of knowledge to teach in schools in Victoria, Australia. It identifies difficulties they faced, their strategies to cope and faith in the skills they could offer. Though the teachers came from diverse ethnic backgrounds, teaching experience and systems of knowledge each found ways to translate their understanding of teaching to comply with local convention. Despite trauma and insecurity each found strength to draw on her cultural knowledge and had courage to maintain her ethnic identity and use it to her advantage.

Educational landscape

In Victorian educational environments, migrant teachers have remained a minority group. Although forty years ago Minister Thompson idealised that all students would achieve 'full development of their spiritual, mental, physical and creative powers ... regardless of colour, class, race or creed' and anticipated 'true equality of educational purpose' (1970:4,5), the needs of migrant

teachers were not apparently addressed. Today we continue to question the success of such goals as school communities become increasingly multicultural and ponder the situation of migrant teachers who have continually struggled for workplace equity. As newcomers they have been caught between cultures, educational policies and subjected to a barrage of negative forces and implied racist attitudes (Kostogriz & Peeler 2004; Santoro, Reid & Kamler 2001; Viète, 1999). Their extreme insecurity impacts on their sense of self worth and professional efficacy (Peeler & Jane 2005). Cochrane-Smith (2000) warns of nonchalance among policy makers and curriculum designers, and their blindness to the dilemmas of migrant groups. She identifies the trauma of their upheaval and their struggles to adapt to the practices of locally educated and longer serving colleagues. Despite qualifications and experience in their countries of origin migrant teachers face pressure to become 'more like the majority', forgo old values and replace them with new (Kamler, Reid & Santoro 1999:67). Although they are keen to comply they are positioned marginally (Kostogriz & Peeler 2004) and professionally isolated (Santoro et al. 2001). In their new environments difference is perceived as deficit (Arber 1996) and their skills and experience are undervalued (Inglis & Philips 1995; ABS 2003).

The experiences of Kim, Nina and Young Mi illustrate how migrant teachers in Victorian educational landscapes navigated change in order to uphold their aspirations and attain a sense of professional well-being. Kim from Vietnam and Young Mi from Korea were both teachers of Science while Nina from Armenia was a teacher of Maths. Kim had taught for just three months before her refugee experience began in 1980 and Young Mi who arrived in Australia in 1997 as an international student had taught for three years in secondary schools. Nina arrived in Australia in 1994 having taught upper secondary and university levels. Neither Kim nor Nina spoke English on arrival and Young Mi's spoken English was not strong. Each teacher had passion to teach but was required to complete additional training in Australia.

The discussion between Kim and Nina typifies the courage of migrant women to pursue their aspirations to teach. On arrival in Melbourne Kim worked in a factory and learnt English at night. She became an assistant at a language school while she completed a Graduate Diploma and then a Masters in Teaching English as a Second Language (TESOL).

Kim: I came here as a refugee person with nothing [...]

Nina: And you had nothing to lose.

Kim: [...] I had nothing to lose even though I've got the overseas qualification [...] I came here and then started again and I put a lot of effort into what I've achieved now. (Kim & Nina 2002, pers. comm., October 1).

Kim described the austerity of classrooms in Vietnam;

you're not allowed to talk in the classroom you know [...] so before you go to the classroom there's supposed to be silence, not making noises (Kim 2002, pers. comm., April 3).

Young Mi recalled the hierarchical system in Korea;

In Korea they're hierarchy of teachers and students so like students always follow and respect their teachers. But in Australia there's not this kind of relationship so I feel like I don't know what I have to do, like what I have to cope with this kind of situation (Young Mi 2001, pers. comm., October 1).

Making adjustments to the local culture of work Nina reflected on the process.

recognising and exploring a new language, new words, new country and just re-establishing everything you had there here too
 you win respect for your self too
 not only from others
 it's respect for yourself too
 [its] really rewarding
 to just being given that opportunity to win that respect
 it's not assumed because you look different
 because you speak differently
 it's not assumed that respect
 because you are winning that respect every time
 in your new workplace and your study place or whatever (Nina 2002, pers. comm., November 12).

YOUNG MI'S STORY

Problems Young Mi encountered in her first year teaching Korean as a Language Other Than English (LOTE) at a regional secondary college were typical of those facing migrant teachers. Newly qualified with a Masters in LOTE from a university in Melbourne, Young Mi felt on top of the world when she received a twelve-month contract. In retrospect she realised she was unprepared for the culture of

secondary schooling and attitudes in the school community towards a young Asian female who taught a 'low priority subject'. Young Mi confronted different professional ethics and social conventions in her regional school. She was unfamiliar with the use of first names among colleagues rather than formal titles, and idiomatic language in conversation used during work breaks (Hawthorne 1994:123). Younger and older teachers formed social groups and she belonged to neither. Differences acted like borders between knowing and not knowing between herself as a newcomer and colleagues who belonged to the dominant social group (Kostogriz 2002) and sub-cultural groups in her school. Unable to find common ground to reach accord led to despondency, a common occurrence among the migrant teachers, who began to ask 'Why bother?' (Duff & Horne 1997)

Teaching in Korea, Young Mi recalled, 'everybody respect teacher'. There 'I have no problem' but teaching in a Victorian country school is 'quite difficult, it's more tough' (Young Mi 2002, pers. comm., December 8). Not long into her first term she began to doubt her teaching ability and despite local qualifications and positive practicum results she realised her 'first time to teach as a teacher is like facing a wall' (Young Mi 2001, pers. comm., December 8). Young Mi's school was in 'an Anglican dominant area' that exposed her to 'that kind of culture', 'Australian students' attitude' and 'classroom environment' (Young Mi 2001, pers. comm., December 8). Korean LOTE was considered the 'lowest interesting subject' and she recalled teaching classes where 'students don't listen - [they] play games and throw paper planes' (Young Mi 2001, pers. comm., December 8).

Young Mi was unfamiliar with the informal language used in the school. She was distressed by colleagues' impatience and inclination to abandon her in conversation. Passing in the corridor she remembered, 'I just say hello ... but they didn't even be polite, respond to my hello (laugh)' (Young Mi 2001, pers. comm., December 8). However, 'some teachers were very kind' Young Mi recalled and 'some very strict' but 'they [all] treat me as a child' (Young Mi 2001, pers. comm., December 8). She continually felt as though they were 'watching me, then they assess me, instead of helping me'. She recalled one of her colleagues who 'always complained about my class' so began to sit at the back of the room to maintain discipline (Young Mi 2001, pers. comm., December 8). Students were disinterested in learning Korean and did not respond to Young Mi's efforts. Her inability to understand the culture of teaching and learning left her open to criticism and her professional

behaviour was placed under scrutiny. Young Mi's esteem faded completely. Divorced from her Korean community she felt 'alien'. Though less than a decade has passed, the regional community now has greater cultural diversity. She had found it 'quite difficult to experience Korean, Asian culture' until she met an older Korean couple who offered support (Young Mi 2001, pers. comm., December 8). They had no knowledge of teaching so offered emotional rather than practical help,

but, psychologically they just like make me very warm ...
sometimes I was very weak and like after praying ...
then I feel like I can do again
we just talk in Korean ...
we feel like more safe to chat in Korean
(Young Mi 2001, pers. comm., December 8)

NINA'S STORY

Ideally in any workplace community inhabitants interact harmoniously, tolerating difference and valuing diversity. Such ideals are appropriate in Victoria's multicultural school communities where twenty-five per cent of students come from language backgrounds other than English. Despite migrant teachers' bicultural and bilingual skills they are an underestimated resource; instead they are perceived in a negative light. Migrant teachers find it easier to engage positively in multicultural school environments (Viete 1996) or working with international students who have shared their anxieties and hold comparable ways of thinking, motivation and work ethic (McAllister & Jordan 2000).

Nina identified her cultural identity as an asset in her multicultural workplace. She knew that teaching was in her blood but was tentative about teaching in Australia. She reflected, 'you don't have sufficient English to comfortably enter a classroom of 26 students who are normally unmotivated' (Nina 2002, pers. comm., July 4). Unsure of herself, Nina began teaching Computer Technology in the Technical and Further Education (TAFE) sector. As many teachers do when the subject is unfamiliar she began to 'teach myself, and then teach the students' (Nina 2002, pers. comm., July 4). The experience boosted her self-confidence but she regretted not utilising her Mathematics skills, 'I'm not using it, I'm sort of losing a very big subject' (Nina 2002, pers. comm., July 4). She was aware that Computers and Maths 'have their own language; they are not so language specific' as other subjects. While she recognised the

advantage of this and maintained a positive attitude to teaching, she remained conscious of her accent.

I do have that accent
that I will never lose
and my poor students have to cope ...
that's the fact I can't change
let's try to concentrate on things which
I can change ...
I will be a good teacher
I will try to do my best to teach them
Maths (Nina 2002, pers. comm.,
October 1)

Returning to teach Maths in a private secondary college, Nina taught highly motivated international students. She explained, 'it's a very demanding class,' because 'everyone wants to achieve their best' (Nina 2002, pers. comm., October 1). Discipline was not an issue as her students aimed to succeed. Nina understood their thinking, language difficulties and 'anxiety when they don't know a particular word' (Nina 2002, pers. comm., July 4). She recognised that now 'they were taught in a different culture ... with different methods' (Nina 2002, pers. comm., July 4). Working alongside other overseas born teachers it was 'like the whole of Australia, it's very multicultural' (2002, pers. comm. 4th July). She appreciated how other Armenian teachers had supported her in the past so now it was her turn to support other Armenian migrants to establish themselves. Nina realised 'you are not alone in your own world' (Nina 2002, pers. comm., July 4).

When Nina arrived in Australia she could only imagine becoming a teacher.

I thought myself I would never become
a teacher in Australia
how could I stand in front of the
classroom speaking English
explaining the lesson, so I gave that
idea away ...
I know that at the age of 23
I would have to start from the
beginning
I was thinking maybe I should get into
an ABC class to study English (Nina
2002, pers. comm., July 4).

In Victoria, the Department of Education (DOE) requires teachers to have appropriate qualifications, knowledge of schooling and standard of English, as student success was a key concern (Kalantzis, Cope, Noble & Poynting 1990; Viète 1992, 1996, 1999). Teachers' language use should be sufficiently flexible to communicate effectively and convey knowledge and in broader social contexts however the variety of English,

whether American, Asian or European, affected the degree of acceptance or rejection (Corson 1993). Given the embrace of cultural and linguistic diversity (DOE 1997), the multicultural nature of classes in Victorian schools and migrant teachers' bicultural and bilingual skills, this issue requires further debate. Ideally, school communities should be aware that language and culture are closely aligned (Crozet et al. 1999), and diversity and difference a valued resource (Kostogriz & Peeler 2004). Crozette et al. (1999: 4, 5) argue,

Without a linguistic experience of difference, a cultural experience of difference cannot reach the same depths. Difference is the central aspect of intercultural communication and such difference must be lived in communication.

McAllister and Jordan (2000) maintain that teachers from language backgrounds other than English understand the worldviews of ethnically diverse students than native English speakers. Their intercultural sensitivity enables them to support their students appropriately. In the era of globalisation Crozet et al. (1999: 6) argue the need for tolerance and understanding to cope with the 'manifold ways the nations and populations of the world [that] are becoming enmeshed in a single interconnected global system'. Here lies a dilemma, for while migrant teachers hone in to understand the culture of schooling and develop their English competence, they risk losing their own culture and language. Language loss is a dilemma according to hooks (1994: 168) who argues that standard English is 'the mask which hides the loss of so many tongues'. The conversation between Kim and Nina reveals their awareness of this.

Kim: It's much easier to use English
than to translate that in your language
that's why now I'm thinking I'm losing
Vietnamese because I speak English
every day
I teach English every day
I'm really real typical Vietnamese
but they say I speak funny Vietnamese
I speak Vietnamese with a funny accent
now

Nina: I speak three languages
and all the three languages I speak with
an accent
my English has a Russian accent
my Armenian has an English accent
and my Russian has Armenian
Caucasian accent
so I belong to the world
I don't have a proper language now
(Kim & Nina 2002, pers. comm.,
October 1).

KIM'S STORY

Competence is commonly used in education to mark ability levels. It conjures visions of tick the box lists of attainment but competence also denotes the literacies of social practice. This concept aligns to cultural models as defined by Gee (1999: 43) which are 'rooted in the practices of socioculturally defined groups and people'. Specific routines and traditions give meaning to the social and cultural practices, values and behaviours. To be fully operational in a particular context one must align one's self with the group's philosophies and emotionally embody its ideals. Gee's warning that adopting models appropriate to another group can cause one to pay the price of change was appropriate to the migrant teachers' classroom and linguistic experience.

Looking at the situation from a dominant cultural stance, one realises the difficulties involved in reversing one's inherent beliefs to view minority perspectives. Cochrane-Smith (2000) recalled with shame the power of whiteness and racist attitudes she unwittingly held. Taking a minority stance she realised the 'tension, contradiction, difficulty, pain, and failure' group members underwent (2000: 161). This raised awareness her of 'how we are positioned in terms of race and power vis-à-vis others has a great deal to do with how we see, what we see, and what we are not able to see' (Cochrane-Smith 2000: 161). In a similar vein Farrell (2000) urged one to orient self to a group's ethos and actually appropriate its beliefs and values in order to understand. However, Gee cautioned that embodying a group's ideals and behaviours, one pays the price of change (2000/2001). It is a fine line that divides one's decision to assimilate or maintain one's self identity (Wyn, Acker, & Richards 2000). As Fine (1994) argued, this was walking the hyphen.

Kim's story reveals tensions she experiences living and working in a new culture. Although she had completed teacher education courses and had taught for several years in Australia, she held firm to Vietnamese ethos. She lamented laxity in grading students in her language studies workplace, in contrast to Vietnam where 'we are more stricter with our grading and with our discipline in the classroom'. Kim believed 'we need to recognize our students hard work and their achievement. There was no value giving everybody the same piece of paper' (Kim 2002, pers. comm., October 1). She supported distinguishing high and low achievers to identify reward for effort. Students' lack of commitment caused conflict between Kim and her colleagues 'because I've got a different point of view and different thinking' (Kim

2002, pers. comm., November 9). Although they said, 'don't let it get you down', Kim responded,

I've learnt over the years not to take it personally
but I still feel like I was doing the right thing
I'm not really going to change my thinking
just to suit other people
You know you are here to teach them
to see that you pass the message on
pass on the knowledge
and you want them to carry the knowledge (2002, pers. comm., November 9).

Determined to gain recognition, satisfaction and sense of professional wellbeing Kim maintained her Vietnamese ethic of respect. She said, 'we show respect for people in the authority ... and in the family too' (Kim 2002, pers. comm., November 9). She emphasised her commitment, 'I had to adjust myself otherwise I can't get into the system ... I'm only making myself sick so if I don't adjust myself and especially in Australia ... where do I stand?' (Kim 2002, pers. comm., November 9). Despite this Kim did not, stating:

give up some of my strong thinking
(*laugh*)
or ideas but, yeah (*laugh*)
they're still there but they're not as strong as before (*laugh*)
they're probably falling off
falling into a black box (*laugh*)
I lock it up there (*laugh*) (2002, pers. comm., November 9)

After twenty-five years in Australia Kim held firm to Vietnamese ways, securing her traditions in her metaphorical black box. She admitted that adapting to a different tradition of teaching caused immense dissatisfaction. Like Nina, Kim looked ahead and saw new possibilities in the niche-teaching field of Information Technology, an area that her colleagues bypassed believing it was too difficult. Kim's black boxes signified loss while her purple pyjamas showed hope for migrant teachers such as herself to explore new possibilities. She discussed it with me.

Kim: I give up some of my strong thinking (*laugh*) or ideas (*laugh*)

Self: Are they still there, those ideas?

Kim: They're still there but they're not as strong as before
They're probably falling off, falling into a black box (*laugh*)
I lock it up there (*laugh*)

in ten years time I'll probably still be teaching ...
 I probably will see myself teaching full time
 otherwise I think I will drop it down to part time
 or even some of it could be online teacher
 a lot of people are saying about online teaching is good ...
 what they call 'learning in purple pyjamas' (2002, pers. comm., November 7).

REFLECTION

The process of becoming a teacher in a new educational culture is an evolving transformation, whether layer upon layer (Goodson & Cole 1993), as a continuum of growth (Quintero 1977; Seah & Bishop 2001) or a trajectory of development. As a minority group migrant teachers encounter tension between upholding their cultural identities and complying with pressures to adapt (Foster 1996; Kamler et al. 1999). The opportunity cost of accepting another's social norms caused '[o]nce familiar and comfortable ways of knowing, behaving, and communicating may seem strange and unenlightened, or become discontinued entirely' (Foster 1996: 216). In the face of such tension, migrant teachers must find ways to bridge the gulf between past and present, juxtaposing their own self-knowledge with another's social norms (Crozet et al. 1999). In the nexus of change they feel 'uprooted from each and not at home in any' (Sarup 1996: 11), struggling to cope with pressures to adjust to the dominant norms while attempting to maintain their own traditions (Bishop 1990).

Nina regarded her pathway to teaching in Australia as a 'journey of recovery and discovery' (2002, pers. comm., November 7). It began when she entered the profession in Armenia and continued in Australia where she spent a year learning English before completing a Diploma of Education. She reconstructed herself professionally to resume her career, recovered her status and created new possibilities to pursue. As Goodson and Cole (1993) describe, she underwent a time of adjustment while she reoriented herself and redefined her role. Nina took time to reflect, recover, move on and discover.

Though the migrant teachers' experiences varied Kim Nina and Young Mi were each uprooted from families and familiar practices. Nina's thoughts speak for the others as she reflected her on the process of change and of what she lost and what she gained.

I am more settled now [but] I'm homesick very, very often
 I feel a bit guilty I took my kids away from what they had there ...
 what they gained is most significant
 living in a safe and secure country
 having better education
 having conditions in terms of housing
 just generally the country and Western values
 but you always make your choices in life, don't you -
 you lose something, you gain something
 and make decisions before you come
 (Kim 2002, pers. comm., November 7).

While Kim, Nina and Young Mi moved between languages and cultures, as described by (He 2002), they were cultural, educational and language strangers. Though resilience and determination carried them through they gained from the growing ethnic complexity of Australia's population and increasing globalisation. In 2010, Young Mi's Asian appearance would no longer be isolated in the regional community, and teaching Korean at a Defence Academy in a nearby suburb she is highly regarded. Kim has crafted a unique niche, continues to teach adult migrants and offers professional development to all staff in the TAFE Institute. Nina has continued her career in her multicultural workplace and her passion to pass on Mathematical knowledge. Looking back on their journeys one must reflect upon Thompson's idealised 'equality in educational purpose' (1970: 4-5) and contemplate it in regard to migrant teachers. More recently Rizvi (1991: 166) argued the 'right of ethnic groups to maintain cultural identity; the promotion of equality of opportunity; and the need to ensure social cohesion'. These ideals must apply to Victoria's multicultural policy that aims to foster 'a sense of self-worth ... and optimism for the future ... in a socially cohesive and culturally rich society' (DETYA 1999). Offering migrant teachers possibilities to draw on their cultural knowledge to sensitively encourage positive learning of those they teach enhances their sense of self-worth and professional wellbeing.

Though the study of migrant women teachers was undertaken five years ago it is enlightening to educational workplaces today. It revealed lack of tolerance by colleagues, students, school community members and policy makers towards them and their ideals, and exposed blindness in the Australian community towards their skills and knowledge. Increased flows of international students have helped the cause of migrant teachers who share understanding and

empathy with other newcomers. While this paper has related to education, migrant women in other workplaces can be equally concerned for their cause when they are marked by difference. In the near future may the veils of blindness be lifted, and multicultural workplaces nationwide become harmonious landscapes of equity and respect.

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Negotiating locals in Britain: The relationship between asylum seekers and the local British community in East Anglia

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Abstract

This paper explores the ways in which asylum seekers negotiate their relationship with British locals, who form a majority white indigenous British population in the rural region of East Anglia. Asylum seekers were dispersed to the region from London by a government program where accommodation was more readily available, and access to services could be localised. However, the reception provided by locals was not always welcoming. Fuelled by the media, there was a general negative perception that asylum seekers were linked to terrorism, gang violence and welfare exploitation. This resulted in a fear of violence by asylum seekers and locals, from each other. This paper illustrates that it is very difficult for asylum seekers to engage with locals without 'giving weight to their cultural background or ethnic normative standards' (Fuglerud 1999:105), particularly for those identifiable as Muslim or of Iraqi origin. To locals then, an outsider has 'no social markers other than [their "otherness"] and the fact that they are understood to be "asylum seekers"' (Fuglerud 1999:105). In response, asylum seekers draw on a situational identity which may circumvent the asylum seeker aspect of their identity according to the context. This paper explores such identity reworking that is evident in the coping mechanisms of blending in and avoiding interactions with locals. These coping mechanisms, employed by asylum seekers, allow them to negotiate their interactions with locals.

Keywords

Asylum seekers, Britain, East Anglia, identity, local community, tensions

NEGOTIATING LOCALS IN BRITAIN

This paper is based on field work undertaken in 2002-2003 with asylum seekers, support organisations and locals in Norwich, Great Yarmouth and Peterborough, East Anglia, Britain. In this region, asylum seekers wait for their application for refugee status to be assessed by the Home Office amidst local insecurities about the potential threat of the 'other'. Such concerns were also experienced by asylum seekers who were wary of local responses fuelled by the media and the war in Iraq. However, these asylum seekers often arrived into East Anglia as part of a

government dispersal program rather than by choice. To some extent this heightened the feelings of animosity and camaraderie, both within and across the local and asylum seeker communities.

Over the past fifty years British Governments have provided refugee resettlement programs to Polish, Ugandan Asian, Chilean, Vietnamese, Bosnian and Kosovan refugees which have all been logistical exercises in redistributing refugee populations (Robinson et al. 2003a:121-180). Asylum seekers began arriving into East Anglia in the mid to late 1990s with Kosovan and Albanian asylum seekers. The London boroughs also borrowed the idea of population redistribution from the Government dispersal program. In November of 1997, over 40 asylum seekers were sent by the City of Westminster to Great Yarmouth, in East Anglia, in order to relieve the strain on services in this London borough (Norwich and Norfolk Racial Equality Council 1998).

Then, in 2000 the British Government, through NASS (National Asylum Support Service), initiated another dispersal program. Asylum seekers were dispersed to areas throughout England, including East Anglia, where accommodation was more readily available, and access to services could be localised (see Anie et al. 2005; Boswell 2001; Robinson et al. 2003b; Bloch 2000; Bloch & Schuster 2005; Griffiths et al. 2006; Griffiths et al. 2005; Hynes 2009; Schuster 2005; Zetter et al. 2005). Ultimately, this tactic aimed to reduce the strain on services in London. Many asylum seekers were dispersed to parts of the country which were not in close proximity to the supportive networks of their own ethnic communities. These asylum seekers were a diverse group of Iraqi, Iranian, Kenyan, Albanian, Guinea Bissau, Angolan, Armenian and Kosovan, Congolese, Lebanese, and Senegalese origin. So, the ethnic diversity of asylum seekers arriving into East Anglia meant that they did not have the numbers to form any substantial ethnic communities.

There are a number of additional factors that impacted on the context of asylum seeker arrivals into East Anglia. East Anglia is a rural

region of England containing a predominantly white Anglo-Saxon population. According to the 2001 census statistics the white population of Norwich is 96.8 per cent, with Great Yarmouth at 98.6 per cent (National Statistics 2003a), and Peterborough at 89.7 per cent (National Statistics 2003c). These areas are quite low in their ethnic populations in comparison to London which has a white population of 71.2 per cent (National Statistics 2003b).

Great Yarmouth is also characterised by significant deprivation – it is ranked the number one ‘hot spot’ of significant deprivation within Norfolk. When weighted against other towns ranked most deprived in their region, areas of Great Yarmouth rank in the top 10 per cent of most deprived in the national Index of Multiple Deprivation 2007, making the town one of England’s most economically deprived (Department of the Environment Transport and the Regions (DETR) 2000:31).

Additionally, the war in Iraq and the fear of terrorism brought the issue of immigration to the fore of public and media attention. Fears of violence threatened to disrupt attempts for a smooth integration of asylum seekers and refugees into the wider community. This is the context within which asylum seekers must negotiate their interactions with local members of the East Anglian community.

This paper draws on the experiences reported by 37 asylum seekers. Of these informants, eight are couples with children, while seven asylum seekers have children but have been either widowed or have lost contact with their partner. Fifteen of the 37 asylum seekers are single, having arrived in Britain independently. All of the asylum seekers in this study are aged between 18 and 35 and are at various points in the immigration process, from waiting for a decision to appealing against a negative decision. The majority of these asylum seekers had been smuggled into the country without the visa documents required. Participant observation was carried out at a drop-in centre for asylum seekers in the towns of Great Yarmouth and Peterborough, and in the local library and cafes of Norwich. Interviews were carried out at a later stage in informants’ homes in East Anglia as well as London. Many of the informants had been in Britain for at least three years, and had a good grasp of English. Often, these asylum seekers experience the severe loss of their immediate and extended families, as well as isolation from their communities and ethnic groups that are established in larger cities such as London.

This paper explores the ways in which fears of violence are experienced by asylum seekers and locals alike. However, more importantly, this paper identifies the ways in which asylum seekers have had to negotiate their relationship with local Britons. Namely, by attempting to blend in or avoiding interactions with locals.

MUTUAL FEARS OF VIOLENCE

During field work I was informed by locals of the perceived presence of ‘no-go areas’ or ghettos in Great Yarmouth that were controlled by large gangs of asylum seekers and refugees. I was warned to be careful because it was very dangerous and some locals asked me if I felt ‘frightened’ working with asylum seekers. Although these assertions were nothing more than rumours borne from fear generated by the media, political and nationalistic discourses and propelled by socioeconomic disadvantage, these types of questions and comments dominated the public rhetoric surrounding immigration in Britain.

Despite the fact that the input of asylum seekers in local conversations and mainstream media discussions went largely unheard, they were nonetheless prevalent amongst asylum seekers. These discussions often centred on the immigration system and fears for their future political status. However, there was a strong current of discussions from asylum seekers about the fear of violence and attacks by locals. One Congolese asylum seeker, Mr E, spoke of his Iraqi friend’s treatment by locals:

I mean, they [the locals] see the faces you see? [...] When they don't feel like you're different, they treat you alright. But where I was living, I was living with Iraqis. And when they see the Iraqis, they know that they are asylum seekers. For them Iraqis just means straight asylum seekers. So, they just do their best to get the Iraqis in trouble. Or, to make their life harder, you see [...] And I feel sorry for the guy because I know [...] how difficult it is (Mr E, 2003, pers. comm., 13 August).

As Mr E points out, for locals, that which is different is considered a threat. Iraqis bore the brunt of such perceptions of danger. The fear of terrorism in East Anglia meant that ‘foreigners’ were watched with caution, and frequently abused in the street. Iraqi men began to limit their time out in public as they were aware of the local unease and threats of violence. An Iraqi man described two attacks that a friend and he had experienced:

[...] a friend of mine was punched by a group of men. He was punched badly. I was attacked by a group of teenagers.

When the police finally came they said that they are only young. The teenagers were across the road shouting “yes it was us” and the police did nothing (Mr J, 2003, pers. comm., 13 August).

For recipients of violent attacks, such as Mr J, the perception that the police are complicit in such attacks further fuels a need to keep a low profile and to avoid the possibility of being targeted in the future. Indeed, Mr E, a Congolese asylum seeker, was aware of avoiding certain places and assured in the knowledge that the police would be unlikely to assist in the event that an attack took place:

There are areas in Peterborough where you don't go because you will be attacked. I am always aware that I might be attacked. There was a pregnant woman being harassed and had her windows broken. The police were called and arrived about eight hours later. In the end the priest from the church went to the station himself to complain (Mr E, 2003, pers. comm., 13 August).

Another asylum seeker, Mr A, a Kurdish Iraqi, located himself at the outskirts of local society for fear of retribution. At the same time he positioned locals as misinformed and also refers to police inaction as indifference:

A few weeks ago in all the newspapers and TV news it was about asylum seekers and how they could be terrorists. People believe this and then it creates problems. I have experience of this felt from local people who are very careful of me. I will not go [...] anywhere at night because people may get violent because they are afraid of who I might be. I feel this everyday (Mr A, 2003, pers. comm., 28 May).

Mr A had himself suffered a violent attack from locals. He had been walking out on the street when three people punched him, knocked him to the ground and then kicked him because, as he perceived it, he looked like a ‘foreigner’ (Mr A, 2003, pers. comm., 28 May).

These discussions above by asylum seekers highlights the rupture between their identity as people seeking safe haven, and an imposed identity, that of violent terrorist or ‘foreigner’, which identifies them as being a potential threat. Both asylum seeker and local are distanced from the ‘community’ aspect of each others identity and instead highlighted that which alienates, stigmatises and differentiates. Much of this imposed stigmatisation on others

is a response to a feeling of alienation and fear.

A police community liaison officer in Great Yarmouth conveyed to me that the local community was becoming increasingly concerned about the threat of terrorism. She told me that the impending war in Iraq was having very noticeable repercussions in Great Yarmouth:

I check the custody and crime records everyday and I'm surprised to see no Iraqis there. Usually there are Iraqis with driving offences [...] They're all keeping their heads down. I suppose I would react in the same way if I were living in Iraq, I would do the same [...] We've had a few calls from locals asking us how they would recognise a terrorist (Police Community Liaison Officer, 2003, pers. comm., 14 February).

She explained that the locals felt insecure and feared an imminent terrorist attack. And yet, at the same time, the Iraqis were beginning to feel fearful of the locals, to the point that they tended to go straight home after work rather than gathering to meet with friends in public locations.

SITUATIONAL IDENTITY

The questions remain: How do asylum seekers respond to the construction of themselves as a threat by the wider community? How do they transcend a fixed identity as prescribed by the majority British? In response to this external labelling and attitude, many asylum seekers employ coping mechanisms by shifting between aspects of their identity based on a hierarchy of need. Cohen calls this situational identity, whereby a person may embody ‘any one of a number of possible social identities, depending on the situation’ (1994:205). For example, in response to negative perceptions of asylum seekers in relation to alleged threats of terrorism, asylum seekers may emphasise another aspect of their identity which may be far removed from asylum seekerness.

Identity consists of several ‘axes of difference’ which form multiple rather than singular positionings (Gillespie 1995:11). Consequently, ‘differences are gendered and sexual, class based and regional, as well as ethnic and “racial”’ (Gillespie 1995:11). Hall’s discussion is useful here in understanding that identity is ‘not an essence but a positioning’ (1990:226), as differences ‘locate only to dislocate one another’ (Hall 1993a). This is exactly as Laclau argues: ‘every identity is dislocated insofar as it depends on an outside

which both denies that identity and provides its condition of possibility at the same time' (1990:39). It is through interactions with others that one is positioned and located through differences that simultaneously position and disrupt (Said 1978:7). Furthermore, within the space of disruption and ambiguity 'new spaces of contestation' are opened up, affecting 'a momentous shift in' relations (Hall 1993b:2).

The relationship between asylum seekers and locals can be correlated to Fuglerud's understanding of Tamils in the Norwegian community, in that it is very difficult for asylum seekers to engage with locals without drawing attention to their ethnic and cultural backgrounds (1999:105). To locals then, an outsider has 'no social markers other than [their "otherness"] and the fact that they are understood to be "asylum seekers"' (Fuglerud 1999:105). In a similar way to Malkki's description of Hutu refugees in the town setting of Kigoma, asylum seekers can also deny 'that they were' asylum seekers, 'a pose made credible (or at least hard to disprove) by the plurality of identities available in their complex urban context' (1995:156). While in the case of Norfolk the urban areas are not 'complex' and ethnicity is visually obvious, asylum seekers can nonetheless rely on other assumptions of labels such as 'migrant worker' or 'student'.

There are some situations, however, where an asylum seeker identity cannot be avoided. For some asylum seekers, this identity is the embodiment of difference that is experienced. As one Iraqi asylum seeker attending a course at college was starkly aware:

It was the students, you see, we were asylum seekers, you got no clothes, you got a lot of things missing, and you get to a class where they're alright, they feel okay, they are confident. You don't feel confident (Mr L, 2003, pers. comm., 13 August).

This comment is typical of an asylum seeker who feels distanced from the kind of identity that would prefer to engage with – one where acceptance and confidence prevail. Instead, there is an intense feeling of dislocation of the self from a stable and normalised environment. Thus, the asylum seekers constantly attempt to negotiate and contest their asylum seeker label despite the lived-reality that binds them during this liminal period. The interaction with locals is one of suspicion and difference. For example, Miss P, an asylum seeker from Angola, was starkly aware of this despite her efforts to move beyond the constraints of an asylum seeker identity:

The college wants me to be in their newspaper as someone because they say I am an asylum seeker who has achieved so much at college. I don't want to be known as an asylum seeker! They can say I'm a black woman, an African immigrant who is at college, but not an asylum seeker, innit! Why should they say that? (Miss P, 2003, pers. comm., 18 June)

Miss P was outraged that her success was attributed to her asylum seeker identity, rather than other aspects of her identity which she felt were more congruent to her sense of self. But in situational circumstances not all locals will recognise an asylum seeker or refugee.

There are two ways that asylum seekers can negotiate the perceptions of locals and thus the constraints of being an asylum seeker through social practices that are evident in their speech-acts. Firstly, by blending in and drawing on positive relationships with locals and avoiding disclosure of their asylum seeker identity. Secondly, by keeping a low profile and having little contact with locals.

BLENDING IN

Asylum seekers' engagement with the local community is something that can be tentative or embracing if the constraints of 'asylum seeker' cannot be concealed. One example of this is to immerse oneself into the local community. I was told with great enthusiasm by one young woman from Angola, Miss P, about how she takes pride in using the Norfolk greeting of 'You alright?' (Miss P, 2003, pers. comm., 17 February). She said that when she goes to London to get her hair styled, she likes to think of herself as a Great Yarmouth girl from Norfolk. Miss P said she likes to go to the pub with her (local) girlfriends and call out 'Alright?' to the boys and they will call back 'Alright, darl'n?' (Miss P, 2003, pers. comm., 17 February).

Such a tactic is what de Certeau refers to as a 'way of operating' in the space and 'terrain imposed' on the other (1984:xix,37). In which case such a 'tactic is an art of the weak', that is, an asylum seeker or refugee has to adapt to the situation and 'make do'. However, within the constraints of a place tactics may operate with some creativity to a degree (de Certeau 1984:37,30). Scott (1985) also points to the everyday forms of resistance, but in the context of peasant communities. He refers to such forms of resistance as 'weapons of the weak'. These are social tactics that operate in forms that, Scott argues, follow the 'line of least resistance' and that create a constant

dialogue between forms of resistance and their intent (1985:35,38).

Consequently, Miss P's tactic is, to use Voloshinov's words, 'dialogical in nature' (1986 [1929]:102). She is orientating herself to the cultural perspective of the locals through her very speech-act. Miss P's use of the expression 'Alright?' also strengthens her understanding of the local British identity. Miss P is aware of the significance of this greeting as a colloquial expression with working class origins. Thinking of herself as a 'Yarmouth girl' does two things. Firstly, it is a spoken expression of the embodiment of an identity that transcends an asylum seeking identity. Participation in this banter also emphasises her sexuality and allows for an acceptance into the local community that negates her refugeeness. Secondly, it localises an identity to a regional area and recognises a set of relations and meanings that are specially localised and unique, therefore reinforcing her identity when outside her local district. By participating in the banter and exchange of localised expressions, this makes her feel part of an in-group, and a local. Consequently, in her hierarchy of identities, drawing on Britishness over that of Angolan, African, or asylum seeker, is much more conducive to belonging to a British culture.

Mrs K is also exuberant about blending in with the locals and participating in local customs. She is actively involved with a local church group in Great Yarmouth. No one, except the church minister and his wife, are aware of her status of asylum seeker. I discovered this when I attended a birthday celebration at the church. One of the local churchgoers asked me how Mrs K and I had met. I said that we met at the 'gym', the asylum seekers' word for the drop-in centre run by the local refugee support organisation. Mrs K overheard me say this and I saw the flicker of concern cross her face that I may have revealed too much. Fortunately the churchgoer assumed my meaning of gym to be that of the local fitness centre. Later, ironically, the conversation happened to turn to the popular topic of 'asylum seekers', which led me to realise he had no knowledge of Mrs K's predicament. Later, I asked Mrs K if she tells anyone that she is an asylum seeker:

I don't think I say it if it's not necessary [...] I think it's comfortable to say I am, [when] I am among other asylum seekers or immigrants for that matter. That's the way I look at it. [...] People, all people are affected by immigration in one way or another, whether that it's a student here, or working permit, or asylum seeker, you're affected by immigration. So it's easier to understand that. So if it's not necessary,

no I don't. Unless maybe you work with asylum seekers then I will feel more comfortable to discuss that (Mrs K, 2003, pers. comm., 8 September).

Feeling 'comfortable' in any given situation is paramount to one's behaviour – it is about feeling at ease. Blending in is a tactic used by many asylum seekers. I noticed that, unlike in cities with larger populations of ethnic communities such as London, newcomers to Norwich and Great Yarmouth discard the clothes worn in their homeland and tend to wear similar clothing to the locals. So, in Norfolk, obvious differences which may distinguish a person as an asylum seeker are avoided. Incorporating the local clothing and dialect becomes another opportunity to attempt to blend in and remain inconspicuous. In doing so, an asylum seeker feels less *apart* from the local community, and begins to feel *a part* of the local community.

LOW PROFILE

However, for some asylum seekers avoiding interaction with locals is one way of avoiding stigmatisation. The external categorisation makes many asylum seekers sensitive to interactions, therefore causing them to limit and control such contact. As Fuglerud points out, 'It is when someone *has* to speak...that conflicts flare up' [his emphases] (1999:105). For example, when I asked Mrs F, an asylum seeker from Kosovo, if she thought that people in Great Yarmouth were friendly, she seemed to think that this was a silly question. She said it was the same anywhere. But when she elaborated, I realised that she was able to remain on good terms with locals by keeping a low profile:

I think that some friendly and some are not. But mostly friendly. Always I am quiet and smile and say "thank you", then there is no problem. Some refugees only want to make trouble. I no make trouble if I am quiet and smile and say only "please" and "thank you". I do not want trouble so I say, "no, sorry my English is not good", or "I no speak English" because I only want to say "hello, you alright?" and "goodbye" (Mrs F, 2003, pers. comm., 19 June).

One day, I observed Mrs F's behaviour to be distinctly altered when speaking to a Zimbabwean student from when she had been speaking with a local. I observed the local speaking in English, very slowly and carefully to Mrs F in a manner that emphasised her English as a marked point of difference. In response, Mrs F indicated that she could not understand what the local was saying and

avoided interacting. Later, I observed Mrs F chatting away very easily in English with the student, who even commented on her excellent use of English. Mrs F had no difficulty in understanding the student who spoke to her in a relaxed and casual manner, and yet she chose not to understand the local at all.

Consequently, Mrs F employs a low profile for the majority of the time when interacting with people who reinforce her asylum seeker identity through their communications with her. Her identity becomes situational, moving within a hierarchy of need depending on the particular way that she is communicatively approached. So, Mrs F's situational identity can be attributed to the perceived external concretisation of an asylum seeker identity (Cohen, 1994:205). A Kurdish Iraqi, Mr J, and a Congolese asylum seeker, Mr E, discussed the use of such labels:

Mr J: if you say that you are a refugee or an asylum seeker, they will treat you differently.

Mr E: Differently.

Mr J: Yeah, we either say we are you know like immigrating to here, or we are students. That's all. So we don't say "oh we have student visas", that's all.

Mr E: But people can be good. But, they'll be treating you like you were poor, and they'll always want to help you and stuff. I want to...

Mr J: ..which is quite annoying.

Mr E: It is annoying! Because I want to live normal, you know.

Mr J: Yeah.

(Mr E and Mr J, 2003, pers. comm., 13 August)

When attending a local college, calling oneself a 'student' is one way of avoiding the negative connotations and concretisation of the label 'asylum seeker'. Other people tend to avoid the label as much as possible when interacting with locals, and only communicate this identity with selected people. The example of the exchange highlights asylum seekers' efforts to either blend in or to keep a low profile work to avoid an asylum seeker label. Cohen points out that although it is 'relatively easy to change a religion or one's clothes', there are 'limits to the manipulative use of situational identity' (1994:205). Therefore, considering the context of the impending war in Iraq, the fear of terrorists by Britons and the impact of the media and the state, adjusting one's identity to fit the context holds a crucial purpose.

CONCLUSION

Identities are not entirely self-defined, but rather, are relational and dynamic. This is why the context of mutual fears is particularly interesting, because it heightens the degree of interactions and therefore tensions. It is because of this context that the speech-acts of asylum seekers are far more pronounced, with an air of insistence and urgency. Asylum seekers were the subject of much interest by locals in East Anglia and in Britain generally at the time of my fieldwork. As I have discussed, the war in Iraq and a fear of terrorists posing as asylum seekers greatly heightened negative attitudes toward asylum seekers. This must be understood as additional to the already contentious immigration debate taking place in Britain at the time. On the whole, these speech-acts, inciting moral panic and fear, are provoked by the media. As we have explored, asylum seekers assert the coping mechanism of situational identity within a hierarchy of need in order to manage these interactions. Depending on their circumstances, asylum seekers shift between aspects of their identity in an attempt to conceal their asylum seekerness. It is this strategy which allows them to negotiate their interactions with locals and to ensure that they maintain the ability to safely navigate this period of seeking asylum.

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Exploring transnational sentiment through embodied practices of music and migratory movement

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Abstract

This paper employs ethnographic material from an anthropology doctoral thesis that explores the relationships between music, place and embodiment in the context of transnational migratory movement. More specifically, the study brings place into focus through practices of migration and music as embodied practices. Phenomenological lenses assist in exploring how relationships between body and the social world are forged through music. The fieldwork for this study was conducted among migrants from a diversity of ethnic backgrounds in a major regional inland city. For these migrants, music links people and people to place. Employing Jackson's view of metaphor (1983), these migrants verbally articulate the unity of bodily being in the world in the recurring metaphorical correspondence between music and life. Such a correspondence articulates part-whole relations in the most frequent and recurring statement that 'music is part of life'. In this paper, I focus on migratory movement and music as occasioning reflection on habitual being involving transnational sentiments through emotional links to place. Persson's recent critique (2007) of Casey's phenomenological perspective (1993) in which the void occasions anxiety would appear to suggest space as a more appropriate concept, especially in consideration of the fluidity of migratory places. However, these migrants' metaphorical correspondence between music and life demonstrates the instrumentality of music, restoring unity to disruptions of habituated ways of being. Music and migration are mutually occasioning bodily practices of place, for which I argue that the principal emotion is desire. Taking Persson's work as a point of departure, and following Casey (1996), such practices entail a series of interconnected places, linking part and whole, autonomy and unity, isolation and connection and constraint and freedom.

Keywords

Place; embodiment; emotion; habit; migratory movement; music phenomenology; practice

INTRODUCTION

This paper explores connections between bodily affect and the social world, affective links which are forged through music in the context of transnational migratory movement. The way in which music links body to world provides the underpinning for an exploration of place, the broader focus of my anthropology

doctoral thesis. More specifically, it explores bodily being in the world in relation to music and migration as embodied practices. Such a focus hinges on the place related meanings of music among these migrants, particularly how music links people and people to place. This paper describes how emotion is entailed in articulating the relationships between body and the social world, especially in terms of migration occasioning reflection on habitual being. These emotional links to place involve bodily practices of music and migratory movement. Emotional connections forged through music in such situations of crisis are, for these migrants, means of linking into, improvising on, and transcending the constraints of the social world.

THE ETHNOGRAPHIC SETTING

The ethnographic material employed was gathered during twelve months of fieldwork in the regional city of Toowoomba, among migrants from a diversity of ethnic backgrounds. Toowoomba is the largest regional centre both of Queensland and Australia, with a population of a little over 90 000 people, approximately 10 per cent of whom were born in an overseas country, and an Indigenous population of about 3 per cent (Toowoomba.org 2008; ABS 2006). Current figures detail that the majority of the population of Toowoomba is Australian born, around half of the migrant population are from English speaking countries, while a majority of the non-English speaking migrants are from Northern European countries such as the Netherlands (Upham & Martin 2005: 6). The previous census registered a significant increase in overseas born arriving in Toowoomba for that census period, particularly people from African countries, owing the previous Federal Government's broadening of its regional settlement program (2005: 4).

Prompted by economic imperatives, the previous Federal Government expanded its regional settlement scheme, including a policy of dispersing migrants around the country to counter fears of creating a social and cultural divide between regional and major centres

(Carrington & Marshall 2008: 117&125-126). Toowoomba instituted a similar settlement policy, dispersing refugees throughout the city to counter fears that enclaves would emerge (Carrington & Marshall 2008: 125-126; Carrington et al. 2007: 121-122). The increased arrival of migrants under the scheme coincided with reports of racial conflict, settlement difficulties for some Muslims in what is a predominantly 'Christian city', and feelings of isolation, particularly for refugees (Carrington & Marshall 2008: 124-125; Upham & Martin 2005: 17). The migrants with whom I conducted the series of ethnographic conversations for this study came to Toowoomba at different times and from many different countries, which includes some of the countries of Africa, South-Asia and the Asia-Pacific, of Northern Europe, the Middle East, and North and South America.

MUSIC AS LIFE – BEING IN THE MUSICAL PLACE-WORLD

The main analytical focal point in my paper is these migrants' metaphorical correspondence between music and life. The analysis has involved employing Jackson's (1983) perspective of metaphor as giving verbal expression to the fundamental unity of body and world. According to Jackson, a metaphorical link that is normally taken for granted becomes instrumental in a crisis or 'double-bind' situation, resolving the tensions of social situations, and verbally articulating the potential to restore a sense of unified being (1983: 132-134 & 138). This process resolves tensions related to social situations attributed to bodily distress as it 'mediates transference from the area of greatest stress to a neutral area which is held to correspond with it' (Jackson 1983: 138). The most frequent and recurring statement regarding the importance of music is that 'music is part of life', suggesting a part/whole metaphorical relation between music and life. Jackson notes that the practice of forging relationships between parts and wholes implies that they are mutually occasioning influences (1983: 128 & 144n). For example, these migrants listen to and/or perform music to 'relax' or to relieve 'stress' in their everyday lives. Verbally articulated in such metaphorical correspondences between music and life is the body's habitual relationship to the world, a relationship for which music has the potential to restore in situations of crisis and double-bind.

It is the centralising of the body in forging connections between person and world that requires the use of phenomenological lenses. I have employed Casey's phenomenological account of place because it privileges the body-place relationship (1993; 1996; 1997:

202-242). Displacement is made problematic through a phenomenological focus on the ways in which these migrants' emotional relationships to music link them to place. Thomas regards the spatiality of migrant embodied experience to be significant on account of the fact that 'migrants are always in some sense "out of place"' (1998: 75). According to Casey, being out of place occasions profound anxiety (Casey 1993: ix-x). In response to this sense of estrangement, our inability to imagine 'no place at all' entails a simultaneous 'filling' of the void; in situations of impending placelessness, 'we resort to elaborate strategems to avoid the void' (1997; 3-22; 1993: ix-xi). There is a correspondence between the phenomenon of placelessness and its emotional indicators, such as homesickness (1993: x). However, due to scope, the specific concern here is that of place-related emotions that are entailed in filling the void. It is a process that can be summed up in the statement made by some of these migrants, that 'music makes me happy', thus involving responses which are integral to place's emotional power to move (Casey 1996: 23).

This view is contradicted in a recent anthropological critique by Persson (2007) of Casey's (1993) philosophy of place. The scope of this paper does not allow for a detailed examination of the critique. Generally, the critique argues against the notion that the void always evokes anxiety (Persson 2007: 49). While I do not discount the significance of cultural ideas such as 'void', the ethnographic material I take for analysis in this paper unsettles Persson's assertion that the concept of space is better suited to an analysis of her informant's statements, rather than place (2007: 45-46 & 51). Her arguments do not present a full account of the significance of Casey's emphasis on the priority, and specifying character of place, that spaces, as well as times, are always experienced in, and arise from, a particular place (Casey 1996: 13-19 & 36-38; 1997). Place is not simply the specific 'occasion for' what happens in space, but place itself is what happens, and this 'event' provides the occasioning influence for multiple spaces and times (1996: 38). Emotion is centrally involved in such musical 'events' among these migrants. Following Crossley (2001), I argue that the principal emotion involved in emplacement in the social world is desire. A number of the migrants in this study associate an absence of music with death, which is encapsulated in a statement made by a migrant from India who says that 'without music I am, like, dead' (2009, pers. comm., 18 March). Following Fernandez (1986: 9-10), this placing of music on a continuum between life and death aligns with

metaphorical strategies, which is movement along a continuum between desirability and undesirability. Music articulates the desire for social connection among these migrants because it is the occasioning influence for life, and a strategy for filling the void of displacement, the undesired aspect of the continuum.

Persson's analysis rests on the conscious attention paid to the body in Satyananda Yoga practice in Australia, involving the movement of consciousness inward, as well as outward away from the habitual life-world (2007: 44-45 & 51). Migratory movement occasions a crisis and, therefore, conscious attention to habitual life-worlds. For Persson's informants, conscious attention to habits involves a movement between the small of embodied grounding and the large of expansion, as well as 'a series of similarly dyadic experiential relations', such as 'autonomy-unity, insulation-connection, [and] discipline-freedom' (2007: 46-48 & 51). Such a series is also relevant to the statements about musical practices among the migrants in this study. Following Casey (1996: 41), and taking place to be the 'collocation' of a series of interconnected places, the series entails the collocation of part and whole, as well as autonomy and unity, isolation and connection, constraint and freedom.

EMOTION, CRISIS, AND GETTING BACK TO BEING IN PLACE

The remainder of this paper focuses on the involvement of bodily affect in conscious attention to habitual life worlds occasioned by transnational migratory movement, for which music is mutually occasioning. The focus is bodily practices of place in which emotion is centrally entailed. Migration encourages reflection on habitual being, a tension which is resolved through music. It involves a crisis in the sense of a double-bind situation for migrants as they seek to establish and maintain links to two or more places at the same time (Basch et al. 1993). Anthropological studies such as those by Thomas (1998; in contrast to Warin and Dennis 2005; McKay 2005), which view migration through lenses of migrants' habitual interaction with the world, provide substantial ethnographic evidence for the critical strengths and weaknesses of the concept of habitus. The limitations of the concept of habitus are most significant in view of migration as occasioning a crisis of habitual being.

A sociological study, by Crossley, employs Merleau-Pontian phenomenology as means of addressing such critiques (2001: 120-139).

Crossley maintains that such a phenomenological perspective gives bodily grounding to the agent in its emphasis on the 'circuit' between body and world, and resolves some of the conceptual weak points of habitus (2001: 3-5). From this perspective, Crossley addresses the wide gulf which he says Bourdieu (1990) posits between incorporated habits and the capacity to turn back upon those habits and inspect them as a basis for improvisation (Crossley 2001: 115-119; 140-160). Improvisation thus comes about according to the reversibility, or the ability to be conscious, of our habits, as 'our capacity to turn back upon and inspect ourselves derives from an incorporation of the perspective of others into our habitus' (2001: 6). This is an important perspective from which to view these migrants' practices of constituting place. Through the reflective possibilities of habit, all concepts, including those linked to emotion, are grounded not just in the body, but in the body's interconnection with the world (2001: 45). This is what Dennis refers to as the 'embodied sociality' of emotion, which is fundamental to musical connectivity as the social connectedness of emotion expresses relationships between persons as well as person to place (2007: xvi-xxiii).

A way of conceptualising emotion is required for purposes of linking emotion and speech about music, one which accords with these migrants' own emotional senses of the musical facilitation of social bonds. Wierzbicka (1999: 2) is critical of anthropological concepts of emotion as 'bodily thoughts'. She prefers to consider emotions in terms of 'feeling' and 'thought-related feeling' in order to avoid the English classification of emotion with the body, which does not occur, for example, in the French term 'sentiment', which links thought and feeling (1999: 2-3 & 24-31). She maintains that emotions should be conceptualised according to universal concepts – such as 'feel', 'want' and 'know' – as these occur across different linguistic communities and are acquired through socialisation processes (1999: 8-9; 24 & 28).

The arguments made by Wierzbicka (1999) are useful because they highlight how social interaction is the basis of emotion concepts. However, they are limited in terms of opposing bodily habit by recourse to 'habits of mind' (1999: 31-34). Crossley's (2001: 42-45) view of emotion concepts as socially referenced rather than "inner worldly" corresponds to the requirement for connecting emotion to these migrants' talk about music and their reflections on music. As he notes (2001: 84), speech is a bodily habit grounded in the relationship of speech and affect, or the embodied voice that is 'singing the world' (Merleau-Ponty 1962: 187). Crossley states,

We tend to think of emotions as feelings and we think of feelings as inner occurrences. This is because the language by which we refer to emotions is predominantly a language of 'feeling': that is, we claim to 'feel' happy, sad, jealous, angry and so on. When we ascribe emotional feelings to ourselves we do not describe those feelings...however, rather, we attribute a cause or meaning to them ... which, in itself, need be neither physical or mental and will, in all likelihood, identify a social situation which occasions the feeling (2001: 42-43).

The body is always intertwined in a social context, Crossley remarks, and it is that to which a sensation or particular sets of sensations and bodily disposition is referred, and to which the cause of bodily sensations is attributed; as such, the linking of sensation to social context is means of making sense of bodily states rather than defining them (2001: 45). This conception of emotion resonates with affective links to place through music as described by a migrant from Saudi Arabia, for whom the meaning of music is expressed in 'music without lyrics'. He says that in music without words, 'you can feel it's sad, just sad, and because you are sad' (2008, pers. comm., 2 April). This migrant specifies the social context to which the feeling is referenced, saying that such music is 'expressing how you're feeling – exactly...yeah, so [in a song with words] if they are talking about how you broke up with your girlfriend...[...] it's not the same as what you are feeling' (2008, pers. comm., 2 April). Crossley's (2001: 42-45) way of conceiving of emotion concepts as linking bodily feeling to a social context assists in understanding how, for these migrants, being in the musical place-world involves affective embodied links to musical and extra musical social contexts.

Music is viewed among these migrants as having the capacity to influence a person's relation to the social context through affect. For a Liberian refugee and musician, Wallace, a key informant of the study, who writes what he refers to as 'Negro spiritual songs' (2008, pers. comm., 2 April), the most important aspect of music is the 'message' and the most important kind of songs are 'songs of freedom' (2008, pers. comm., 9 June).¹ The 'message' of 'songs of freedom', for Wallace, exemplifies dyadic relationships involved in attending to one's embodied habits of being in the world. He says that,

No matter what type of song you sing, it has a message in it. And that message is needed by somebody somewhere ... and my message to the world is ... mainly about freedom. So really, freedom for me is living without fear. It [music] must be able to erase every kind of mental slavery, psychological slavery, emotional slavery and spiritual slavery. Therefore, my type of songs of freedom is not all about nations getting independence, it's all about people and the situation they find themselves in. (2008, pers. comm., 9 June).

From part of the song, or the 'message', musical affect links people and places, connecting to 'somebody somewhere', and connects also with larger entities, such as 'freedom'. As Casey (1996: 37) remarks 'relations and occurrences of much more considerable scope collect around and in a single place'. 'Songs of freedom', for this informant, has the capacity to remove fear, an emotional response to a particular situation and a simultaneous filling of the void. He told of an example of how when he had lost his job, he got into his car and began to 'reflect' on a Bob Marley song, and the lyric, 'when one door is closed, many other doors are open' (2008, pers. comm., 9 June) He remarked, 'It set my conscience free ... just that word, that line, from the song that Bob Marley made, set me free' (2008, pers. comm., 9 June). Through the song, this informant saw losing his job as an 'opportunity' to be available for his family at a time when his wife needed to get to hospital appointments in the lead up to the birth of their baby. Affect is integral to relations of part-whole, as well as the relation of constraint and 'freedom', here being 'freedom' from the constraints of fear. He states,

And what are some of the most important situations that music touches? From sorrow to joy, from this experience of disappointment to hope, from discouragement to courage, from loneliness to living with people, from being isolated to joining together with a family or with friends, poverty to riches. Music sharpens your mind. When you think you can't do it, you're gonna remain this way, the musician come and tell you that there is hope somewhere. And you listen to the song and say, "look, I've got to put what the songwriter says into practice", and from there you see yourself moving on. Like, I gave you an example of Bob Marley's songs – when one door is closed, that many other doors are

¹ Any names appearing in this paper have been changed, with the exception of Wallace, who wishes for his name to be used.

opened. That has come true in my life today (2008, pers. comm., 29 June).

Such bodily practice of place through music involving the affective senses also entails the relation of isolation and connection. Music brings people together into a larger whole in its capacity to converge with affect, and thus is an integral part, or 'most important situation' for the process. According to this informant's reflection on his own experience of Bob Marley's songs, 'freedom' involves reflection on affective habits of being for people in such situations, facilitating movement between a place of isolation to a place of connection. Such movement is the event and the occasioning influence for space, which are bodily practices of place. Putting the part of the song, the 'message', into practice, facilitates 'moving on' into a unified space of connection with family and friends.

The overarching relation of part and whole is illustrated by a migrant from Northern Ireland, who also is a musician and songwriter. He remarks that,

the condensation of what a lot of songs can do is just condense a lot of emotions and feelings and experiences into just a few short lines, which, with the power of music, can create something profound (2008, pers. comm., 3 July).

Another sense of the series of dyadic relationships, particularly autonomy and unity, is the way in which this informant employed music in order simultaneously to set himself 'apart' and to connect with people. Having moved to Australia in the early 1970s, he adopted strategies, including musical strategies, in the attempt to abandon his 'Irish roots experience' and to 'integrate' both with the place and the young people in Australia. Music assisted this migrant to form social connections with other young people by listening to the music that they were listening to, which at the time, he remembers, was Daddy Cool's *Eagle Rock*. But even as he was engaging with music that linked him with people and with place, he was searching for music that would set him 'apart from the rest', listening to Double J and music that the others had never heard, which he says was 'all part and parcel' of the process. (2008, pers. comm., 3 July)

This migrant from Northern Ireland dislikes the 'stereotyped Irishness' of Irish contemporary folk music, and is 'irritated' by what he sees as the 'Irishness' of all musics associated with world music (2008, pers. comm., 3 July). To him, these are all 'just like folk music' and lack a 'visceral' base like

the rock music he prefers. Rock music, he remarks, 'gets down to the nuts and bolts and the driving instincts of humanity', a process involving, 'primal emotions' (2008, pers. comm., 3 July). For this Irish informant, rock music is bodily practice of place because it provides a way of 'getting back into place' (Casey 1993). Engaging in 'EGT', or 'electric guitar therapy', the 'primal emotion' connects and transcends two alternative dimensions of self. He says,

It's like there's two different aspects of myself. There's the, I suppose, rather intellectual, political economic, social justice person. But then there's the ..., ultimately, the punk thrasher that's been in me for...from whenever (2008, pers. comm., 3 July).

His 'electric guitar therapy' provides connection between two aspects of self that involves movement inward as well as outward, away from the habitual life world. 'Electric guitar therapy' works through emotion and from such 'primal emotion' arises 'transcendence'. The constraints of emotional tension, specifically 'anger and frustration', a situation involving the tensions of simultaneous links to two places, are relaxed, he says, through 'really loud music', which is 'cathartic'. He comments,

playing really, really loud music...is cathartic in that it is a very [pause] positive expression of anger and frustration [...] I've actually cracked ah, my guitar from ah, doing a version of "Won't get fooled again" by The Who, which is...a song at the end of which Pete Townsend used to smash his guitars [...]. I was playing, and at the end of it I just...in my exuberance just sort of threw my guitar up in the air...just let it come down wherever it landed. [...]. I think that's it...is that...it takes you out of yourself (2008, pers. comm., 3 July).

I was interested in this sense of music being able to 'take you out of yourself', and he elaborated in saying that 'playing the guitar [...] y'know, I do occasionally get lost – it's a transcendental experience, as such' (2008, pers. comm., 3 July). 'EGT' facilitates for this informant a 'positive expression of anger and frustration' as it transfers such tensions into the domain of music, reconfiguring these emotions as 'exuberance', and moving from constraint to 'transcendence' from habitual being. 'Transcendence' arises from 'primal emotion' and the desire to transcend the constraints of the social world, a process linking two or more places, and for which

music and migratory movement are mutually occasioning influences.

It was in relation to the recent social and political responses to movements of people occurring locally, nationally and globally that prompted the establishment, in 2006, of what would be a key site of fieldwork, a choir of migrant and non-migrant women 'singing songs from around the world'. The choir's musical practices involve movement along a continuum between isolation and connection and autonomy and unity. As an exclusively women's choir, it formed with a view to bridging the social isolation of migrant women at the time the choir was established, with the unanticipated outcome of drawing many non-migrant members who also were experiencing social isolation. A Filipino member spoke of the 'isolation' of living in a different country. The choir is a 'chance' for her, through a shared 'passion' for music to 'share my culture, and also to learn other cultures' (2008, pers. comm., 29 May). She has also lived in Saudi Arabia where she worked as a nurse and met her English husband, and lived in England for six years prior to coming to Australia. For her, music has provided a way into 'understanding other people's cultures...[and] I think we could always start from there' (2008, pers. comm., 29 May). She describes how the music of other cultures evokes a certain 'feeling' through which you can come to know 'the world is rich' instead of just 'what you know' (2008, pers. comm., 29 May). The autonomy-unity relation, from knowing only 'what you know' to knowing the world, arises from the emotional bonds to place forged through music, or the 'feeling you experience when you listen to different kinds of music'. For her, and other members of the choir, this feeling is linked to 'the beat'. For many members of the choir, 'the beat' and 'lively music' facilitates intercultural connection, linking choir members and also connecting the choir to the audience. This is something they know as it involves bodily practices of place through music, involving reflection on habitual being. Such practices involve inspecting the habits of self and others, as members of the choir can tell if the audience is enjoying the music by inspecting the affective bodily responses of audience members.

CONCLUSION

In this paper, I have presented ethnographic material that demonstrates the body's interconnection with the world in and through music. These migrants' metaphorical linking of music and life, expressed through a relation of part-whole, entails emotional connections, which are bodily practices of place in relation to music and migratory movement, occasioning reflection on habitual being. Place

is co-constituted through embodied practices of migratory movement and music. This process is articulated through the affective voices of these migrants as a series of interrelated places along a continuum of desirability and undesirability. Movement is towards 'life', through music, and through desire for being in the place world.

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'Repatriation is a Must': The Rastafari in Ethiopia

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Abstract

This project examines the outcome of repatriation to Ethiopia on members of the Rastafari Movement who are descendants of the transatlantic slave trade. The word 'repatriation' in the Rastafari context reinforces the concept that they, the Rastas, and their ancestors, were forcibly removed from Africa and are now returning to their rightful home; the African continent. The Rastafari mantra, 'Repatriation is a Must', has been reinforced through Reggae music over the past 50 years. Reggae is an important communication tool for the Movement, however the message it promotes misinterprets the reality and harshness of life in Ethiopia and many repatriates arrive totally unprepared. The connection to Ethiopia is twofold; most (but not all) Rasta claim Haile Selassie, the last Emperor of Ethiopia, as their 'God and King' and secondly, Selassie granted land (in Shashamane, Southern Ethiopia) to the African Diaspora in order for them to return to Africa and also requested them to help modernise the country.

There have been mixed attitudes towards the Rastafari from the indigenous Oromo people of Shashamane and recent local government building regulations are imposing conditions that may find many Rasta moved from the land they currently occupy. The government of Ethiopia has reduced the land grant substantially and no Rastafari has been granted citizenship. Children who are born in Ethiopia to Rastafari 'foreigners' are also considered 'foreigners'. Although, some Rasta are confident that the government intends to give eligible members permanent residency.

The project will be a documentary film. Research to date has been via personal interviews in Ethiopia with members of the Rastafari Movement.

Keywords

African Diaspora, Ethiopia, Haile Selassie, Ethiopian Land Grant, Rastafari Movement, Reggae Music, Repatriation

'REPATRIATION IS A MUST': THE RASTAFARI IN ETHIOPIA

Brief History

There were two significant people in the early 20th Century who influenced the creation of

the Rastafari¹ Movement on the island of Jamaica. In 1916, the Afro-Caribbean activist from Jamaica, Marcus Mosiah Garvey, moved to the United States where he continued to promote an organisation he founded in Jamaica called the Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA).² The UNIA promoted black pride and consciousness amongst African Americans and other African descendants of the transatlantic slave trade. His message also reached colonised Africa. Garvey is considered by the Rastafari Movement to be a prophet who foretold the coming of a black king in Africa. Garvey, in a speech he made prior to departing Jamaica for the United States, is said to have told his followers, 'Look to Africa for the crowning of a Black King, he shall be the Redeemer' (Barrett 1977:67). In 1930, Ras Tafari was crowned Emperor of Ethiopia and took the title, 'His Imperial Majesty Haile Selassie I, The Elect of God, The Conquering Lion of the Tribe of Judah, King of Kings and Emperor of all Ethiopia' (Brus 1975).

The Garveyites³ who lived in the hills and ghetto areas of Jamaica, considered Haile Selassie's crowning as Emperor as the fulfillment of Garvey's prophesy and thereafter named their movement 'Rastafari' after Selassie's original aristocratic name. Rastafari is more than a spiritual belief; it is a way of life and has a number of variations within their doctrine. Some Rasta see Selassie I as God, some see him as a prophet, but there is a universal affinity to the land of Ethiopia and Selassie's position as the African leader of the only African country never to be colonised by Europeans. It is also one of the oldest independent countries in the world with a continuous history spanning thousands of

¹ There are a few variations on the name Rastafari including Rasta, Rastafarian and Rastafarianism. Many Rasta prefer to be called either Rasta or Rastafari. Within this paper, I will be using both the preferred names.

² The original name of the organisation was the Universal Negro Improvement Associate and African Communities League, but he shortened the name once reaching America.

³ The term used for followers of Marcus Garvey.

years. These two facts have been a source of pride for members of the Rastafari and other black consciousness movements.

Repatriation to Africa by Rastafari members is not exclusively to Ethiopia. In fact the Afro-Caribbean people descended from slaves taken from predominantly West African nations and many decide to settle in countries such as Ghana in the West, but also Uganda, South Africa and other countries on the continent. The reason why many of the repatriating Rastafari choose Ethiopia as their destination rather than one of the West African countries is due to its association with Haile Selassie and the land he granted to the African Diaspora.

The Land Grant

From 1935-41 the Italians invaded and occupied Ethiopia for the second time in its history.⁴ Although Italy was the aggressor, Ethiopia was given little assistance from Europe or the League of Nations. However, there was a groundswell of moral, and to a lesser extent, financial assistance from the African-American community. Thousands of Afro-Americans wanted to join the Ethiopians and fight for the freedom of the country but were prevented by the United States law banning citizens from participating in a war against a nation currently at peace with the United States (Scott 1978). In Harlem from 1935, a number of organisations were created to collect funds for the Ethiopian cause. The Ethiopian World Federation was one of the organisations created in the mid-1930s for this purpose and is still an important organisation for the Rastafari Movement.

After the Italian army was defeated by the Ethiopians with assistance from Britain, Selassie granted 500 hectares of his personal land in Shashamane, a farming area in Southern Ethiopia, to the African Diaspora to thank them for their assistance during Ethiopia's time of need. It is to this land that many Rastafari have 'repatriated'. The administration of the land grant was managed by the Ethiopian World Federation which has offices in the West as well as a number of members living in Shashamane.

In 1974, Selassie was deposed and later murdered by Colonel Mengistu Haile Mariam who introduced a Marxist government into Ethiopia. He nationalised all the land of Ethiopia which included taking back the land grant given to the African Diaspora by Selassie. Although some concessions were

later made to the Rastafari living on this land, the total size of the grant of 500 hectares is estimated to currently be 55 hectares.

What constitutes 'a better life'?

People migrate around the world for many reasons; to escape war and poverty, to search for a better life for their children and themselves giving them a higher standard of living. In the case of many members of the Rastafari Movement, these reasons are not relevant, although escaping from persecution is a reality for some who repatriate.

For many Rasta, the issue of identifying Africa as their home and 'nationality' rather than the West Indies, UK or from the country of their birth, has often fractured family ties. Children as young as 12 years old, have been alienated from their families for growing dreadlocks and converting to the Rasta faith/movement. The conservative societies within the Caribbean have also alienated the Rastafari, seeing them as dirty, subversive and anti-social. One Rastaman who was interviewed for the film, relates the early days in Jamaica under the government of Prime Minister Alexander Bustamante. According to the Rastaman, Bustamante sanctioned the 'wiping out of Rastafari' and police rounded up many Rastafari and imprisoned them. The elder suffered water torture flooding and he believes it was only through Jah Rastafari (God) that his life was saved.

I've been through some terrible things there [in Jamaica]. Sometimes when I try to remember them, water rolls out of my eyes....very terrible. In the year 1963, the Government of Jamaica, they say they want to kill out Rasta. I was very badly beaten, badly badly beaten (Rasta 'A' 2008, pers. comm., 12 September).

From first hand experience, living and studying in Jamaica in the mid 1970s, there were many cases of human rights abuses by the authorities of members of the Rastafari Movement. These included false imprisonment, beatings, shaving of their dreadlocks and other forms of humiliation.

Another 'bredrin'⁵ from the island of Dominica reinforces the human rights violations carried out by governments within the Caribbean islands who were against the Rastafari. He states:

⁴ The first time was in 1896 and the Ethiopians successfully expelled them.

⁵ Members of the Rastafari Movement refer to each other as 'bredrin' and 'sistrin'.

Well in Dominica, it was blood and fire. In Dominica, there was a dread act; anywhere you saw a Rastaman you could shoot him and kill him [...] and no civil action would be taken against you. Under that law, 120 of us were jailed and about, oh, 50 to 60 of us were killed. Personally, I was sent to hang and spent seven and a half years in solitary confinement before I escaped on a framed up charge because I was teaching about Rastafari and most of the youth were taking to the culture. So the colonial powers set up and frame I up and send I to hang. (Rasta 'B' 2008, pers. comm., 14 September)

It could be argued that the Rastafari 'migrant' experience to Africa is unique. Their desire is to return to the continent from where their forefathers and mothers were brutally and forcefully removed during the 400 years of the transatlantic slave trade. In this way, they are completing the circle by returning the spirit of their ancestors to their rightful 'home'. As one of the Rastas interviewed for the documentary states:

I'm proud to be an African and right now, my foreparents, like my great great grand dad and great great grand mum a say, "Bwoy! Bauxite! One part of the family make it forward here still! (Rasta 'S' 2009, pers. comm., 22 May).⁶

THE POWER OF MUSIC AND ITS RELATIONSHIP TO MEMORY

Many African societies have a rich musical tradition that serves as a vehicle to remind their communities of important historical figures and events, as well as disseminating information about current social and political issues.⁷ The Rastafari have continued this practice in the Caribbean and beyond with a music form that originated in the 1960s called Reggae. Reggae is not exclusive to the Rastafari but most music written by members of the Movement is written and performed to the Reggae beat. The lyrics sung often reinforce the message of important historical leaders and events that are significant to their philosophy. Leaders such as Marcus Garvey and Haile Selassie I are referred to in Reggae songs, and social and political issues are also discussed and debated in their music. Reggae music has held an intrinsic position in the development and continuation of Rasta

discourse within West Indian society for over 40 years. Reggae has also had a recurring narrative promoting repatriation to Africa.

Repatriation to Africa is a strong desire of many Rastafari who have been aware of the greatness of Africa and the African continent through the music of Reggae artists. Many people think that life will be easier in Africa and that the information disseminated by the West in regard to Africa is propaganda. However, the realities of life in Ethiopia don't match the message of the Reggae lyrics and in a lot of cases, Rastas repatriate without being fully prepared for what they are going to experience in Ethiopia. The reality for some is very hard and they leave the country and return to the West.

The facts are pretty stark; Ethiopia's infrastructure, health facilities and educational standard are low compared with the levels available in the West. The average wage is approximately USD250 per annum, infant mortality is 79 per 1,000 births in Ethiopia and life expectancy in Ethiopia is 20 years less than in the West Indies.

But for many who 'return', identity and belonging are paramount to them and the statistics are not relevant. Another bredrin interviewed for the documentary said that nowhere else in the world would the local community greet you each day by hailing you with the greetings, "Jah Rastafari! Hail Selassie-I!" In the West, it is only Rastas who greet each other this way, whereas it's quite common for Ethiopians to greet Rastas in this way.

[...] You don't get that in the West. We still get the fight from there. Even the elder ones get the fight and we now get the fight and our children will get the fight, but being here [in Ethiopia], they accept us (Rasta 'R' 2009, pers. comm., 20 May).

This acceptance is vital to the success of repatriation. In general, the Ethiopians are warm and hospitable and although they do not share the same belief in the divinity of Haile Selassie they respect the Rastafari's belief and will not offend them by debating the issue.

Acceptance and Security

In the early days of repatriation, the land grant was a contentious issue with some of the local Oroma people who live on the surrounding land. The region is primarily a farming community and there was initially some resentment that free land was being given to foreigners who were not utilising the land in a

⁶ 'Boy! [Exclamation]! One part of the family has returned to Africa!'

⁷ The Griot music of West Africa is a good example.

productive way. Over the years the Repatriates have come together in their small community and worked on projects to benefit the local community and win their trust and acceptance. From the Repatriate's point of view, the relationship is much more cohesive than in earlier times.

One of the most significant undertakings by the Rastas in Shashamane was the building of an elementary school for the local children. It currently caters for children from kindergarten through to Year 8. The School is managed by an organisation set up by the Rastas called the 'Jamaican Rastafari Development Community' (JRDC) with financial assistance from Rastafari groups and individuals from the West.⁸ The School has been open at its present location since 2004 and has approximately 500 students. The majority of these students are local Oroma children with a small population of Rastafari children. There is a combination of Oroma and Western teachers, some of whom are Rastafari. The education standard at the JRDC School is comparable to that of many schools in the West and there are several advantages in sending children to this School rather than the local ones. The classes are considerably smaller, the children are exposed to the English language and many are proficient in it, and the sanitation at the School is far superior to the local schools. The plan is to eventually be able to educate children through to University level. With the opening of the JRDC School and the employment being offered to the local indigenous people by several small to medium sized businesses, there is greater harmony with the Oroma people.

Another project that the Rastafari have undertaken in Shashamane is the building of water tanks for the local farming communities. This is managed by the Ethiopian World Federation with funds donated by a foreign agency. Although Shashamane is a relatively fertile region in Ethiopia, it does suffer from periodic drought. The water tanks have been a welcome addition to the small number of farming communities who have had them built on their land.

The businesses that the Rastafari have predominantly concentrated in are the service industries and education. There are two major hotels in Shashamane and both of them have been built by Rastafari from the Caribbean islands of Trinidad and Tobago.

Unfortunately, there is a very low level of tourism in the area, however the Rasta hoteliers host business conferences and NGOs who work in the region and are making a modest, but real contribution to local Oroma people by training them in the areas of hotel administration and related service industries. Other industries that many of the repatriates enter into are small cottage industries in the areas of hospitality, arts and crafts, clothes and shoe manufacturing and teaching. Due to the low level of tourism and the low level of income of the local Oroma people who are mainly farmers, the level of income generation for the Rastas is, in many cases, barely sustainable.

When Mengistu came into power, he changed the Ethiopian flag by removing the Lion of Judah from the flag. His intention was to remove any symbol of Empire from the identity of the Ethiopian nation. The Ethiopian flag with the Lion of Judah is an important symbol to the Rastafari and discussions have taken place with the local government in regard to the legitimacy of the Rastafari in displaying the old flag. A compromise has been agreed and the Rasta are allowed to continue flying the old flag with the Lion of Judah, as long as the Ethiopian flag flies higher.

Although there was a successful compromise with the flag, there is another issue that has arisen which has caused some Repatriates in Shashamane a level of anxiety. The local government is implementing a 'Master Plan' for the area which includes Shashamane. Part of this plan is a new ruling involving the height of buildings in the area and land distribution and use. Many of the small enterprises that are run by the Rastafari repatriates are situated along the King's Highway; the only graded road in the area. These are mostly modest one-storey buildings often brightly coloured in green, gold and red. The local government has changed the building height regulations along the King's Highway to four-storey and given the occupiers of the 'front line' four years to complete the construction and comply with the new regulations.

Many properties that are not abutting the King's Highway, but are occupied by the Rastafari community have also been advised that their landholdings must be used to accommodate more buildings and in some cases, newly planned roads will take precedence over existing structures. The regional Master Plan is creating a financial burden that may result in some people losing, or having to reduce the land they occupy. Currently a lot of the land used by the Rastafari is cultivated with fruits and

⁸ One of the organisations that assists with ongoing finance is the The Shashamane Settlement Community Development Foundation which was established in Washington, DC in 1998 as a 501(c)(3) nonprofit corporation.

vegetables, encouraging families to be self sufficient in their food supply. With the reduction of land available to cultivate, this practice will also be affected.

Legal Status and Citizenship

Even though there are some difficulties as stated above, the Repatriates are keen to be good citizens of the nation they have adopted as their 'home'. They are keen to show that they are willing to work with the authorities in such matters. One obvious reason for this is due to the residency status in Ethiopia of many Rastafari.

One of the practices of the early Repatriates was to throw away their passports once they had reached 'Zion', which is one of their names for Ethiopia. They considered passports to be a 'babylon'⁹ document not relevant to Africa. But all countries around the world track the movement of people through the passport system and the unintended consequence of this 'political statement' was to leave some Rastas unable to travel in and out of Ethiopia and in some cases, left them without a means of identification.

The Government of Ethiopia refers to all people who are not indigenous Ethiopians as *ferengi* (foreigners) and this refers to the Rastafari as well. Children born in Ethiopia to Repatriates are also categorized as *ferengi* and unable to obtain citizenship. However, the situation is different if one parent is an indigenous Ethiopian; their children are automatically citizens.

No Rastafari has obtained Ethiopian citizenship, although residency permits have been granted to some Repatriates who are not in violation of their visas. However, violations can be rectified by paying substantial fines based on the number of years the person has overstayed their visa.

The other form of visa open to anyone who wants to migrate to Ethiopia is the Business Visa. Many of the new Repatriates consider this a good alternative. Foreigners are able to submit a business proposal to the immigration department and are able to obtain a Business Visa that needs to be renewed each year. Where appropriate, the visa holder can also be granted a tract of land to be used for their business. This is especially relevant if the business is connected to agriculture. However, the government is being more selective when issuing such visas since a

number of foreigners, including Rastafari, have applied for and been granted a business visa but the proposal they submitted has not materialised.

Although for many years the Rastafari who have already repatriated to Ethiopia have called on their community in the West to come 'home' and to come home quickly, the idea of permanent repatriation for some Rastafari business people seems too daunting. The infrastructure of the country is not developed to a standard that many can run a business without the constant interference caused by unreliable water and electricity supplies. These and other reasons have encouraged an innovative compromise.

An alternative style of repatriation has emerged which involves living part of the year in the West and part of the year in Ethiopia. This is an attractive idea to many Rastafari as it still fulfils their dream of having a presence on African soil but not at the total cost of permanent repatriation. This helps to generate the finances needed to build a new life in a new country and maintain a comfortable standard of living at the same time.

With this new approach to Repatriation, the small community of Rastafari may see a more lively and diverse number of brethren and sistren take up the call of 'Repatriation is a Must' and 'Africa Awaits its Creators'.

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⁹ Babylon in Rastafari language refers to police, soldiers, Western government systems and domination

Investigating the role of Australian media in making Sudanese refugees feel 'at home': A case of advocating online media support to enable refugee settlement

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Abstract

Since 2001, Australia has accepted more than 22,000 refugees from Sudan, with over 3,000 settling in South East Queensland. Sudanese culture is vastly different from Australian mainstream culture with respect to cultural norms and gender roles, especially as it applies to the youth. Such differences, in addition to many other factors, have led to negative stereotyping of the Sudanese in the Australian mainstream media and caused conflict within the Sudanese community.

For 30 years, ethnic community broadcasting has been important in facilitating integration of migrants into Australia, assisting with cultural maintenance, supporting community networks, providing news and information about the host community, and about the homeland. For many refugee communities, the opportunities to access community broadcasting are limited, and broadcasting more generally is being displaced by digital media. With over 60 per cent of Sudanese under the age of 24, it is likely that they will more readily adopt digital media, in line with Australian youths. However, it is unclear whether digital media can assist the integration process as successfully as has been the case for ethnic broadcasting. In this paper, we interrogate the contribution of ethnic media to the successful integration of new migrants into mainstream society, and explore the uses and possibilities of online media for the Sudanese community in south east Queensland.

Keywords

Integration, Ethnic media research, Media technology, Refugee settlement, Sudan

INTRODUCTION

'Without a paper, a journal of some kind, you cannot unite a community' (Ben Kingsley as Gandhi, in *Gandhi*, dir. Richard Attenborough, 1982, Columbia Pictures).

In Australia, ethnic broadcasting is considered an important vehicle to facilitate the integration of migrants into mainstream society. The sector was established by the Whitlam government with the specific intention to reach the growing number of non-English-speaking Australians. It comprises the Special Broadcasting Service (SBS, established in 1978), and the non-profit ethnic community broadcasting sector (first established in 1973). The ethnic radio sector broadcasts in 95 languages and on more than 125 radio stations across Australia.

According to Meadows, Forde, Ewart, and Foxwell (2007: 72-76):

ethnic *community* media provides important functions, including the maintenance of ethnic culture and languages, the maintenance of community connections and networks, provision of news and information about the homeland, and the provision of local community news and information.

Thus, ethnic language programs provide a cross-cultural communicative function, as well as an essential service for new migrants.

Indeed, ethnic broadcasting has served the needs of established ethnic communities very well (Greek, Italian, Chinese), which often broadcast from metropolitan full-time ethnic radio stations, and have also established full-time ethnic language commercial radio stations. However, SBS managing director Shaun Brown claims the national multicultural broadcaster 'significantly under-serve[s] major and growing language communities' (Sharp 2010). Similarly, Meadows et al. (2007) indicate that securing airtime to deliver community-specific content is especially difficult for many new and emerging communities, and those that do manage to gain access find that a weekly one-hour program is

insufficient to meet their needs. They suggest the solution lies in 'providing more broadcasting opportunities' (Meadows et al. 2007: 87).

Our observations of the Sudanese community in South East Queensland confirm difficulties with securing access to established community and ethnic media and suggest the solution lies in developing online services. Indeed, to be online is increasingly becoming a necessity as more and more of society's functions and processes are transferred to the internet (Weiskopf & Kissau 2008: 97). Being online enables access to information, social communication, and participation in employment, government, and commerce, all of which are essential for successful integration (ibid: 96).

In this paper, we interrogate the contribution of ethnic media to the successful integration of new migrants into mainstream society, and explore the uses and possibilities of online media for the Sudanese community in South East Queensland.

ETHNIC MEDIA RESEARCH

Although ethnic broadcasting and media provide a positive function that may ultimately lead to migrants' full participation in society as ethnic-Australians, in Australia there has been a tendency to accept this function uncritically. Akin to the community integration and cross-cultural functions identified by Meadows et al. (2007), Elias and Lemish (2008) distinguish between 'inward' integration, where media focuses on intra-community content (also referred to as 'bonding' social capital), and 'outward' integration, where media content is directed towards facilitating adaptation into the host community (or 'bridging' social capital). But Elias and Lemish (2008) warn that migrant uses of mass and community media act as a double-edged sword. Their investigation of migrants' uses of ethnic and host media suggests that those who are heavy users of media in the host language tend to adapt to the host society more easily. However, host media that spread negative stereotypes can give rise to greater alienation among new immigrants and contribute to greater social segregation (see, for example, Bowd, Green, Richards, Nicholas-Sexton & Posetti 2005). Similarly, media that broadcast in a community's ethnic language can encourage greater understanding of the host society, and assist with integration, but ethnic language programming can also preserve an immigrant community's cultural identity, strengthen intra-group solidarity and thus also contribute towards social segregation. Online communication

technologies can exacerbate this by enabling greater on-going contact with the country of origin as well as with transnational ethnic communities (Cunningham & Sinclair 2000). The popularity of on-line media, however, also suggests new opportunities for facilitating integration into the host culture, and thus contributes to diminishing social segregation.

According to Hao and Zhu (2004), communication at both mass and interpersonal levels is important to the integration process, but the factors that contribute to this process are unclear and not easily located. The determinants and conditions that give rise to the potential for media to facilitate integration or segregation appear to be located external to the provision of media technology, and give emphasis to an understanding of media, not only as a social space and tool that enables formation and maintenance of community (Georgiou 2006: 134), but also as an extension of social relations. Consequently, an analysis of the potential for the internet as a tool for integration must include the host country's migration and media policies, ethno-cultural positioning of the migrant group, age, gender, education achievements, and access to and use of media technologies. We will explore each of these dimensions with reference to the experience of the Sudanese in South East Queensland.

MIGRATION AND SETTLEMENT POLICIES

Dhanji (2009) suggests successful integration depends on the policies and services provided by the host government: how the host community perceives and receives refugees, and, how the refugees adapt to the new country. Others emphasise that integration is only possible when the host society is open and inclusive toward cultural diversity (Berry 1997; Colic-Peisker & Walker 2003; McMichael & Manderson 2004).

Until the 1950s, Australia's migration history has largely been premised upon a 'White Australia Policy'. Post-war migration saw an increase in numbers of migrants from southern Europe, and by the mid-1970s, Australia experienced a wave of migration from Indo-China as a result of the Vietnam War, with the result that assimilationist policies were replaced by 'multi-culturalism' and 'integration'. The terms 'integration' and 'assimilation' are often confused, yet they have vastly different meanings and lead to vastly different outcomes. According to Berry (1997), 'assimilation' refers to full adoption of the host culture and total rejection of the original culture. By contrast, 'integration'

refers to participation in the host culture whilst maintaining aspects of the original culture.

We recognise that a fuller discussion is required of current migration and settlement policies, especially with respect to refugee and humanitarian programs, and support services available to new migrants. Migration policy, particularly where this concerns refugees, is politically sensitive, and although official migration policies do not discriminate on the basis of race and religion, the sentiments of a white Australia policy still linger, as evidenced, for example, by the popularity of Pauline Hanson in the mid 1990s, and the more recent Cronulla riots, which were partly fuelled by local media coverage.

Emerging migrant communities are well aware of the problem of media stereotyping. With respect to the Sudanese community, Australian media has presented a biased and inaccurate portrayal of Sudanese settlement in Australia (Journalism in Multicultural Australia 2005; Roberts 2005). Participants in a pilot study undertaken by Hebbani and Obijiofor (in press, 2010), considered the Australian media responsible for the negative image associated with the Sudanese community. One man acknowledged that Australia was a country built by migrants:

When I first came, I got the impression about how media demonised other migrant groups. For example, since the Second World War when migrants came from Europe, the media targeted Greeks. Afterwards media targeted Lebanese and Chinese and Vietnamese. And now it's our turn. So, if another community had problems, the media would move from us to that community. Yeah, what media is doing really is destructive and not helping (2008, pers. comm., 18th September).

The key point is that 'mutual accommodation is required for integration to be attained' (Berry 1997: 10) and recognising and understanding cultural practices, including media practices, to improve communication and be more culturally accommodative is important for migrant and refugee groups, such as the Sudanese, as well as the Australian community at large.

As mentioned in the introduction, ethnic media have made an important contribution towards mutual accommodation. However, current ethnic media policy remains focussed on old media—television, radio, and the press—but does not address the potential of online media (see Ethnic media 2010; FECCA's SBS policy 2008), except where this extends existing

community broadcasting services (Community Broadcasting Foundation [CBF] 2010).

Clearly, there is a need to re-examine community media policies and put support for online ethnic media services at the top of the agenda.

ETHNOCULTURAL- POSITIONING

Successful integration depends on the characteristics of the migrant group, including their specific ethnic and cultural origins, as well as the stage of their adaptation. Moreover, there is lack of agreement on measures of 'successful integration'. One definition suggests this has been achieved when a person successfully participates in employment that reflects their educational and professional status (Masquefa 2003). Others regard it as one stage in a longer cultural adaptation process, with people experiencing different kinds of needs, depending on the length of time they have settled in their new country (Hao & Zhu 2004). The initial stage is often characterised by excitement and the discovery of the new, but this often gives way to frustration and stress or 'culture shock'. New settlers may then move into the 'reorientation' phase where they recognise the differences in values, beliefs and behaviours, and look for solutions to recognised problems. The final stage is the 'adaptation' phase in which migrants seek to actively engage with the host society. According to Berry (1990, cited in Hao & Zhu 2004), it is within this final phase where the processes of assimilation, integration, separation (or segregation) and marginalisation (where a person rejects both the host and their own culture) are located. This adaptation process, however, does not point to culture-specific dimensions that can account for differences between particular ethnic groups in the process of integration.

A comparative study by D'Haenens (2003) analysed the use of online media by three groups of ethnic minority youth in the Netherlands. The study applied the concept of 'ethnocultural position' comprising 'position acquisition' referring to the extent to which a member self-identify with a particular group, and 'position allocation', referring to the extent to which the majority assigns specific group membership. The quantitative component of the study showed that standard demographic variables could better explain ownership of personal computers (PCs) and their use among ethnic youths compared to 'culture-specific markers' (D'Haenens 2003: 408). However, her study did reveal that religious involvement among Turkish youths was a significant variable in explaining

personal ownership of a PC and online activity. She concludes with an exploration of the extent to which media content fulfils a need to construct ethnic identities. We suggest such an approach directs us towards a Uses and Gratifications study that we propose to undertake in partnership with the Sudanese community of South East Queensland.

THE SUDANESE COMMUNITY IN SOUTH EAST QUEENSLAND

Since 2001, Australia has accepted more than 22,000 Sudanese refugees who have been displaced owing to two decades of civil war (Department of Immigration and Citizenship [DIAC] 2008). Approximately 3,100 Sudanese refugees live in Queensland, predominantly in the south-east including the areas of Logan, Brisbane and Toowoomba, with a small number also living in the north of the state (Department of Communities 2008). The Sudanese community comprises two language groups, Sudanese Arabic and Dinka, and they are also divided along religious beliefs.

Sudanese integration into Australian society has not been without problems. Much of the negative sentiment, particularly towards the Sudanese refugee settlement program, has appeared in the Australian media for the past several years (see Roberts 2005), and was exacerbated when former Immigration Minister Kevin Andrews admitted that cuts to the intake of African refugees were based on perceptions that 'some groups don't seem to be settling and adjusting into the Australian way of life' (Farouque, Petrie & Miletic 2007).

The Sudanese appear to be experiencing more difficulties with integration than other groups due to the challenges of resettling in a culture vastly different from the one from which they came (Harrison 2007). In spite of various federal and state government departments and local community agencies setting up services to aid this particular group, several studies have found that Sudanese refugees experience discrimination (Colic-Peisker 2009; Dhanji 2009; Milner & Khawaja 2010). For instance, a Toowoomba study, found almost 'one-third of participants reported a real or perceived experience of racial discrimination' (Upham & Martin 2005: 31).

Much of the difficulty in settling these refugees stems from their lack of cross-cultural communication skills in their interactions with local community agencies, potential employers, and education institutions and these hinder their integration into the Australian culture. Workers dealing with this community face similar issues as they too lack cross-cultural sensitivity training and are not

equipped with culture-specific skills to appropriately aid the refugees. This situation creates difficulties not just for the refugees themselves, but also for local economic growth and development, as community-wide negative perceptions hamper refugees' attempts at gaining employment.

Sudanese culture is vastly different to Australian mainstream culture with respect to gender and young people (Preston 1996; Puoch 2006; Wal 2004). Gender determines roles within the family with men seen as responsible for social interaction, and therefore representing their family within the public sphere; women on the other hand dominate the private sphere and are responsible for running the home, caring for the children, elderly and others in need within the extended family (Wal 2004). Children follow these gendered roles, with boys learning from the men and taking on public responsibilities and girls learning from the women and working in the home. Thus, socialisation of boys and girls is distinctly different compared to families in Australia. Sudanese families still consider their daughters as a source of wealth and they expect their daughters to be respectful and responsible, and to be married and to make the family proud of her. Therefore, in Sudanese culture, girls are not allowed to have boyfriends. Families also highly value their boys as they will carry on the family name and traditions (Preston 1996). Boys move from childhood to adulthood through the rites of initiation, which is seen as a great honour and provides status and privilege for these young men and their extended family.

Some Sudanese youth try to maintain their culture in Australia; however, others reject elements of Sudanese culture and traditions and willingly adopt Australian traditions, which results in intergenerational conflict. A study of Sudanese refugees in South East Queensland, conducted by Hebbani, Obijiofor and Bristed (2009), found the issue of discipline was of particular concern with Sudanese youth challenging their parents' values as a result of ideas they learned from their Australian peers at school.

Differences in levels of English language proficiency within a family also affected traditional family structures, as well as hampered adaptation into the mainstream Australian society. In the pilot study, children were more proficient in English than their parents, a common experience among non-English speaking migrant communities (Hebbani, Obijiofor & Bristed 2009; Santisteban & Mitrani 2003). While this helped to bridge the communication gap between Sudanese parents and members of the

Australian society, owing to their poor command of the English language, Sudanese parents depended a great deal on their children, which further widened the generational gap.

These findings become all the more important given that a significant percentage of the Sudanese settlers are aged 24 years or younger. Further, those aged younger than 18 years of age are likely to access Australian education facilities (DIAC 2007: 7). As a result, Sudanese parents are concerned about their children losing touch with Sudanese culture and traditions (DIAC 2007; Khawaja, White & Schweitzer 2008). Sudanese youths are reluctant to express their views and unwilling to turn to their community, nor do they feel they are part of Australian society, and this results in their isolation. Furthermore, because they are highly visible, given their physical appearance, and their custom of moving in groups, Sudanese youths, especially males, are seen as a threat by some people in Australian society, thus exacerbating intercultural conflict.

The community therefore faces significant cultural hurdles in achieving integration, suggesting that this community is very much in need of online media and communication support.

MEDIA AND YOUNG PEOPLE

According to the Australian Bureau of Statistics (2008), in 2007, the median age of Sudanese-born residents was 24.4 years: the youngest median age of any overseas-born residents. Furthermore, 25 per cent of all Sudanese in Australia are under 14 years of age (ABS 2008). This community's age profile strongly indicates that media and communication support should embrace online and mobile media. Although community media, and particularly radio, have long been recognised as providing an important integrative function for migrant communities (Husband 1986 as cited in Riggins 1992), there have been significant changes in media habits since the introduction of the internet and the widespread adoption of PCs and mobile telephones. We therefore suggest that it can no longer be taken for granted that community broadcasting is the preferred means of community and ethnic communication, particularly amongst young people.

Nationwide research undertaken by the Australian Communications and Media Authority [ACMA] (2007, 2008) found that although TV remains the medium of choice for teenagers aged 15-17, with nearly two hours a day spent watching TV, the internet ranked second, with young people spending 1.5 hours

a day on their computer. By contrast, this age group spent just over one hour a day on music and radio, and they spent three quarters of an hour a day on their mobile phones. The research also found significant gender differences: more girls than boys participate in online communication activities such as messaging and chatting, email, and visiting social websites. For boys, playing online games was the only internet activity where they had a higher participation rate than girls. ACMA's research suggests preferred communication and media technologies used by young people are mobile telephones and online media, and these can therefore be expected to be attractive to young migrants who are seeking to be accepted by mainstream society.

ACCESS TO AND USE OF MEDIA TECHNOLOGY

As mentioned earlier, many emerging migrant communities experience difficulties with gaining access to traditional ethnic media, but online access is also not without difficulties. Given that more than 60 per cent of the Sudanese community in South East Queensland are under the age of 24, we would also expect that the Sudanese community would prefer online and mobile media compared to traditional ethnic community media. Nevertheless, it is unclear to what extent members of the Sudanese community have access to online and mobile media. Research examining the Digital Divide has shown that low-income, less educated, and rural communities tend to have less access to information and communication technology (D'Haenens 2003; van Vuuren 2007). D'Haenens (2003) indicates this to also be the case for ethnic communities, but for socio-economic reasons, rather than on the basis of ethnicity, and this has been confirmed by Elias and Zeltser-Shorer (2006), and Weiskopf and Kissau (2008). Nevertheless, given the importance of religion, gender and age in the social organisation of the Sudanese community, we anticipate that specific ethnic and cultural practices will find their expression in conventional socio-economic categories. For example, we would expect that the Sudanese community would organise their media practises along gender, as well as language differences.

CONCLUSION

At present, the Sudanese community in South East Queensland does not have access to community media, and this situation offers a unique opportunity to undertake participatory action research and observe and interrogate the impact of a media intervention. Local

Sudanese community leaders have expressed a desire to set up a website, and have sought the assistance of the University of Queensland's School of Journalism and Communication. They consider the establishment of their own media of benefit to their community and to assist with the integration process. We suggest that a project of this nature provides the opportunity to explore the pre- intervention needs and expectations of the community; insights into their choices of preferred media to facilitate their cultural adaptation, and the rationale behind these choices; how the community organises itself, and why; and finally, the short to medium term post-intervention impacts.

Examining the role of online media in the cultural adaptation process can shed light on contemporary refugee settlement issues. The results of such a project can also inform policies designed to reach this community on the part of government and business.

The Federal government has an interest in understanding the conditions that could facilitate the successful integration and socioeconomic development of refugees in Australia in general and Sudanese refugees in particular, principally through its multi-million dollar refugee settlement programs. While successful integration of refugees into Australian society constitutes an issue of national significance, there is little information on how integration can be facilitated in those refugee communities, and even less that explores the potential contribution of online and mobile media in this process.

We suggest a study such as anticipated here, can contribute to research and knowledge about refugee settlement in Australia, and the communication strategies and technologies used by the Sudanese community in particular, which has so far attracted little academic research (see Borland & Mphande 2008; Goggin 2009, pers. comm., 15 April).

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The interplay of social context and personal attributes in immigrants' adaptation and satisfaction with the move to Australia

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Abstract

Previous psychological research into immigration has tended to focus either on immigrants' adjustive behaviours, such as their acculturation preference, or on community attitudes towards immigrants. Recent models bring these lines of research together. This study examined effects of immigrants' perceptions of acceptance or rejection by the broader community (inclusionary status) on their psychological adaptation and satisfaction, and how this operates together with acculturation preference and first friendships.

One hundred thirty-seven immigrants to Australia from 46 countries completed an English-language questionnaire. Results showed good psychological adaptation to life in Australia and strong satisfaction. Contrary to previous findings, preference for assimilation predicted greater satisfaction. The one variable that consistently predicted psychological adaptation and satisfaction when all other variables were controlled was inclusionary status. This related with preference for contact with Australians. First friendships were also important. To the extent that first friendships were among Australians, participants reported greater social inclusion, and this mediated a relation with better psychological adaptation.

The results speak to the importance of providing opportunities for immigrants to make new friends in the receiving community. Future research should address acculturation preferences among Australians, and examine a possible disjunct between government policy and mainstream attitudes.

Keywords

Acceptance, Acculturation, Immigration, Prejudice, Psychological adaptation, Sociocultural adaptation, Social inclusion

THE INTERPLAY OF SOCIAL CONTEXT AND PERSONAL ATTRIBUTES IN IMMIGRANTS' ADAPTATION AND SATISFACTION WITH THE MOVE TO AUSTRALIA

On 28th September 2007, Liep Gony, a Sudanese teenager who had arrived as a refugee to Australia, was tragically murdered in a racially motivated attack in Melbourne. Following the incident, the Australian Government significantly reduced the annual intake of Sudanese refugees on the grounds that Sudanese did not integrate well into the Australian community. In relation to this decision, the then Minister for Immigration, Kevin Andrews, stated: 'I have been concerned that some groups don't seem to be settling and adjusting into the Australian way of life as quickly as we would hope and therefore it makes sense to put the extra money in to provide extra resources, but also to slow down the rate of intake from countries such as Sudan' (Farouque et al. 2007). This response by the Australian government illustrates the tension that arises between the host culture and immigrants when expectations of one another's acculturative behaviours are out of step. In the case of the Australian Government, disappointment at Sudanese acculturation led to the decision to exclude many refugees from this war-torn country.

Acculturation is a term that describes the adaptations that individuals and communities make when individuals move between cultures (Redfield et al. 1936). Berry (1974,1980) proposed that there are two underlying dimensions of acculturation. The first of these is the extent to which immigrants wish to maintain their original culture; the second is how much they desire relationships and contact with members of the host society. The

combination of these creates four distinct acculturation preferences or strategies. These are *integration*, where the immigrant prefers to maintain original cultural identity and also have relationships with receiving community members; *assimilation*, where the immigrant prefers to abandon their original cultural identity and seek contact with receiving community members; *separation*, where the immigrant favours maintenance of the original cultural identity and no engagement with the receiving community; and *marginalisation*, where the immigrant prefers to abandon their original cultural identity and also does not wish to engage with host society members. Most studies have found that immigrants express preference for integration (Berry 1997; Van de Vijver et al. 1999; van Oudenhaven et al. 1998). Furthermore, integration has been found to relate to better psychological adaptation and reduced acculturative stress (Berry 1997; Berry et al. 1987; Liebkind 1996; 2001).

Bourhis, Moise, Perreault, & Senecal (1997) made the point that host societies, too, have preferences for the extent to which they prefer immigrants to maintain their original culture and seek contact with the mainstream society. Following Berry's scheme, these preferences were categorised in the Interactive Acculturation Model into integration, assimilation, segregation (equivalent to separation), and exclusion (equivalent to marginalisation). They further proposed that intergroup difficulties arise when there is poor match between acculturation preferences of the host society and particular immigrant groups. For example, if a society desires that immigrants assimilate, but immigrants desire separation, a conflictual relationship will arise. Empirical research has supported this contention (Zagefka & Brown 2002), and as shown in the example above, the consequences of a mismatch can be dire.

It is important to recognise that acculturation attitudes of the host and the immigrant group are not immutable; there is an interplay where one influences the other. As Berry (2001) pointed out, the choices of immigrants in their acculturation behaviours are likely constrained by the orientations of the receiving society. There is little opportunity to integrate if members of the receiving society prefer segregation and refuse to interact with the newcomers. Integration requires the receiving society to be accepting of immigrants, and willing to accept and accommodate their cultural identity. Equally, the immigrant needs to be willing to accept the culture of the host nation. Thus, receiving community members' acceptance or rejection of immigrants' culture of origin and contact with those immigrants

has implications for how they integrate in their new community.

Abundant psychological research has shown that people are acutely sensitive to signals of others' acceptance and rejection and alter their behaviours accordingly. They quickly become dejected when ostracised (Williams 2007), and attempt to increase their social acceptability (Williams 2009). Even self-esteem fluctuates dramatically as a result of feeling social accepted or rejected (Leary & Baumeister 2000).

Nesdale (2002) examined the effects of social acceptance and rejection on immigrants' identification with Australia and with their original culture. Acceptance by Australians was significantly related to host-country identification, but not ethnic identification. Nonetheless, friendships showed a different pattern; those who had few Australian friends also identified more with their ethnic group.

The current research investigated the relations between feeling accepted by the host society (inclusionary status), and immigrants' acculturation. We first examined whether there was a direct relation between inclusionary status and psychological and sociocultural adaptation when a range of other variables was taken into account. We next examined the relations between social acceptance and acculturation preferences. Nesdale's research had shown lack of friendships with Australians was an important predictor of ethnic ingroup identification, and other research has also shown important effects of the extent to which early friendships focus on members of the receiving community versus members of the immigrants' ethnic group (see Kosic et al. 2004). This is possibly an important determinant of inclusionary status and was therefore included in the current study.

METHOD

Participants

One hundred and thirty-seven immigrants to Australia participated in this research. These were 85 women and 52 men from 46 countries. They ranged in age from 22 to 93 years (average = 49), and had been in Australia between two months and 63 years, with an average of 16 years. Almost one quarter of participants had been in Australia for under three years, and 50 percent had been in Australia under 9 years.

Measures

Participants completed a questionnaire that contained several demographic measures (gender, age, marital status, education, country of origin, length of time in Australia, citizenship, reason for moving, initial reference group, and main current activity or job in Australia) and then a number of computed measures which included:

Inclusionary status (Spivey 1990). Measures the extent to which people feel socially included. Participants rate on a scale from '1 = Strongly disagree' to '7 = Strongly agree' nine items such as 'People in Australia often seek out my company', and 'I often feel like an outsider at social gatherings in Australia'. High scores indicate greater social inclusion.

Acculturation preference (Zagefka & Brown 2002). Measures the extent to which individuals desire (i) maintenance of their culture of origin and (ii) contact with members of the host culture. These two sub-scales can be combined to identify whether immigrants show preference for integration, assimilation, separation or marginalisation (Berry 1989). For maintenance, participants rated on the 7-point scale from '1 = Strongly disagree' to '7 = Strongly agree', 'I think that people from my country living in Australia should maintain their own religion, language and way of dressing' and 'I think that people from my country living in Australia should maintain their way of living'. For contact they responded to: 'I think it is important that people from my country living in Australia have friends who are Australian nationals' and 'I think it is important that people from my country living in Australia spend time with Australian nationals in their spare time'.

Psychological adaptation (Kosic et al, 2004). Measures psychological adaptation among immigrants. Respondents rate from '1 = Never' to '5 = All the time' eighteen items relating to how frequently during the last month they have felt distressed, angry, anxious and so on. For each individual, the mean across these eighteen items was computed, so results can vary from 1 (poor adaptation) to 5 (good adaptation).

Sociocultural adaptation. Two components of sociocultural adaptation were measured. These were satisfaction and difficulty experienced on arrival. For satisfaction, participants rated the following three items on a scale from '1 = Extremely dissatisfied' to '7 = Extremely satisfied': 'If employed, how satisfied are you with your job?', 'How satisfied are you with your accommodation', and 'How satisfied are you with your life in

Australia?' For difficulty, they rated on a scale from '1 = Extremely easy' to '7 = Extremely difficult, I have not solved the problem' the difficulty they had in dealing with various aspects of their life in Australia. Satisfaction was coded so that high scores indicate high satisfaction, and difficulty was coded so that high scores indicate high difficulty.

First friendships and current friendships (Kosic et al. 2004). Participants were asked to indicate on a scale from '1 = None' to '5 = Almost all' the number of people among their first friends in Australia who were Australians, and the number who were people from their country (co-ethnic), spoke the same language, or other immigrants.¹ These same questions were posed for the friends they have now in Australia. From these, it was possible to compute an index of the number of contacts among their first friends and current friends who were Australian in comparison with each other group. Results can range from 4 (mostly Australians) to -4 (mostly people from own country).

Two additional variables were included as controls:

Language skills on arrival and at present. Participants rated on a 7-point scale from '1 = Not at all' to '7 = Perfectly' four items such as 'How fluently do you speak English?' and 'How well do you understand the newspaper, written in English?' that measured their language skills when they first arrived in Australia, and at present. High scores indicate better language skills.

Communication skills on arrival and at present (modified from Gudykunst & Nishida 2001). Participants rated on a 7-point scale from '1 = Strongly disagree' to '7 = Strongly agree' five items such as 'My communication with Australians is mostly efficient', and 'I feel mostly competent when communicating with Australians' that measured their communication skills when they first arrived in Australia, and at present. High scores indicate better communication skills.

¹ To keep things simple, the term 'Australian' was not explicated. However, as the other questions asked about the number of friends who were from their country, had the same first language as them, or were other immigrants, 'Australian' would indicate not from their country, with their same first language, or immigrants.

Procedure

The questionnaire was distributed with the help of multicultural organisations in New South Wales who agreed to distribute hard copies of the questionnaire to members and clients, and also via a link to an online survey that was placed on websites belonging to ethnic clubs and associations, and circulated by email by research partners. Participants first read an invitation to participate, which specified they must be immigrants to Australia, currently living in Australia, and over the age of 18. If they wished to participate, they then worked through the questionnaire and, if completing the printed version, returned it in a reply-paid envelope.

RESULTS

Preliminary data analysis consisted of testing the internal reliability of each of the scales using Cronbach's alpha. Scales proved reliable: psychological adaptation (0.91); satisfaction (0.72); difficulty (0.80); inclusionary status (0.91); preference for culture maintenance (0.93); preference for contact (0.84); language skills on arrival (0.99); language skills at present (0.97); communication skills on arrival (0.95); communication skills at present (0.87).

Psychological adaptation

On average, participants showed good psychological adaptation (mean = 3.8, std deviation = .66). A minority of participants (15, or 11.3 percent) reported scores below the scale midpoint of 3, three participants scored on the midpoint of 3, and the remaining 113 participants (85 percent) scored above the midpoint. Thus, 85 percent of participants showed positive adaptation within the host culture.

Multiple regression analysis was conducted to examine the predictors of psychological adaptation. Variables entered into the analysis included: Age; length of stay; preference for culture maintenance; preference for contact; language on arrival; language now; communication on arrival; communication now; difficulty on arrival; satisfaction. Inclusionary status was entered on a second step as it was of particular interest to identify whether inclusionary status would mediate any relationships with psychological adaptation.²

² This would be indicated where there was a significant effect at Step 1, which disappeared at Step 2, when inclusionary status was included in the equation.

It was also of interest to identify whether there was an interaction of preference for culture maintenance and contact. This was entered as a third step in the analysis, and would capture the four different acculturation strategies of assimilation, integration, separation, marginalisation.

Table 1. Summary of regressions onto psychological adaptation and sociocultural adaptation (satisfaction). Shows direction of significant relations, +ve or -ve.

Predictor	Psych. Adaptation	Sociocultural adaptation (satisfaction)
Inclusionary status	Sig (+ve)	Sig (+ve)
Age	Sig (+ve)	<i>Ns</i>
Length of stay	<i>ns</i>	<i>Ns</i>
Preference for culture maintenance	<i>ns</i>	<i>Ns</i>
Preference for contact	<i>ns</i>	<i>Ns</i>
Language on arrival	<i>ns</i>	<i>Ns</i>
Language now	<i>ns</i>	<i>Ns</i>
Communication on arrival	Sig (+ve)	<i>Ns</i>
Communication now	<i>ns</i>	<i>Ns</i>
Difficulty on arrival	<i>ns</i>	<i>Ns</i>
Psych adaptation (control variable)	-	Sig (+ve)
Satisfaction (control variable)	Sig (+ve)	-
Acculturation Maintenance*Contact	<i>ns</i>	Sig (-ve)

There were 126 cases in the analysis. Step 2 explained significantly more variance in psychological adaptation than Step 1, but the model was not improved with the addition of the interaction term in Step 3, and there were no significant moderation effects. Thus, Step 2 is the preferred model. Significant predictors of psychological adaptation at Step 2 were age (std beta = .402, $p = .012$), communication on arrival (std beta = .261, $p = .046$), satisfaction (std beta = .238, $p = .016$), and inclusionary status (std beta = .290, $p = .012$).

Sociocultural adaptation (satisfaction)

On average, participants were satisfied with the move to Australia (mean = 5.7, std deviation = 1.3; on the scale, 6 = 'Satisfied'). Only ten participants (8.5 percent) scored below the scale's neutral mid-point of 4.

A stepwise multiple regression analysis of the same design as for psychological adaptation examined the predictors of satisfaction. There were 123 cases in this analysis. Step 3 provided the best fit to the data, and is therefore the preferred model. Significant predictors of satisfaction at Step 3 were preference for contact (std beta = .330, $p = .001$), psychological adaptation (std beta = .222, $p = .010$), inclusionary status (std beta = .275, $p = .013$), and the interaction of preference for culture maintenance and contact (std beta = -.229, $p = .016$).

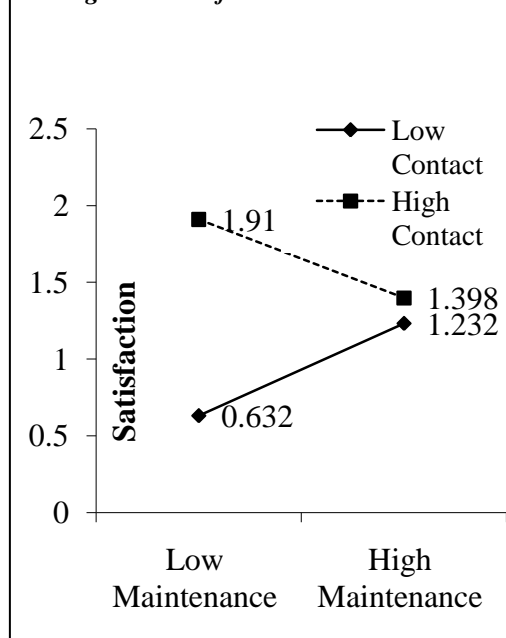
The interaction effect maps onto the four different acculturation preferences of assimilation (low maintenance, high contact), integration (high maintenance, high contact), separation (high maintenance, low contact), and marginalisation (low maintenance, low contact). Breakdown of this effect revealed that satisfaction was least when participants showed more marginalisation preference (low maintenance, low contact), and highest when they showed more assimilation preference (low maintenance, high contact).

Inclusionary status

On average, participants partially agreed that they feel socially included by Australians (mean = 5.0, std deviation = 1.3; on the 7-point scale, 5 = 'Partially agree'). However, over one third of participants (37.8 percent, or 51 individuals) scored below the scale's neutral midpoint of 4, indicating that they felt socially excluded.

A multiple regression analysis was conducted to examine the relations between inclusionary status and acculturation preference while controlling for other variables. Predictors entered into the regression equation were length of stay, language skills on arrival and now, communication skills on arrival and now, difficulty on arrival, preference for culture maintenance, preference for contact, and the interaction between these two. Among these, the only significant predictors of inclusionary status were length of stay (std beta = .176, $p = .050$), communication skills now (std beta = .358, $p < .01$), and preference for contact (std beta = .408, $p < .001$). Participants who felt more included had better communication skills, had been longer in Australia, and showed greater preference for contact with Australians.

Figure 1. Interaction of acculturation maintenance and contact in their effect on immigrants' satisfaction.



Friendships with Australians and co-ethnics

A partial correlation matrix, controlling for age and length of stay, was used to scrutinise the relations between first friends Australian and current friends Australian and other variables. In fact, first friends and current friends correlated with almost all variables (see Table 2).

First friends Australian. The extent to which first friends were Australians strongly correlated with the extent to which current friends were Australian. It also moderately correlated with inclusionary status and communication on arrival. The other correlations were smaller in magnitude, ranging downwards from .356. The only variables first friend Australians did not correlate with were satisfaction, problem solving, and preference for culture maintenance.

Current friends Australian. The extent to which current friends were Australians correlated moderately with inclusionary status. It also correlated moderately with communication on arrival, communication now, and language now. The other correlations were reasonably small in magnitude, ranging downwards from .321. The only variables current friends Australian did not correlate with were satisfaction and problem solving.

Table 2. Partial correlations between the extent to which first friends and current friends are Australian compared with co-ethnic, and a range of other variables, while controlling for age and length of time in Australia (df=96).

Variable	First friends Australian	Current friends Australian
First friends Australian	-	.622***
Current friends Australian	.622***	-
Psychological adaptation	.229**	.177
Satisfaction	.022	.147
Inclusionary status	.467***	.566***
Preference for culture maintenance	-.143	-.269**
Preference for contact	.246*	.321***
Language on arrival	.244*	.184
Language now	.356***	.387***
Communication on arrival	.409***	.416***
Communication now	.266**	.409***
Difficulty	-.207*	-.268**

*** $p < .001$, ** $p < .01$, * $p < .05$

Mediation analysis. First friends Australian and current friends Australian both related quite strongly with inclusionary status, and less strongly with psychological adaptation. Given that inclusionary status is a reliable predictor of psychological adaptation, we tested two mediation paths where:

First friends Australian -> inclusionary status -> psychological adaptation

Current friends Australian -> inclusionary status -> psychological adaptation.

The first mediation analysis examined (while controlling for length of stay) the relation between initial friends Australian and inclusionary status, and then the relation between inclusionary status and psychological adaptation when initial friends Australian is included in the relation. The beta coefficients and std errors from these two analyses were then submitted to Sobel's test, which yielded a

significant result of 3.13, $p < .001$. There were 100 cases in this analysis.

The second mediation analysis then used the same design to test whether inclusionary status mediated a relation between current friends Australian and psychological adaptation. Sobel's test revealed a significant result of 3.31, $p < .001$. There were 111 cases in this analysis. Testing the reverse path also yielded a significant result (Sobel = 3.748, $p < .001$).³

DISCUSSION

Inclusionary status significantly related both to psychological and sociocultural adaptation. Immigrants who felt more socially included by the host culture were better psychologically adjusted, and more satisfied with their life in Australia. They also showed greater preference for contact with Australians. Importantly, immigrants' initial contacts when they arrived in Australia predicted their later connections. Those whose first friends were mostly Australians also reported that their current friends were mostly Australians. These participants also showed stronger inclusionary status and better psychological adaptation. Indeed, the two mediation effects showed that inclusionary status explained the relation between friendships and psychological adaptation. It seems that those who start out making friends with receiving community members are ultimately happier in their new location.

One particularly interesting result was the relation between acculturation preference and satisfaction. First, there was a main effect of preference for contact where, after taking into account the effects of inclusionary status, language and communication skills, and other control variables, those who believed contact with Australians was important were ultimately more satisfied with their life in Australia. Second, there was an interaction between the two dimensions of preference for contact and preference for cultural maintenance. Those who showed greater preference for assimilation (lower culture maintenance and higher contact with Australians) reported the most satisfaction, more so than those who showed greater preference for integration. A similar finding was recently reported by Salleh-Hoddin (2009), where Muslim Australians who favoured assimilation reported less discrimination.

³ The reverse path for initial friends could not be logically be tested as psychological adaptation now cannot predict friends made some time in the past.

Given that integration is usually lauded as the strategy that predicts the best adaptation for immigrants, these two recent findings require some attention. We suggest it could result from a mismatch between immigrants' and receiving community acculturation preferences. Australia is one of the few countries to hold an official government policy of multiculturalism (van Oudenhaven 2006). However, what governments legislate does not dictate public attitudes (Bourhis et al. 1997). To our knowledge, a comprehensive survey of Australian acculturation preferences is yet to be undertaken, but there are indications that mainstream attitudes in Australia may not reflect government policy. A survey of over 5,000 people in Queensland and New South Wales reported by Dunn, Forrest, Burnley, and McDonald (2004) revealed that, while the large majority of participants agreed that 'It is a good thing for a society to be made up of people from different cultures', less than half *disagreed* that 'Australia is weakened by different ethnicities sticking to their old ways'. Thus, while Australians enjoy the presence of cultural diversity, the populace appear to endorse assimilation rather than integration, and this is at odds with official government policy. This would be in line with acculturation attitudes in most nations (interestingly, with the exception of New Zealand, who show preference for integration; van Oudenhaven 2006). It is possible that higher satisfaction among those who show more endorsement of assimilation reflects a better match with the receiving community's expectations. Future research urgently needs to measure Australian acculturation preferences in general, and in relation to particular groups.

There are, of course, limitations to the conclusions we can draw from the current data. The sample of only 137 does not permit breakdown into different cultures of origin, and the correlational design does not allow us to speak to causation; that would require a longitudinal study or an experimental design. Furthermore, the English-language questionnaire limited responding to those who were proficient in written English. However, while acknowledging these limitations, our results speak to the importance of welcoming new immigrants to this country. Those who are able to make friends with members of the receiving community feel more socially included and are subsequently better adjusted than those whose first friendships are more exclusively among co-ethnics. Importantly, and as was reported by Nesdale (2002), this does not appear to mean abandoning their original culture.

In some places community groups have been set up specifically with the purpose of

welcoming new immigrants and giving them an opportunity to make new friends in the receiving community. Indeed, recent research by Oh (2008) found that international students at the University of Sydney who were partnered with an Australian student for just one week reported significantly increased feelings of acceptance and decreased homesickness compared to controls. In line with this, our research suggests that such support programs might be one of the most positive steps a community can take to enhance immigrants' wellbeing and satisfaction in their new home.

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Work is a human right: seeking asylum, seeking employment

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Abstract

This paper argues matters of rights and of belonging in the relationship between forced migration and paid work. It addresses the significance of work for social identity and the imperative that this be recognised in meeting the needs of the dispossessed. The argument derives from observations and perspectives on threatened peoples' mobility and the dignity of labour as a human rights challenge. While forced, or involuntary, migration is one political consequence of war, another is the associated loss of work opportunity that threatens individuals' economic survival and social well-being. Despite obligations under Articles 17-19 of the UN Convention on the Status of Refugees, national governments may ignore the humanitarian need to facilitate employment for people granted asylum. Hence the critical and ongoing insecurity of forced migration is intensified at the point of integration to the host nation-state.

Key words

Forced migration, asylum-seekers, refugees, social capital, rights governance, displaced workers, mobilisation, dispossession, employment, identity

INTRODUCTION

This paper argues matters of rights in the relationship between forced migration and paid work. As the introductory stages of an extended research project on this relationship and the ethics of response, it focuses on the breaches of principle that result from the right to work being subsumed by government policies and negligence. It touches on the role of international processes and treaties, and of the International Labour Organisation (ILO), governments, and trade union bodies, in addressing these issues. Historical and current research informs a preliminary analysis of the ethics and the impact of labour movement and governance organizations on refugees' access to employment. While the core of concern in the paper is work within Australia, the context is the challenge to justice that forced migration poses to international communities.¹

¹ A note on terminology: I write on the understanding that asylum-seekers and refugees are all 'displaced persons' and that all are people 'seeking refuge', notwithstanding that 'refugees'

Meaningful paid work, drawing on existing skills and qualifications, and developing new skills must be an active part of early integration strategies for refugees. In Australia at least, I don't believe it is: consider the discourse of migration - the cultural hangover of the White Australia Policy; the denial of any Australian 'identity' which was not founded in Anglo-Celtic or European heritage; the big Australia/ small Australia policy agendas, and border control. As Yarwood demonstrated four decades back, the right to work has historically been contested for migrants in Australia (Yarwood, 1968). That right is especially contentious in the twenty-first century context of 'terrorism'-provoked migration. We're confronted by dreadful irony in current scenarios, whereby the wealthy west physically and financially engages in conflict zones, like Afghanistan, yet rejects or returns people seeking asylum from the devastation in those zones. Given these global paradigms, I question the adequacy of existing conventions for 21st century political migrations, and consider supplementary resolutions for justice.

BACKGROUND

A range of international and national instruments offer solutions on forced migration rights. These include the primary instrument, the 1951 *UN Convention relating to the Status of Refugees* (the Refugees Convention), with its 1967 protocol taking account of post 1951 displacement (that is, displacement by events beyond World War Two and its immediate aftermath).² Articles 17, 18 and 19 assert a qualified need for governments to protect work rights. I believe this Convention desperately needs revisiting in the context of modern diaspora and cultural terrorism. The *UN High Commission for Refugees* (UNHCR) oversees the Convention. These original instruments were augmented in 2002 by *The Hague Process on Refugees and*

formally applies to asylum-seekers officially granted status to remain in their place of refuge. Given the time most asylum-seekers spend waiting for status determination, their access to personal and social validation is also critical.

² Please see Appendix 1.

Migration(THP), an intriguing recent global collaboration. THP seeks practical ways to bring government and business together to facilitate justice in migration – in its own words it aims ‘to build awareness of the multiple ways in which refugees, migrants and other displaced persons add value to societies’. So, it also addresses work.³ The ILO (formed in 1919, but from the early days of the UN a specialised tripartate agency of that body) oversees 180 conventions and 185 recommendations on labour and employment, eight of which ‘are considered fundamental to the rights of human beings at work’ (Scott 2004: 47). As a policy, research, and coordinating body the ILO is critical to international governance on labour.

However these are international instruments, constrained by the relative lack of enforceability of international law and regulation against sovereign law. Territorial disputes between international and national human rights regimes dilute the impact of international institutions and law, including those related to work. In the international arena civil and political rights, being so-called ‘first generation rights’ in customary law and treaty regimes, are to some extent enforceable, including through the application of sanctions and resort to international courts. Social and economic rights are ‘second generation’ in this regime, addressed by less enforceable mechanisms (Dixon 2007: 346). In this context of apparent regime priorities, work rights might well be obscured from popular debate.

Threatened peoples’ mobility and the dignity of labour challenge human rights policy and host nation workforces. It is evident that forced migration, or involuntary population mobility, is one consequence of war and conflict. Another is the loss of local work opportunity because of economic, physical and social disruption. This threatens individual

³ (THP Mission statement) The 2002 *Declaration of The Hague on the Future of Refugee and Migration Policy* is based on the vision of a just world where refugees and migrants contribute to economic and social development, cultural richness and diversity without suffering discrimination and human rights violations. The Hague Process on Refugees and Migration (Foundation THP) has as its mission to support the implementation of this *Declaration*. THP seeks to build awareness of the multiple ways in which refugees, migrants and other displaced persons add value to societies. It contributes to policy making based on factual evidence; it welcomes input from experts of all kinds; it respects the many different interests of its stakeholders so as to address more comprehensively changing migration patterns, societal challenges and opportunities; it focuses on innovative approaches and concrete solutions. See <<http://www.thehagueprocess.org/>>.

economic survival and undermines social, cultural, and intellectual well-being.⁴ Asylum-seekers will hope to recover in their chosen countries of refuge: however, where they achieve refugee status it will be their first generation rights, not second generation rights that are primarily addressed.

In 2006 David Harvey described neo-liberalism as today provoking a general dispossession of rights, including labour rights (Harvey 2006, Lilley interview).⁵ Global capitalism in tandem with neoliberalism favours local labour and capital accumulation by dispossession, leading to the worker becoming ‘disposable’. Arguably, in that context the refugee worker is disposable, a labour resource out of place, an inconvenience. So, is confining asylum-seeker labour a deliberate tactic by government on behalf of capital to confine disposed workers where capital, in its multinational or transnational form benefits from the dispossession of local labour? Is this one rationale for the punitive responses to forced migration: to quarantine even dispossessed workers in their home states or territories? Are asylum-seekers the 21st century reserve army of labour?

Displacement in conflict zones means removal from loved ones, family and friends: it also means dispossession of social capital - homes/neighbourhoods, education, and employment. In this trap, adults and children labour for survival, necessarily abandoning schooling and skills development education that can ensure a dignified mobility. And where people escape across borders, work is denied: in 2008 Britain’s *The Independent* reported of Iraqi refugees in the Middle East:

⁴ To leave such a situation because it is untenable, but without demonstrable individual threat of harm of death, is to be an economic refugee, and to be denied refugee status by the states in which they seek asylum. But economic refugees are lost from popular debate: debilitating unemployment and economic degradation do not grab headlines.

⁵ Harvey argued: ‘if you look at the dispossession of the Mexican peasant or even the dispossession of the Iowa farmer, it’s one thing to say that the reorganization of society is such that you have to give up your traditional ways of doing things and doing things in a very different way, it’s one thing to say that. It’s another thing to say, you’re going to give up all your rights and you’re going to lose to the point that you just become a disposable person. And I think the struggles going on, for instance, the landless peasant movement in Brazil or the movements against the Narmada dam in India, are not on the part of people who do not want change. [...] what they are concerned about is that they are losing everything or being deprived of things in such a way that they do not get any benefits at all from it (cited in Lilley 2006).

Most of the refugees in countries bordering Iraq do not have the right to work. Many live on meagre handouts and dwindling savings. Those who end up working in the black economy are often cheated, and there has been a rise in cases of child labour and women being forced into prostitution. (Sengupta in *The Independent* 15.6.2008)

The politics of labour in such humanitarian crises seem to be relegated to second tier status, as well as being 'second generation'. But the politics of labour is also the politics of food, dignity, and family as well as of migration. Economic or labour needs are inextricably bound with first generation rights. The relationship provokes immense challenges to individuals and agencies.

In Gaza for example the politics of labour historically informs Israel's management of the blockade. The ILO observed in 1995 that 'the exceptional growth of the Palestinian labour force in a shrinking job market is putting the peace process under tremendous pressure' (ILO Media Release 26.5.10). In January 2010 Amnesty International commented that the Israeli blockade of Gaza was destroying buildings, depriving people of food, and destroying business, so that unemployment continued to spiral – to a UN estimated level of 40 percent (Amnesty International 26.5.10). Six months later the *Guardian Weekly* reported that figure as 44 percent - effectively half the labour force (Sherwood in *Guardian Weekly* 4.6.10). The quantum is exacerbated by Israel's selective blockade of goods, which discriminates against goods which would require manufacture and labour. For example, large blocks of butter needing cutting and packaging are blocked while small blocks only needing to be distributed are not. Another scenario: in Indonesia hundreds of asylum-seekers are imprisoned in Australian-financed detention centres. Reflect on the dreadful wastage of human capacity when people are so confined, productive not for themselves, nor their captors, nor for their prospective home or their state of origin.

Twenty-first century internationalism demands a coherent international labour strategy which addresses work rights with human rights. The ILO, international and national trade union organisations, and their affiliated unions speak to workers but are not necessarily heard in the press, or by public policy makers. International trade union action on refugee employment is a first tier imperative, and one which must connect to national and local awareness. For the labour movement, a

reactive response is simply inadequate against global capitalism's challenge to asylum-seeker mobility.

In countries of refuge, the dignity of work in involuntary migration is often sidelined into under-funded policy bodies. This is despite states' obligations as signatories to international treaties which declare a nexus between economic and social rights for refugees. Further, coverage of labour in popular debates on human rights is underwhelming. Failure to properly address the industrial imperative in refugee policy and rights analyses persists. With the exception of some political economy analysts, the failure to prioritise the dignity of labour for people already pushed to the limits by personal struggle is generally absent from academic politics scholarship.⁶ For example, a recent thematic issue on 'rights' of the *Australian Journal of Political Science* (44 (1) March 2009) did not mention work and labour rights. As for political operatives: the labour rights perspective was dreadfully absent from Prime Minister Gillard's border protection enhancement policy announcements of 6 July 2010, and concurrent policy dialogue on population and migration rarely embraces forced migration other than as a people smuggler/ detention matter.

Philosophically, debates over refugees are debates on power. The face of this power reflects global corporatisation, xenophobic nationalism and state sovereignty, and is facilitated by representations of non-nationals that encourage 'othering'. The dynamic confronts diaspora's impact on workforce diversity: labour migration for economic or social change not only creates a culture challenge for incomers, it shifts the culture of host workforces.

Refugee workers are members of the global workforce, connected to international worker solidarity. Even so, historically, they can become ghettoized from, and by, other labour. Consider West Germany after 1961 when the Berlin Wall closed the west of the city to cheap workers from the East: Turkish workers became the new cheap labour, never completely accepted (Mandel 1989: 28; Senders 1996: 152). Or nineteenth century Chinese immigrants to Australia (Yarwood 1968: 17-39). Or Sydney and her female

⁶ One exception is Ronaldo Munck. See for example his 2002, *Globalisation and Labour: The New 'Great Transformation'*, Zed Books, London. In 2008, addressing an International Labour Movement audience on 'Globalisation and the Labour Movement', Munck identified migration as 'an issue which causes severe discomfort for neo-liberal thought'.

outworkers, sometimes ‘illegal’ and handicapped by lack of access to trade unions and the state’s failure to ensure they learn English (Stevens 1997). Or salon manicurists in the big shopping centres – young women from the global south, exploited, frightened about visas, keeping their heads down (ABC Background Briefing 2008). Remember the ‘New Australians’ of the 50s and 60s – migrants designated as ‘new’, ‘foreign’, not integrated, starting life in Australia in ‘Migrant Hostels’, alienated from professional identity and qualifications, funneled into jobs of national convenience; university professors of mathematics sent to the Snowy Mountains to build a hydro-electric scheme or placed in high schools to teach wild adolescents. The ‘hostels’ have been replaced by detention centres. Work was a contested right for refugees in post World War Two Australia and it’s a contested right now. So why don’t states emphasise work for refugees? Why not embrace the full implications of global responsibility for forced migration? No matter what’s going on here, the bottom line is that asylum-seekers are denied work access initially by ‘processing’ and then, as refugees, by visa. We need to treat people better. We need to activate our global duty of care.

STATE POLICY AND PRACTICE

Writing about migrant domestic workers in the UK, Jenny Moss has asked ‘At what point do the rights of migrant domestic workers as human beings and as workers start to take precedence over their status as migrants?’ (Moss 2010). This attitudinal shift must be the goal of trade union refugee action - that refugee workers become seen as workers and community members. Loss and alienation are effectively addressed where local labour movements acknowledge refugees as equal workers. Unions certainly endorse the rights of international migrant workers: for example, in October 2009 the Australian Council for Trade Unions (ACTU) with Amnesty Australia made a submission to Minister for Immigration and Citizenship seeking ratification of the *International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of all Migrant Workers and Members of their Families* which came into force in 2003 (ACTU 2010). The ACTU worked with DEEWR (Department of Education, Employment and Workplace Relations) on Australian compliance to enable ratification of the Convention.⁷ However, trade

⁷ The Convention ‘entered into force in July 2003. Its primary objective is to protect migrant workers and their families, a particularly vulnerable population, from exploitation and the violation of their human rights’ (UNESCO (Original convention) 1990). ‘[...] The Convention seeks to draw the attention of the international community to

union action on foreign workers has been, historically, as much antagonistic as welcoming.⁸ It is local communities, and NGOs like Sanctuary, who take on the fundamentals of refugee support, including employment.

The state cannot be relied on to protect the worker as forced migrant. A majority of UN members (147 at time of writing) have ratified the Refugees Convention (147 at time of writing) including Articles 17-19: and clearly, despite the Convention’s time-bound shortcomings, those articles do specify the need for governments to protect work rights, albeit with caveats. But national policy-makers too often lose sight of the humanitarian need to facilitate employment for people granted asylum. Hence the real limitations in refugee support begin at point of integration to the ‘host’ nation-state. At this point, critical links between citizens and involuntary migrants are thwarted. In Australia, the accumulating closure of regional public sector offices limits the capacity for public sector workers to directly engage with people who need their services. This break is about to be heightened in the UK by the Conservative/ Liberal Democrat Coalition’s public sector cuts. The UK is already under fire for human rights abuse in its implementation of deportations, including of children, often carried out with minimal forewarning, and has been censured by the European Court of Human Rights (Dugan 2010; Human Rights Law Resource Centre, ECHR 27, 2010) In 2009 the New Zealand National Party government of John Key was attacked by the Human Rights Foundation of Aotearoa New Zealand and a coalition of NGOs for failure to ratify international human rights instruments, including the Convention

the dehumanisation of migrant workers and members of their families, many of whom being deprived of their basic human rights. Indeed, legislation implementing other basic treaties in some States utilises terminology covering citizens and/or residents, de jure excluding many migrants, especially those in irregular situations’ (UNESCO 2003). See <<http://www.unesco.org/new/en/social-and-human-sciences/themes/social-transformations/international-migration/international-migration-convention/>>.

⁸ See for example Sydney’s *Labor Daily* in the 1920s, concerned to protect the jobs of returning soldiers / union members – white soldiers – including against imported non-white labour. Australian trade unionism has a historically fraught position on immigration. Forty years ago AT Yarwood (1968: 114) illustrated the movement’s divisions: in the late 1920s the Australian Workers Union (AWU) supporting the Whiter Australia Policy (WAP), Pan Pacific Trade Union Movement (PPTUM) rejected the WAP as anti-worker, while the new ACTU initially supported the PPTUM but came over the AWU position in 1930.

on Migrant Workers. The coalition also raised concerns on conditions for seasonal workers in New Zealand (New Zealand NGO Coalition 2010).⁹

Ronaldo Munck, cited earlier (note 6) as a political scientist who does address 'labour in the global', has described 'a new period' of 'labour internationalism' (Munck 2002: 154).¹⁰ If present, this offers grounds for optimism: true internationalist perspectives in labour and politics will facilitate tolerance and the welcoming of migrants as guests in nation-states. This, surely, draws on the foundation creed of the UN. However the 'war on terror' has legitimised denial of internationalism, of the global, in favor of the parochial nation-state. Western Sydney Labor MP David Bradbury, foreshadowing the new Prime Minister's tightening of border control, alleged issues of population growth and security in reciting (what he saw as) his constituents' concerns about refugees. Whatever has become of Al Grassby's multiculturalism?

Inevitably perhaps, Bradbury's constituents - many originally migrants themselves - may feel threatened by the presence of traumatised, vulnerable peoples dumped as competitors for services in their under-resourced communities. When individuals - locals as well as migrants - aren't able to use their skills and training, earn a dignified living, to survive independently, the resulting social tensions can be catalyst for violent protest, resistance, and ethnic dissent. Communities which might otherwise offer support can then be worn down.

Social exclusionary strategies practiced within a nation-state on in-coming peoples promote political unrest. Failure to recognise working and professional skills is not only economic madness, and failure of human duty of care, it also creates instabilities which in some cultures might result in civil conflict. People may be scape-goated: Somalian youth in Melbourne for example have been targeted by police, and further harmed by the 2009 arrests of four 'Somali-based' people charged with terrorist intent against a Sydney army barracks

⁹ In contrast to the key government response, eight years earlier the government of Helen Clark had welcomed some of the MV Tampa asylum-seekers, those people being much more fortunate than their companions left to the mercies of John Howard's Government in Australia.

¹⁰ Labour historians would note that this 'new internationalism' is instead rather 'renewed' - recall the internationalism supported by the docks in 19th and 20th century Australia (noted by Edna Ryan, interviewed by Lucy Taksa: see Lyons Martyn and Taksa, Lucy 1992, *Australian Readers Remember: an oral history of reading 1890-1930*, OUP Melbourne).

(Waldron 2005; Zwartz & Cooke 2009). Attempting to combat scapegoating the social media-savvy Australian Somali Youth League (ASYL) established a Facebook site, with the stated aims of 'enhancing the community bond among young Somalis in Melbourne and the rest of Australia' and facilitating literacy, social, personal lifestyle choices, advocacy and opportunity programs for the youth. But scape-goating makes the subjects invisible so that any achievements might not be publicly noted, thus limiting the impact of the site to existing community and state surveillance.

The Australian Government's slashing of immigration numbers by 18,000 for 2009/10, exercised through culling of skills eligibilities, emphasised bureaucratic and political resistance to the internationalisation of labour. The dialogue on skills classifications and policy continued in tandem with people smuggler and border control debates throughout the 2010 Federal election. In Australia, the convenience of coastline as border fosters xenophobia. Like border control, restrictions on work and welfare (with strategies including 'no recourse to public funds') underline employment as controlled by, and performed for, the state.¹¹ The nexus between migration and the right to work is tightly controlled. There is some institutional support for refugee workers once in Australia: Trades Recognition Australia, an arm of DEEWR coordinates trades skills assessment for citizens, for residents (including temporary residents) and for migrants to Australia, including those on the former 457 Temporary Worker Visas. Another DEEWR agency, Job Capacity Assessments carries out work assessments (DEEWR, Employment, 2010) However, despite the existence of these agencies it's difficult to find unequivocal government acknowledgement of refugees' right, and need, to work.

And of course, there is no right to 'illegal work' even where this might ultimately benefit a local economy: DIAC (Department of Immigration and Citizenship) reports a long list of exclusions for 2010 resulting from compliance swoops, using language such as 'netting' 'crackdown', 'capture' and boasting of tactics and timing (DIAC, Media Releases 2010). For example, in January 2010 four

¹¹ In the UK, 'no recourse to public funds' - including medical and welfare support - applies to new migrants for their first 6 months in the country. In Australia, asylum-seekers only receive state support, as Protection Visa applicants, if they meet hardship criteria and are not in a detention centre; once accorded refugee status (which typically takes far more than 6 months) they are eligible for full resident benefits from Centrelink. See <http://www.immi.gov.au/media/factsheets/62assist_ance.htm>.

farm-workers were seized in Menindee ‘as the grape-picking season reaches its height’. This is also the government which, on its own admission, has been returning an increasing number of asylum seekers to their homelands, against the advice of refugee action groups. Labor may have now abrogated its moral right to condemn Howard and Ruddock on asylum-seekers. The behaviour, from a nation which supports the doctrine of ‘Responsibility to Protect’ as it applies to genocides, massacre, and human-made disasters and in the 1990s promulgated the ideal of the ‘Good International Citizen’ and arguably still represents itself as one, is cruel, irresponsible and nonsensical.

What tactics other than this heightened bullying and abuse might states of ‘refuge’ develop once asylum-seekers are in the country? In the UK, the ‘Dispersal’ policy distributes asylum-seekers within local communities while they await the outcomes of their applications for refugees status. It’s not without risk; the frequent appearance of refugee narrative in UK TV testifies to social disruption. If not properly monitored children’s education suffers, and some locations exhibit a high level of harassment, threats, and economic resentment (Revell in *The Guardian* 2005; Morris in *The Independent* 2007). Nonetheless, Dispersal as a strategy is certainly preferable to remote or prison-like detention centres, and even to potentially alienating city placements. In Australia it might be argued that some communities are already provoking a form of dispersal for refugees, and an informal model for asylum-seekers operates when people are trucked into communities in the absence of detention facilities. This happened recently when the WA town of Leonora welcomed ‘boat people’ to their midst, and DIAC policy has since introduced further transfers from Christmas Island (Jerga 2010). So, while formal dispersal of people into communities can send human rights abuse underground, or evoke local resentment, ideally it offers sanctuary.

TRADE UNIONS

In all of this, the role of trade unions is critical both for their representative role for workers, and for their part in global labour and governance networks. Functioning tripartite systems give unions a critical voice in governance capable of changing policy. Indeed, global union networks have been significant since international communications was ensured via 19th century maritime worker connections.

Recent proceedings of the International Trade Union Confederation (ITUC) are promising,

and ACTU action locally demonstrates the connection to national mobilisation. At the 3rd Global Forum on Migration and Development in November 2009, the international trade union movement stressed the urgency of addressing the rights of migrant workers in migration issues. Endorsing the global campaign around the UN’s Convention on Migrant Workers, the ITUC observed:

Within the framework of the international protection mechanisms provided by the UN and in particular the ILO, migrants should be able to exercise in full their rights to freedom of association and trade union organisation, of which they are too often deprived. They should also be entitled to an adequate social welfare system and more ethical recruitment procedures (ITUC 3 July 2010).

The comment did not specifically address the situation of forced migrants/ asylum-seekers, that is, migrant workers in transition. However, the second ITUC congress in June 2010 passed a comprehensive resolution on migrant workers (ITUC ‘Resolution on Migrant Workers’ 2010).

At a national level, the ACTU’s immediate response to Labor’s 2010 suspension of processing of applications from Afghani and Sri Lankan asylum seekers was to call for ‘leadership from all sides of politics to counter views that seek to demonise asylum seekers or encourage Australia to abrogate its international obligations’ and demanding ‘international action to deal with the push factors that cause people to seek asylum’(ACTU 10.4.10). Its 2009 joint submission with Amnesty Australia to the Minister for Immigration requesting ratification of the Migrant Workers Convention, noted earlier, also illustrates the global-national trade union response.

CONCLUSION

In drawing this discussion to a conclusion, some principles must be asserted. Firstly, the drivers which create asylum seekers need to be taken into account in the Global North response to forced migration. Along with Harvey’s global dispossession by capital, culpability for the situations which drive people from their communities, work and homes to seek refuge in ‘safe’ countries must be acknowledged by the states which, for example, engage in or ‘allow themselves’ to be drawn into the political/ military conflicts that wreak havoc on societies.

Secondly, economic as well as political refugees must be assisted; paid work is critical

for both groups. The line between the two is commonly arbitrary, and exploited. Accordingly, any slashing of skills requirements or manipulation of visa rules that disadvantages refugees as labour needs re-assessment. After all, people living in conflict zones have had their capacity to work diminished or denied, and any subsequent flight through formal migration or asylum-seeking has perpetuated that loss. Host countries need to meet the employment needs of incomers, rather than simply plunder what of their declared skills seems in the national interest.

Thirdly, trade unions have a duty of care to all workers, including in the international community. Therefore, it is up to national/local trade unions to push their governments and their constituents on work for refugees. As affiliates of the ILO, national trade union movements have obligations towards, and can influence, refugees' access to work and hence can address debilitating alienation. Because that alienation is already embedded by the homeland depletion of jobs, unions must at a grass-roots level promote the international labour rights of the dispossessed.

In summary, if people cannot work, and earn, in their homelands, they cannot effectively remain. They need refuge elsewhere, and access to paid work that will accord them independence and dignity. Resolving this is a matter for the international community, and must be respected by national communities. It isn't enough that involuntary migrants find refuge: their need for the social capital, financial independence, and recognition offered by work that genuinely employs their skills must be acknowledged. If it is not, they remain othered, and at risk. Meeting this challenge provokes a powerful argument for internationalism.

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Appendix 1

UN Convention relating to the Status of Refugees 1951 into force: 22 April 1954.

Chapter III Gainful employment

Article 17. - Wage-earning employment

1. *The Contracting States shall accord to refugees lawfully staying in their territory the most favourable treatment accorded to nationals of a foreign country in the same circumstances, as regards the right to engage in wage-earning employment.*

2. *In any case, restrictive measures imposed on aliens or the employment of aliens for the protection of the national labour market shall not be applied to a refugee who was already exempt from them at the date of entry into force of this Convention for the Contracting State concerned, or who fulfils one of the following conditions:*

(a) *He has completed three years' residence in the country;*

(b) *He has a spouse possessing the nationality of the country of residence. A refugee may not invoke the benefit of this provision if he has abandoned his spouse;*

(c) *He has one or more children possessing the nationality of the country of residence.*

3. *The Contracting States shall give sympathetic consideration to assimilating the rights of all refugees with regard to wage-earning employment to those of nationals, and in particular of those refugees who have entered their territory pursuant to programmes of labour recruitment or under immigration schemes.*

Article 18. - Self-employment

The Contracting States shall accord to a refugee lawfully in their territory treatment as favourable as possible and, in any event, not

less favourable than that accorded to aliens generally in the same circumstances, as regards the right to engage on his own account in agriculture, industry, handicrafts and commerce and to establish commercial and industrial companies.

Article 19. - Liberal professions

1. *Each Contracting State shall accord to refugees lawfully staying in their territory who hold diplomas recognized by the competent authorities of that State, and who are desirous of practising a liberal profession, treatment as favourable as possible and, in any event, not less favourable than that accorded to aliens generally in the same circumstances.*

2. *The Contracting States shall use their best endeavours consistently with their laws and constitutions to secure the settlement of such refugees in the territories, other than the metropolitan territory, for whose international relations they are responsible.*

See: <<http://www2.ohchr.org/english/law/refugees.htm>>.

[When tested against 21st diaspora, accelerated mobility for asylum, and cultural terrorism it is evident that the convention needs updating. Perhaps exploiting that need, John Howard breached it on many counts, including on principle of non-refoulement (not returning refugees to places of danger; the ALP is also breaching this with regard especially to Afghanistan) and on failing to cooperate with UNHCR. It goes without saying that the 'turn back the boats' rhetoric also supports this breach].

