THE ROLE OF ETHNIC COMMUNITY ORGANISATIONS IN
PROMOTING SOCIAL INTEGRATION
OF AFRICAN IMMIGRANTS IN AUSTRALIA

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A dissertation submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, School of Social Work, the University of Melbourne, Parkville 3052

AUSTRALIA

DECEMBER 1995
DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to my mother, Antie Adwoa Addai who supported me in my quest for further education and to my late beloved father, Teacher Andoh, whose advice and discipline enabled me to attain my goal in life.
ABSTRACT

The abolition of the 'White' Australia Policy in 1973 resulted in the broadening of refugee intake and a proliferation of small ethnic groups settling in Australia from all parts of the world, including sub-Saharan Africa. Despite this fact, the settlement needs of these small ethnic groups have received very little attention in the Australian literature.

Since these small groups consist largely of recent arrivals, they do not have the institutional structures or collective resources of other older more established ethnic communities. Thus, these small newly arrived groups are yet to develop a second generation and their members may have difficulty in accessing the many settlement services which have evolved since the Galbally Report in 1978. This Report based settlement policy on collective self-help and enshrined principles of multiculturalism and cultural maintenance which had been developed earlier on in the late 1960s. The idea is that ethnic communities are better placed to assist their own members in the settlement process.

This dissertation thus explores and interprets the role which African self-help ethnic organisations play in promoting the social integration of their members in Australia. No detailed study of African ethnic community organisations, from a participatory perspective, has been conducted in Australia to date. The thesis offers a beginning towards addressing this gap in the field of migration and ethnic affairs in Australia.

Based on data researched through an intensive interview program with representatives and leaders of 18 of the 22 ethnic African community associations in Victoria, an heuristic philosophical framework for social research was utilised in this study to explain the role of African ethnic community organisations in the social integration of their members. A typology of these organisations was based on association goals and functions.

Set in the context of Australian immigration and settlement policies as these affect the immigration and settlement of African immigrants and refugees in this country, a political economy approach adopted in the analysis of the study makes it possible to identify the
The study findings confirm this view, as a majority of respondents stated that structural barriers such as the way and manner immigration and settlement policies are practised in Australia, disadvantage the effectiveness of their organisations. The findings also show that African community organisations are not able to function effectively in delivering social welfare service to members due to the limited and contained national intake of black Africans, which directly affects the size of membership and the political allocation of resources of these organisations.

Despite the exploratory nature of this study, the research findings nevertheless point to strong evidence that social integration of immigrant groups is related to the support and services which ethnic community organisations are able to provide to their members in the host country. The findings suggest that African ethnic community organisations assist their members in the initial and longer-term settlement process. The majority of the respondents indicated that their ethnic organisations provided them with a sense of identity, friendship and cultural companionship.

The study findings signal the mechanisms by which inadequate resources and lack of institutional support for ethnic community organisations affects the viability of the role of these organisations in the settlement process of their members. This is inconsistent with Australian multicultural policy.
STATEMENT OF AUTHORSHIP

Except where reference is made in the text of the dissertation, this thesis contains no material published elsewhere or taken in whole or in part from a thesis by me for another degree or diploma.

No other person’s work has been used without due acknowledgement in the main text of the thesis.

This dissertation has not been submitted for the award of any other degree or diploma in any other tertiary institution.

BENJAMIN CHRISTIAN OKAI

DECEMBER 1995
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DECLARATON

I declare that this thesis is less than 100,000 words in length, exclusive of tables, figures, bibliographies, appendices and footnotes.

BENJAMIN CHRISTIAN OKAI
CANDIDATE
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AAA</td>
<td>Afro-Australian Association</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AASUA</td>
<td>All African Students Union in Australia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ABS</td>
<td>Australian Bureau of Statistics</td>
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<td>ACCOV</td>
<td>African Communities Council of Victoria</td>
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<td>AIDAB</td>
<td>Australian International Development and Assistance Bureau</td>
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<td>AGPS</td>
<td>Australian Government Publishing Service</td>
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<tr>
<td>AIMA</td>
<td>Australian Institute of Multicultural Affairs</td>
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<td>AMEP</td>
<td>Adult Migrant Education Program</td>
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<tr>
<td>ANU</td>
<td>Australian National University</td>
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<tr>
<td>BIMPR</td>
<td>Bureau of Immigration, Multicultural and Population Research</td>
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<tr>
<td>BIR</td>
<td>Bureau of Immigration Research</td>
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<tr>
<td>BRP</td>
<td>Budget Related Paper</td>
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<tr>
<td>CAAIP</td>
<td>Committee to Advise on Australia’s Immigration Policies</td>
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<tr>
<td>DIEA</td>
<td>Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DILGEA</td>
<td>Department of Immigration, Local Government and Ethnic Affairs</td>
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<tr>
<td>ECA</td>
<td>Economic Commission for Africa</td>
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<tr>
<td>FAO</td>
<td>Food and Agricultural Organisation</td>
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<td>FECCA</td>
<td>Federation of Ethnic Communities Councils of Australia</td>
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<td>GIA</td>
<td>Grant-in-Aid</td>
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<td>GNC</td>
<td>Good Neighbourhood Council</td>
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<tr>
<td>MRC</td>
<td>Migrant Resource Centre</td>
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<td>ILO</td>
<td>International Labour Organisation</td>
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<td>ITI</td>
<td>International Training Institute</td>
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<tr>
<td>NOOSR</td>
<td>National Office of Overseas Skills Recognition</td>
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<tr>
<td>NESB</td>
<td>Non-English Speaking Background</td>
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<td>NPC</td>
<td>National Population Council</td>
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<tr>
<td>OMA</td>
<td>Office of Multicultural Affairs</td>
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<tr>
<td>ROMAMPAS</td>
<td>Review of Migrant and Multicultural Programs and Services</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SADCC</td>
<td>Southern African Development Co-operative Conference</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TIS</td>
<td>Telephone Interpreter Service</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNESCO</td>
<td>United Nations Educational and Scientific Council</td>
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<tr>
<td>UNHCR</td>
<td>United Nations High Commission for Refugees</td>
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<tr>
<td>USCR</td>
<td>United States Committee for Refugees</td>
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<tr>
<td>VEAC</td>
<td>Victorian Ethnic Affairs Commission</td>
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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION AND OVERVIEW OF THE STUDY

1.0 INTRODUCTION

This study is about immigrant welfare and settlement in a new environment. It is an attempt to explore and interpret the role of ethnic community organisations in the adaptive processes of a minority refugee/migrant population in a new country and to determine the factors/conditions perceived by this group to be affecting the effective mobilisation of its members into a cohesive, strong and active body capable of influencing government policies for the welfare of its members.

Drawing on extensive field and survey research in the Melbourne Metropolitan area and Africa and on a review of relevant literature, a detailed account of the role of African community organisations in the adaptation process will be presented.

A central assumption upon which this thesis is built, meanwhile supported by much theoretical and empirical work, is that the social, economic and political environment of the host society has a significant influence on immigrant community organisations' ability to assist their members in the settlement process. It is also based on the author's conviction that solutions to politically and economically inflicted misery must be sought in the way society is structured.

1.1 REASONS FOR DOING THIS RESEARCH

Over the decades, Australia has attracted millions of immigrants who have created a multicultural society. Initially these came from Western Europe, especially from the United Kingdom. Since World War II Australia has witnessed many changes in its immigration policies. The most outstanding change is the abolition of the White Australia policy in 1973 and the resultant arrival of a great variety of ethnic groupings, which, in turn, has given rise to the multicultural Australia we now know. While the West Europeans have retained numerical majority and linguistic domination, immigrants from other societies have, with their cultural
heritages, contributed significantly to the presently diversified culture of Australia. This is reflected in the statistical and social realities of Australia, where more than four out of ten residents are direct products of the post-war migration program (Collins, 1988, p.10). One in five Australians were born overseas; one in three has a parent born overseas. Australians represent 170 countries from all over the world (ABS, 1991). Though recently arrived, Africans are a part of this pattern.

As a result of these changes in Australian immigration policies, public and academic interest in problems of migration and settlement have developed considerably, and investigations into them have grown sharply in number and quality (Price, 1963, Collins, 1988; Birrell & Birrell, 1987; Connell & McCall, 1989; Azordegan, 1988; Brick, 1984; Taman, 1986; Waters, 1983; etc.) Some of these writings such as Price's (1963) *Southern Europeans in Australia*, Yearwood's (1975) *Asians in Australia*, Morales' (1985) *The South Americans*, Birrell's (1990) *The Chains that Bind* and Collins' (1988) *Migrant Hands in a Distant Land* have derived from scholars interested in examining the story of migration and settlement and in making their findings known to the general and academic public. Other studies, such as Choi's (1975) *Chinese Migration and Settlement in Australia* and de Lepervanche's (1984) *Indians in a White Australia* have been the work of social scientists seeking to understand and make known the settlement experiences of their own people settled in Australia. Others (for example, Cox and Martin's (1975a) *Welfare of Migrants* and Scott and Scott's (1989) *Adaptation of Immigrants* have derived from such public institutions as the Federal Department of Immigration attempting to find out what is happening to the migrants they sponsor and what their relationships are with mainstream Australian society.

While it is unrealistic to suggest that Australia can relieve Africa of all her refugee problems, it is expected that Australia will continue to accept a reasonable number of African refugees and other immigrants into the country.

Although to date Australia has had a very small resettlement program for African refugees, it has enabled a number of small African communities to become established in Australia. Until 1976 most indigenous Africans were listed in the Australian censuses simply as "others", yet
Australia has Africans from almost every country in the African continent. In 1984, for the first time, Australia began taking a regular quota of black African refugees. These came mainly from Ethiopia, but also from Uganda, Malawi, Tanzania, Somalia, Ghana and South Africa. The majority were single males, young, literate and with a fair command of English and had high expectations. Being both black and refugees some have not found life easy. On the other hand, being few in number, they have not attracted much public attention and hostility.

Refugees constitute over 80 per cent of the African migrant population in Australia. Current political and socio-economic turmoil in Africa and the presence of African immigrants here in Australia suggest that African migration to Australia will continue. The estimated African refugee population of about 5.5 million is putting undue pressure on receiving countries inside the continent (UNHCR, 1993). Whilst African countries are among the most hospitable in granting asylum to refugees, few of them are able to respond adequately to resettlement needs. They do not have the resources or the ability to provide adequate protection to those refugees in need of third country resettlement.

The investigation is based on the argument that migration is commonly associated with the emergence of certain social and economic problems for certain minority groups and that the latter, including the African immigrant community in Australia, have special needs. Although there is, obviously, truth in these assumptions, there has been virtually no substantial study of the black African immigrant population in Australia to ascertain whether and how this newly arrived group is integrating into mainstream Australian society.

The Australian census data provides information on numbers and other demographic information for the larger minority groups in Australia, such as the Greeks and the Italians, but there are few studies or in-depth analyses to suggest what is distinctive about these groups or how their settlement process takes place. More importantly, it is not known to what extent ethnic organisations are involved in this process and what problems they encounter in achieving their goals.
In the case of Africans living in Australia, there is very little literature devoted to them. The large literature now available on settlement experience of immigrant groups in Australia rarely touches on the African immigrant population. However, there are a small number of research reports, articles and papers on African refugees and immigrants in Australia. Virtually, all these works have been selective in nature. For example, Warzel and Taylor's (1986) research was centred on the settlement of Ethiopians in Melbourne. This 18-page report was undertaken when immigration from Ethiopia was in its early stages with as few as 230 Ethiopian refugees in Melbourne. The writers interviewed 30 refugees to test hypotheses relating to the refugees' adaptation to their new environment. Given the limited nature of the sample and the brevity of the report, the results reached can be best described as inconclusive. However, the findings relating to educational level, role of women, lack of recognition of qualifications and underemployment have been strongly supported by my research.

The other study of Africans was my earlier attempt to 'sketch a preliminary general picture of African migration and settlement in Australia' (Okai, 1989). I used 'all' available source materials to sketch African Migration and Settlement in Australia. I looked at how Australia's immigration policies affected the migration of African immigrants and refugees to Australia. This 'study was an exploratory one of limited scope' and I cautioned readers that 'its conclusions need to be more widely examined'.

A third survey, Profile of the African Community in Melbourne was undertaken by Velislav (1990). This study which was based on informal interviews with some Africans and service providers, was commissioned by the Department of Social Security (DSS). The 32-page report seeks to provide an overview of what it terms 'the African community in Melbourne'. The study lacks a clear methodology and it is not clear how data was obtained. Specific weaknesses identified were lack of demographic data and failure to substantiate generalisations about the so-called 'African community'. However, the paper does contain a number of potentially worthwhile generalisations about Africans in Melbourne and it is quite useful in the specific recommendations it makes to DSS on its handling of African clients.
The other study about Africans was conducted by Batrouney (1991) on behalf of the Ecumenical Migration Centre in Melbourne. The funds for this project were provided by the Bureau of Immigration and Population and Multicultural Research (B.I.M.P.R). The main aims of the study were to identify the characteristics of selected African communities in Melbourne and to determine their settlement needs and problems. A variety of data gathering methods was employed in the conduct of the study. These include document analysis, preliminary interviews with key informants, survey of members of African communities, group discussions and interviews with service providers. Some of the major findings of this project include issues on immigration, employment, accommodation, language and communication, education, child care, health services, financial services, information and reception services, family and gender issues and racial discrimination.

Regarding immigration, the major problem was seen to be the Australian's government's policy and procedures concerning family reunion which had the effect of virtually closing off this means of reuniting families' and the 'inadequate refugee quota for Africans of 200 persons for all Australia...'. The study reported high unemployment rates among Africans in Melbourne and stated that 'extensive evidence was provided indicating the prevalence of discrimination in employment, social life, the media and when seeking accommodation' (ibid).

The usefulness of this report lies in the fact that it clearly documents the settlement needs of Africans in Australia. However, it does not cover the smaller African communities such as Kenya, Zambia and Malawi.

Apart from these studies which relate directly to the African immigrant population in Australia, there are other general studies which include references to Africans as part of their subject matter.

In her study of refugee women in Australia, Pittaway (1991) includes references to African women only as part of a total project on refugee women. Her work is useful in identifying the services that refugee women have found essential to their settlement in Australia.
The 1986 Shergold and Nicolaou study canvassed the views of 24 ethnic groups likely to be overlooked in normal consultation processes because of factors such as recency of arrival, lack of English or poor degree of organisation. 'Small' groups included Brazilians, Iranians, Afghans, Papua New Guinea women, Timorese and Africans (here Africans were not distinguished by their countries). The focus of the study was on access to government services although many other issues relating to settlement were also raised in the study. The broad conclusions were that there was 'no positive correlation between the degree of settlement and the passage of time/length of settlement' (vol. 1, p.60), contrary to a model of stages of settlement in which the settler progressively needed fewer services and became effectively integrated into mainstream society. This rejection of the emphasis on short-term needs ran contrary to the Department of Immigration, Local Government and Ethnic Affairs\(^3\) (DILGEA) settlement policy as later endorsed by the FitzGerald Report, but was accepted by the Review of Migrant and Multicultural Programs and Services (ROMAMPAS). In the view of Shergold and Nicolaou, 'persons of non English speaking background (NESB) continue to suffer disadvantage even after 30-40 years in the country' (vol. 1, p.62) Of particular relevance to the settlement needs of small groups from NESB was the rejection of the view that 'all ethnic communities have an equal capacity to meet the cultural, social and welfare needs of migrants' (vol. 1, p.65).

As most of the groups surveyed were long-term residents and from major ethnic groups, the general findings are not always relevant to small and newly arrived groups such as the African immigrant population. However, most of the general conclusions of the Shergold and Nicolaou survey which are summarised below were found to be relevant to this present study:

- that settlement needs may not be resolved with a short period after arrival but may change and even increase over time for NESB immigrants (Vol. 1, pp.60ff)
- that immigrants are entitled to the lifetime provision of services designed to provide equitable access to Australian resources (vol. 1, p.66)
- that the definition of needs change over time and may be based on changing perceptions by clientele reacting to services now available to other immigrants (vol. 1, p.67)
- that there may be a lack of congruence between needs as defined by mainstream institutions and as perceived by the clientele (vol. 1., p.68)
that a multicultural clientele might require the permanent alteration of institutional practices rather than a temporary reaction to immigrant needs (vol. 1, p.70)

that there was confusion between 'ethnic affairs' (relevant to immigrants and their families) and 'multiculturalism' (relevant to all Australians) (vol.1, p.73)

that ethnic-specific services remain important but are not a long-term substitute for mainstream services which have been modified to suit a multicultural clientele (vol. 1, p.76)

that the Department of Immigration was defective in its servicing of clients and was perceived as discriminating against certain classes of immigrant and ethnic groups (vol. 1, p.78)

that formal organised consultations did not always uncover the needs of the average migrant, who was better reached through social networks or structured interviews (vol. 1, p.83)

that effective influence on policy required formal organisation, especially for small and newly arrived groups (vol. 1, p.84).

The part of the report on Africans described African immigrants in Australia as well educated and reasonably competent in English, as most were from former British colonies (vol. 2, p.321). The report stated that there was some evidence of racial discrimination by employers (vol. 2, p.324) and that Africans felt that media presentation of their homelands was an important factor in sustaining local prejudice (vol. 2, p.325). This present study reports similar findings.

The other literature on Africans consists of short papers, both published and unpublished. In the article 'Indigenous East Africans' in *The Australian People*, Frendo (1988) presents a useful but a very brief overview of African migration to Australia (three pages). He shows an awareness, in a generalised form, of the characteristics and problems of Africans in Australia. The article on 'Egyptians and Sudanese' in *The Australian People* (three pages) by M. Girgis (1988) focuses on the migration to Australia of Coptic Egyptians, including those who had previously settled in northern Sudan. This paper is useful in assisting understanding of the immigration intakes from Sudan. The paper by Anyaogu (1988) on 'Some Emerging Communities in Australia: An African Point of View' in the 1988 Federation of Ethnic Communities Council in Australia (FECCA) Report (three pages) focuses on the contradiction between Australia's apparently non-discriminatory immigration policy as against the actual
number of immigrants from South Africa, in which white and coloured (mixed race) immigrants predominate to the virtual exclusion of blacks.

Austcare has published a series of small pamphlets, mainly geared to fund raising, on the position of some of the small groups such as Afghans (Afghan Women Refugees, Haymarket, NSW, 1985) and Africans (Refugees in Crisis, 1995).

None of these studies tells us how Africans cope with problems of settlement they encounter in Australia. Moreover, most of these studies have been undertaken by people who have limited knowledge of the numerous problems that African immigrants and refugees face in Australia. African people writing/researching African issues can bring a depth of explanation from experience and observation. I, being an African and experiencing these issues myself, am in a vantage position to tell the world what these issues are and how my people are coping with them. I have worked with the African communities for nearly ten years and have assisted in establishing a number of African community organisations in Australia. My involvement in these organisations has further enhanced my knowledge of the problems which African communities encounter in Australia.

To date, Australian decision-makers appear not to have sufficient knowledge about Africans and their ethnic organisations in Australia. This study provides the necessary information to be used as a guide by both Australian policy makers in formulating a proper policy regarding ethnic minorities living in Australia and by welfare workers working for these groups. Clearly, the greater variety of minority ethnic groups in Australia raises important settlement issues. It is appropriate that the various ethnic groups are identified and their ways of coping with social conditions in the country analysed. However, the African migrant population is especially deserving of research as it is one of the most recent ethnic groups arriving from the developing world whose fate in the 1980s and 1990s has been affected by several major crises: civil wars, natural and man-made disasters.
1.2 **RESEARCH QUESTION**

Pertinent questions addressed by this research are: (1) to what extent do these ethnic community organisations encourage African integration into Australian society? and (2) what are the factors/conditions perceived by respondents to affect the effective mobilisation of African immigrants and refugees into a cohesive, strong and active body?

The author does not intend to study whether Africans have adapted themselves and integrated into Australian society or not as it may be too early to talk about adaptation and integration as end products since the African group comprises very recent immigrants. Instead, one of the major objectives is to find out whether African community organisations are being encouraged by government policies to act as bridges along which migrants can move into mainstream Australian society.

Thus, this study, aims to find out what goals these organisations pursue and whether they have been able to meet those goals through their activities and programs. Ethnic community organisations cannot be divorced from the socio-economic and political environment of the host society. Thus a preliminary question relating to policy issues is posed: (3) to what extent have Australian immigration and settlement policies enhanced African immigration and settlement in Australia?

Better established communities associated with other ethnic groups such as Greeks and Italians are absent in the African ethnic community.

*How far does this factor, that is, the relative absence of supportive ethnic communities affect the African immigrant's successful transition to Australian society?* The FitzGerald Report (1988), while advocating a migration program with sharper economic focus, nevertheless called for the establishment of family and immigrant networks. It drew attention to the importance of the family and immigrant community networks in the adaptation process. It states that this is "critical and must be encouraged."
Relative to the main theme, this study also focuses on the following aspects:

1. the nature of ethnic organisations in terms of types, goals, functions and characteristics;
2. how the organisations are organised in terms of variables such as constitution, leadership and election processes;
3. the relationship of the separate organisations to one another in terms of co-operation and competition;
4. members (refugee or voluntary migrants) and exploration of members' settlement problems and
5. factors/conditions perceived by the various organisations as problems confronting them.

Addressing these questions helps the author to generate knowledge about the African immigrant and refugee population in Australia and it makes it possible to ascertain the extent to which African community organisations assist their members in the settlement process.

1.3 DEFINITION OF TERMS

The meaning of ‘social’ in this study is not confined to the ‘social milieu’ of an individual. Here a distinction is made between the ‘social milieu’ of the respondent and the ‘socio-economic structure’ in which the person is located.

‘Social milieu’ encompasses a totality of interactions which is often interpersonal and may occur between the individual person and other members of their family, groups or community (Wootton, 1958:287), whereas ‘socio-economic structure’ refers to the broader influences of historical, political, economic and other social arrangements as they affect the total welfare of the individual or the group.

The distinction is significant because if ‘social’ is confined to the interpersonal interactions in one’s social environment, then there is a tendency for ‘blaming’ the individual ‘victim’ (Ryan, 1971). To avoid this tendency, in this study the notion of ‘social’ has been carried further than ‘family’ or ‘other people’. Attention has been directed towards socio-economic elements
such as historical, political, economic and environmental factors in both the sending and the receiving countries.

1.4 ORGANISATION OF THE THESIS

The thesis is divided in eight chapters. Chapter One introduces the aim and purpose of the study and provides background information to the research. Chapter Two presents a review of the international literature on ethnic relations as they pertain to the social integration of immigrants. The review covers areas such as migration/integration; ethnic content and ethnic boundaries and voluntary and ethnic organisations. Major conceptual frameworks such as assimilation, adaptation and integration are critically discussed. It examines terms such as race, racism, culture, ethnicity and ethnic group. Literature on ethnic organisations is also reviewed and the chapter concludes with a development of an analytical framework for the purpose of explaining the problems which African ethnic community organisations encounter in the process of assisting their members in their social integration into mainstream Australian society. A political economy approach has been used in the study. Chapter Three provides an overview of the political economy of Australian immigration since World War Two and how it influenced African migration to Australia. Chapter Four provides an overview of the background from which African refugees and immigrants have come to Australia. It presents an outline of some of the major social, economic, political and cultural developments occurring in Africa. Chapter Five is devoted to the epistemological/methodological and research issues of the dissertation. It describes the techniques used to obtain and analyse data. Chapter Six describes the settlement problems which respondents faced. Chapter Seven provides a detailed description of African community organisations' leaders' perception of organisation problems and the role they play to assist the social integration of their members.

In Chapter Eight, the research findings are summarised and discussed and an attempt is made to answer the research questions. The Chapter concludes the study with recommendations for policy makers, social workers and further research.
Endnotes

1 In North America and western Europe, community organisations have taken a leading role in drawing public attention to discrimination of their members, often forcing unwilling governments to act. This role has been specifically recognised in measures such as the British Home Office inter-agency strategy. In Australia the Galbally Report (1978) emphasised the important role ethnic community organisations in the settlement process.

2 For a description of research methods, see chapter 5.

3 The Bureau of Immigration, Multicultural and Population Research (BIMPR) was established by the Federal Government in 1989. Since then it has changed its name twice. In 1991 it changed its original name from Bureau of Immigration Research to Bureau of Immigration and Population Research and then later to its current name, BIMPR, in 1993. It is an independent, professional research body within the Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs, which commissions, conducts and promotes research into immigration and population issues. The Bureau's headquarters are in Melbourne, with a small research unit, the statistics section and the library in Canberra.
CHAPTER 2

THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES

2.0 INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this chapter is to review the major existing theories relevant to the current research, that is, those relating to the integration of ethnic immigrant minority groups and the role of voluntary ethnic organisations in that process. In doing so, it begins with a critical review of the literature that deals with the theoretical issues related to the study of migration and the process of immigrant integration and reviews major conceptual frameworks, including assimilation and adaptation theories. It examines terms such as race, culture and ethnicity as they relate to the settlement process of immigrant groups. Literature review on voluntary and ethnic organisations is also undertaken in this chapter. A framework is suggested for the analysis of the collected empirical data.

Sociologists agree that some form of social differentiation is present in all human societies (Merton, 1957). However, the specific bases for differentiation vary widely. In Western "developed" societies, differentiation has come to imply some form of social inequality, since comparisons usually contain an element of one individual or group being of higher status or more important than the other(s). It must, however, be emphasised that this is not necessarily the case in all systems. It usually applies in hierarchical and competitive systems.

The most common bases for differentiation are socio-economic status, ethnicity and gender or race, either singly or in combination. In modern western societies, socio-economic status is the more important, but race overlaps with it, for when members of a particular race are excluded from opportunity to gain wealth and reputation, they are almost automatically restricted to lower social-class positions. Immigrants with 'visible' characteristics are likely to experience social and economic discrimination. For example, even when all their education
has been received in the host countries and their qualifications are similar to those of the dominant or majority group, members of black and Asian minorities in predominantly white societies often face discrimination in employment, housing and access to other services. The basis of conflict is less socio-cultural than strictly economic. As Root (1993, p.4) has noted, "race, at a personal level, is very much in the eye of the beholder," and at the political level, "race is in the service of economic and social privilege."

Gender, religion and age are further bases for differentiation in all societies. A woman's role is defined as different from a man's, and women are frequently excluded from certain occupations and limited in their opportunities to gain wealth and prestige independently. Religion is also a frequent basis for differentiation in some societies. It can become such a divisive issue that it causes war or national partition, as in Sudan, Ireland, India, Pakistan, the former Yugoslavia and many other parts of the world.

The application of age as a basis for differentiation takes different forms in different societies. In traditional African societies, for example, advanced age usually confers prestige and authority, especially within the extended family, and the elderly are not usually excluded and segregated. On the other hand, in western societies such as Australia, where family ties are weakened and one's occupation is the primary means of gaining prestige and participating in social life, old age has other consequences. As the elderly retire from the work force, they tend to become a socially and physically segregated group.

An important consideration in any discussion of social differentiation is the strength of the barriers that differentiation creates. Immigrants settling in a new society appear frequently to be confronted by such barriers.

**SECTION ONE: MIGRATION AND INTEGRATION ISSUES**

2.1 **THE PROCESS OF IMMIGRANT INTEGRATION INTO A NEW SOCIETY**

A number of studies have tried to identify why people migrate and have come up with a variety of answers generally subsumed under the push-and-pull theory. The best known
hypothesis is the one developed by Ravenstein (1885, 1889). This hypothesis attempts to explain migration in terms of poor rural conditions such as overpopulation, environmental degradation, lack of employment opportunities and social services and socio-economic opportunities including the so-called ‘bright-lights’ available in the urban centre acting as magnetic forces to ‘pull’ migrants. Ravenstein’s early notion of the importance of economic factors in determining migration was expressed as follows:

Bad or oppressive laws, heavy taxation, an unattractive climate, uncongenial social surroundings, and even compulsion (slave trade transportation) have produced and are still producing currents of migration, but none of these currents can compare in volume with that which arises from the desire inherent in most men to ‘better’ themselves in material respects.

Lee (1969) sought to throw more light on Ravenstein’s laws. He hypothesised that certain conditions pertaining to their places of origin would be stronger than those associated with their destination (Lee, 1969, 1980; Tanner, 1980; Oberai and Bilsborrow, 1984). Lee’s approach identifies four groups of factors. In its simplest form, the theory suggests that there are positive and negative elements in a prospective migrant’s existing situation as well as identified positive and negative aspects of some possible destination. Migration occurs when the combination of negatives in the existing situation and positives in the situation being contemplated outweigh the remaining elements.

This makes the theory simplistic, in that the range of variables presented as influencing the migration act is too narrow. However, in the case of the African immigrant, for example, it has its uses. It provides us with a gauge as to how migrants can be located in terms of the extent to which push or pull factors dominate. For example, many African refugees flee their country of origin entirely as a reaction to push factors with no thought for what lies ahead other than escape. In this case the migration may be triggered by the desire for security.

A considerable amount of research has been carried out regarding the process of migration and the ensuing individual and social changes affecting the immigrant. There are diverse definitions of the major processes involved and concepts such as assimilation, acculturation, adaptation and integration gained popularity at different times. They have often been used
interchangeably even if they do not describe the same thing. These concepts are examined in the sections that follow.

2.1.1 Assimilation

Johnston (1963) saw assimilation as two-fold: external, where the immigrants' exterior qualities became less distinguishable from the indigenous population and subjective, where the immigrant was willing to identify with the host culture. In his theory of the 'race relations cycle', Park (1950) concluded that ethnic groups will eventually be like other groups in society and that they will attain equality. Park suggested that this process occurs in the five following stages:

1. Period of contact: two or more ethnic groups come into contact;
2. Period of conflict: conflict between groups over material goods and cultural values;
3. Period of accommodation: the groups learn to live together more peacefully;
4. Assimilation: the minority group takes over the culture of dominant society in particular, accepting its core values; and
5. Amalgamation: different groups unify biologically through marriage and family.

Park presented this cycle as a one-way interactive process that was apparently irreversible and was to be explained by the concepts of conflict, accommodation and assimilation. Park saw that it was migrants' interaction with the dominant group at the primary level that was significant for adaptation.

Still earlier as well as later studies of immigrant groups in the United States, Britain and Australia produced a copious historical and sociological literature, written mostly from the assimilation perspective. Although the experiences of particular groups varied, the common theme of these writings is the unrelenting efforts of immigrant minorities to surmount obstacles impeding their entry into the "mainstream" of society (Handlin, 1941, 1951; Wittke, 1952; Child, 1943; Vecoli, 1977). From this perspective, the integration process of particular immigrant groups followed a sequential path, from initial economic hardship and
discrimination to eventual socioeconomic mobility arising from increasing knowledge of the host culture and acceptance by the host society (Wamer, and Srole, 1945; Gordon, 1964). The focus on a "core" culture, the emphasis on consensus-building, and the assumption of a basic patterned sequence of adaptation represented central elements of assimilation theory.

From this perspective, the failure of individual immigrants or entire ethnic groups to move up through the social hierarchies is linked either to their reluctance to shed traditional values or to the resistance of the native majority to accept them because of racial, religious or other shortcomings. Hence, successful adaptation depends, first of all, on the willingness of immigrants to relinquish a "backward" (or at least "different") way of life and, second, on their acquisition of characteristics making them acceptable to the host society (Eisenstadt, 1970). Throughout, the emphasis is placed on the social psychological processes of motivation, learning and interaction and on the cultural values and perceptions of the immigrants themselves and those who surround them.

In the United States, Chicago School sociologists, Park and Burgess (1921), in their study of the impact of the mass immigration from Europe and the growing influx of blacks from the Deep South, discussed the concepts of status and role that were later developed in Parsons' system theory. Parsons' original work almost ignored ethnic differences; however, his later work (for example, in Glazer and Moynihan, 1975) reveals acute awareness of the differences within American society. Although Park and Burgess were also concerned with competition between groups and individuals, Park postulated a somewhat mechanistic 'cyclical theory of race relations', whereby immigrant groups passed through phases of competition, conflict, cooperation and accommodation (Newman, 1973). The early sociologists were concerned with individuals or small groups rather than the structures of American society. But they also saw the immigrants' problems as temporary, or as evidence of a cultural pluralism that did not necessarily imply in-built inequalities. The influence of culturalism has been pervasive, encouraging the study of migration and settlement as a measurement of attitudes and values, ignoring the constraints of political and economic systems that pre-exist and pre-define immigrants' status. For example, Park and Burgess defined assimilation as
... a process of interpenetration and fusion in which persons and groups acquire the memories, sentiments and attitudes of other persons or groups and, by sharing their experience and history, are incorporated with them in a common cultural life. (1921, p.735)

This theory which fitted the then prevailing policies of assimilation and the ideology of the melting pot, is no longer considered appropriate for analysing migrations in either the U.S.A., Australia or Europe. Assimilationist studies fail to raise questions about the nature of society or the social and political relations within which 'ethnicity' exists. The second general perspective takes issue with this psychosocial and culturalist orientation as well as with the assumption of a single basic assimilation path. This alternative view begins by noting that immigrants and their descendants do not necessarily "melt" (in the case of the United States) into the mainstream and that many groups do not seem to want to do so, preferring instead to preserve their distinct ethnic identities (Greeley, 1971; Glazer and Moynihan, 1964). A number of writers have focused on the resilience of these communities and described their functions as sources of mutual support and collective political power (Suttles, 1968; Alba and Chamlin, 1983; Parenti, 1967). Others have gone beyond descriptive accounts and attempted to establish the causes of the persistence of ethnicity (eg. de Lepervanche, 1984a; 1984b; 1984c; 1990; Bottomley, 1992; Bell, 1975; Blauner, 1989; Bottomley, de Lepervanche and Martin, 1991; Castles, Kalantzis, Cope and Morrissey, 1988; Clifford, 1988 and Encel, 1981). For example, Gordon's (1964) and Glazer and Moynihan's respective Assimilation in American Life and Beyond the Melting Pot raised questions about the political context. Glazer and Moynihan found that ethnic groups were not melting, as planned, but re-forming and transforming their original sources of identity. However, both books demonstrate a consensual view of society and avoid a critique of social inequality.

Gordon (1964) emphasised that the ethnic group constitutes a social system with its own internal structure and that the nature of that structure has an important influence on assimilation. He further argued that social class structures also tend to become 'social areas of confinement for primary group relations', so that social participation in primary groups is ultimately confined to social class segments within ethnic groups. Gordon pointed out that adaptation (which he used interchangeably with assimilation) is a complex phenomenon
involving a multitude of sub-processes. Gordon distinguished seven such processes: cultural, structural, marital, identification, attitudinal reception, behavioural reception and civic assimilation.

In Gordon's framework, cultural assimilation refers to the change of immigrant cultural patterns to those of the host society, involving the acquisition of cultural characteristics - values, beliefs, language and behaviours - of that dominant group. Structural assimilation refers to a large-scale entrance by immigrants into cliques, clubs, and institutions of the host society on the primary level. Eisenstadt (1954) likewise indicated that social assimilation consists of the absorption of the newcomers into the primary groups of the host society, into face-to-face interaction as accepted members of the established social groups in a range of activities from clubs to courtship and marriage. Similarly, Parsons (1959) distinguished social from cultural assimilation. Social assimilation emphasises the process of adaptation to the receiving society's system of interaction between individuals and collectivities. Social assimilation implies that two cultural groups no longer exists, but only one.

According to Gordon (1964), structural assimilation requires acceptance of immigrant groups by the dominant society. It also occurs when there is social interaction among individuals of different ethnic backgrounds.

Marital assimilation refers to large-scale intermarriage by newcomers into a host society whilst identificational assimilation describes the development of a sense of 'peoplehood' based exclusively on that of the host society. Behavioural receptional assimilation means absence of discrimination toward members of the host society whilst attitudinal receptional assimilation refers to the lack of prejudice toward members of the host society. Civic assimilation refers to the general disappearance of value and power struggles between migrant individuals and the host society (Gordon, 1964).

For Gordon, the important step leading to integration as he defines it is structural assimilation. He argues that once this occurs, marital assimilation and the other stages will follow: identification, attitudinal reception, behavioural reception and civic assimilation.
Structural assimilation combined with cultural assimilation opens the way to a more general assimilation. If, therefore, any migrant individual or group confines its primary group ties to the ethnic group, assimilation will be fundamentally different from those groups which follow Gordon's process right through.

Eisenstadt's (1954) work represents a combination of the psychological and group approaches. Although his paramount concern is with the socio-psychological equilibrium of the individual immigrant, Eisenstadt is very much aware of the importance of the primary groups to which the individual belongs. He uses the term 'absorption' which he defines as "the process of institutionalising role expectations". Eisenstadt sees 'absorption' as a gradual process consisting of three stages:

a) redefinition of old established roles, so as to make them compatible with the alternative roles of the new society;

b) acquisition of new roles which have been, as it were, relinquished during the process of migration and which are necessary prerequisites for participation in the new society;

c) evolution of identification with the new society and its common, shared values and goals.

In Eisenstadt's view, assimilation is not a move from ethnic primary groups to indigenous ones, as Gordon suggested, but an interweaving of ethnic and indigenous relations at a primary group level. It is interaction at this level that is significant for both the change of values and for the extension of social participation into wider social spheres, although Eisenstadt makes it clear that there is no inevitability about the process.

Duncan and Lieberson (1959) define absorption as the entry into the productive activity of the host society. They use socio-economic status as an index to assess immigrant adjustment. Acculturation is another term they apply to 'the adoption of local customs and the relinquishing ....of such cultural characteristics as would identify the immigrants as a distinct group'. This definition, 'besides its misleading biological connotation too often implies a one-way street in group relations' (Bernard, 1976). More significantly, these definitions imply the virtual subordination of one culture to another. They suggest that the new migrants
are remoulded, reshaped and stripped of all their individuation, natural gifts and former ideas and become either 'Australianised', 'Americanised' or 'Anglicised'.

The ideology behind the concepts of the minority-dominant group approach is perceived as the ideology of the dominant group and any group not absorbed or not assimilated is therefore considered to upset the equalisation of social relations in the society.

An important assimilationist interpretation employs psychological explanations of ethnic conflicts; these are seen as phenomena rooted in individual pathology or deficient socialisation and manifested in the interpersonal realm as prejudice. The weakness of the assimilationist paradigm is that studies of immigrant groups are most typically pursued without considering the pervasive influence of social structural variables on personal and social assimilation. Traditional approaches to assimilation have developed from psychodynamic studies and ego psychology, and there has been a continuing tendency to see mastery of the environment in terms of intrapsychic mechanisms that allow individuals to control psychologically the environmental stimuli impinging upon them and to maintain a state of personal comfort. These assimilationist studies neglect consideration of the relationship between social structure and individual-psychological mastery in levels of behaviour and attitudes.

Assimilation is a mode of adaptation that strives to totally incorporate a “foreign” group into the mainstream of a “host” society. The assimilationist goal calls for the complete assumption by immigrants, or at least by their children and succeeding generations, of the new country's ways and customs. Assimilation is a process by which a group with diverse beliefs and behavioural patterns becomes absorbed into another culture. The end product of this process is the elimination of the group as a distinct cultural entity.

Steinberg's (1981) and Price's (1963) criticisms of some of these concepts are relevant to this study. As Price indicates, 'the term accommodation or assimilation is too wide, concealing the fact that there may be complete assimilation in some things (eg dress, religion and language), accommodation in other things (eg. economic life and family customs) and conflict in other things (eg. housing or education). Similarly, there are different types and levels of
accommodation and assimilation. Even if a migrant is objectively assimilated, what about his subjective identity? Steinberg (p.81) points out that 'cultural differences properly mark the beginning, not the end, of social analysis, and it is necessary to carry the analysis a step further by investigating their historical and social sources' (p.83).

2.1.2 Adaptation

Scholars (eg. Cox, 1975), who are not comfortable with the term assimilation have used the notion of "adaptation" in their analysis. They maintain that the person who emigrates moves from an environment with which he or she usually has familiarity to an unfamiliar environment where he/she may lack inherited sets of personal contacts and pathways to social institutions. This is what Bronfenbrenner (1979) calls an ecological transition which he described as shifts in role or setting. It is a feature of human beings that they have the capacity to make these and many other transitions. The process by which this capacity manifests itself is usually designated as "adaptation", a concept widely used to consider human development. Adaptation was originally introduced to refer to any beneficial change to meet an environmental demand. The term can be applied to a single organism, a group or a larger social system. It does not imply any particular form of change or end result and it is meaningful to speak of maladaptation or inadequate adaptation as well as positive adaptation or nonadaptation.

Cox (1975, p.17) defines adaptation as the process by which an individual immigrant or group of immigrants located within a specific environment, develops a modus vivendi with any or all elements of that environment which may be partial or complete, satisfying or unsatisfying and acceptable or unacceptable to the various parties involved.

A relevant aspect of this definition relates to the development of a modus vivendi with any or all elements of the host society. Thus, adaptation is, in other terms, finding a way of relating to or getting on with those elements in one’s environment which are seen to be important or, by their nature, require a response. This is to imply nothing about the precise nature of that response, or the area of the environment that it involves. Nor does it limit the adaptation to the cultural, economic, ecological or any other arena.
Adaptation occurs at various levels - at the individual or micro level and at the macro or group level. At the micro level the personal adaptation of the individual immigrant can be adopted as the central perspective. Here, one concentrates on individuals and their adaptation to their particular setting. This process will be influenced by a number of characteristics of the individual's background as well as other external factors.

The processes involved in adaptation are determined by what the immigrants and the host society bring into the transaction when the two come into contact. As each ethnic group differs in its background, so does each individual immigrant within the group. The historical, socio-cultural, economic, political and physical conditions of the host society must always be considered as the environmental context in which integration occurs. As already stated, the immigrant's ethnic origin and social class or ethclass (Devore and Schlesinger, 1981), age, education, period of residence, motivation for migration, nature and power of the ethnic community (Furnham and Bochner, 1986) are all important factors in the adaptation process.

Many writers (for example, Scott & Scott, 1989; Richardson, 1974; Masuda and Lazuma, 1984) affirm the importance of background characteristics in the adaptation process. Bagu (1964) suggests that any study of immigrant adaptation should begin with a study of origins.

Another important factor related to the immigrant adaptation process is the motive of immigration. It is generally thought that motivation directly influences the expectation that the immigrant has of the new environment and the type of adaptation that he/she will be attracted to. In his study, *Migration and Motivation*, Taylor (1969) distinguished different "emotional structures" among migrants. He classifies migrants in the study as "aspiring" (21%), "dislocated" (18%), "resultant" (56%) and "epiphenomenal" (4%).

"Aspiring" immigrants are characterised by attitudes of dissatisfaction with their present social life. They are interested in material and social improvement of life for themselves and their offspring. They show stronger nuclear family cohesion than interest in community affairs.

"Dislocated" migrants include those with less stable family units, those characterised by personal or family mobility, even those who have changed housing within the same area.
The “resultant” category includes individuals who display neither the aspirers’ dissatisfaction with the status quo, nor the ‘dislocation’ of the second group. They seem to be impelled to move mainly by difficulties of finding adequate work or housing in the home community. The “epiphenomenal” cases are defined as idiosyncratic and are therefore difficult to classify.

Taylor concludes that migration had a different subjective meaning and significance for each of his sub-groups. For the “aspiring”, migration was primarily an opportunity for economic, educational and social betterment. For the “dislocated”, the move was away from the social limitations of the home community which did not afford deep attachments.

The movement of those classified as “resultant” migrants was prompted less by precisely perceived dissatisfactions or aspirations. The largest percentage of this group perceived migration as an alternative to unemployment or as a means of quick realisation of some very concrete and limited objective.

Therefore motives for migration may be mixed. Original motives and intentions do influence the propensity of the migrant to learn the language of the receiving society, the types of social networks developed, the degree of participation in the formal organisations of the receiving society and the commitment to that country.

The type of migration - voluntary or involuntary - also influences the adaptation process in the new environment. Economic conditions in the country of origin may be so harsh that migration becomes the only choice; other conditions include political or religious persecution or displacement by the ravages of war. Most economic migration is of a voluntary nature, motivated by the migrants' desire to improve their economic status or the prospects for their children. In contrast, political instability in the country of origin, or a deliberate policy of expulsion of ethnic minorities or political opponents often give rise to involuntary migration. In turn, this influences the socio-cultural integration of immigrants. Although their prospects of return are generally poor, political refugees frequently maintain a strong attachment to the home country and an aspiration to return, should political and social conditions change. This,
in turn, may lead to more active participation in ethnic organisations and in some cases even lead to support for subversive activity against the political regime in the home country.

Political upheaval often means that the actual process of migration and the transition from one country to another is accompanied by trauma. All migration leads to the severing of social ties and some anxiety in connection with the adjustment to an unfamiliar environment. The transition and early stages of migration frequently give rise to mild neuroses, psychosomatic illness and sometimes more serious reactions to the stresses involved. Migration may have been preceded by periods in prison or concentration camps under conditions of severe deprivation. Under these circumstances it is not surprising that the first few months or even years of adjustment for refugees and displaced persons are often accompanied by social and psychological problems. Under such circumstances, family reunion becomes a central concern and survival the only immediate objective for the migrant (Haines et al., 1981).

Preparedness for change is an important consideration in the adaptation process. The integration of immigrants to their new environment is related to their level of expectation. Immigrants who are disappointed because of too high expectations are more prone to fail in their adjustment than those who found conditions in the new country above or according to their expectation.

Lin, Masuda and Tazuma (1984) and Scott and Scott (1989) write of the significance of the religious element in immigrant social integration in the new environment. Scott and Scott say that the theoretical relevance of religious affiliation to migrant adaptation follows from the potential it offers for peace of mind and interpersonal gratifications during a period of uncertainty and stress. They also admit, however, that there is little evidence to support such a view, ‘perhaps because religious affiliations and commitment are typically confounded with other variables such as age and ethnicity, which may have quite opposite effects on adaptation. Lin, Masuda and Tazuma (1984) found, in a study of Vietnamese refugees in the United States, that Catholics tended to score higher in psychiatric symptoms than non-Catholics. In the Australian study (Scott and Scott, 1989), Catholic affiliation and frequency of attendance at religious services were found to be unrelated to the level of symptoms. Religious
differences in subjective adaptation or role performance were few and disappeared when other demographic variables were controlled.

Despite these inconsistencies it has been found that the church provides a form of social integration (Lamur and Speckman, 1975). A religious organisation has a special appeal for an emotionally and socially isolated group in an urban society. It provides a socially accepted way of coping with emotions and frustrations. Such an organisation offers the individual hope and group solidarity in the face of hopelessness in the world at large and social and racial status is substituted by religious status. In addition, it may provide a degree of continuity.

Scholars do not agree on the role played by urban or rural background in the adaptation process. It is generally thought that urban-reared immigrants should adapt better to a new (urban) culture than immigrants from a less complex rural background. Cochrane and Stopes-Roe (1980) found that those from urban areas tended to report more psychiatric symptoms than those from rural areas. Research in Canada (Richmond, 1967) also suggests that prior experience of urban living was less important than education in determining subsequent modes of adaptation. Lewis (1979), on the other hand, has shown that the greater the similarity of the migrants' social and economic background to the one they encountered in the receiving society, the more quickly they came to participate in the activities of that society. For example, he found that urban migrants tended to enter the activities of the community more rapidly than farming migrants.

As the above factors can interact with each other in different ways, it is unlikely that the outcome of adaptation process will be uniform (Cox, 1982c). For example, if the host country adopts a multicultural policy where it accepts - even if not encouraging- forms of pluralism, allowing ethnic groups to participate in a number of institutional settings - economic, political, legal - while maintaining some cultural and structural features that are distinct, the adaptation outcome is more likely to be what Furnham and Bochner (1986) describe as:

the accommodation that comes about when different groups maintain their respective core identities while merging in a superordinate group in other equally important respects (p.28).
In all these definitions the term 'coping' has not been given any prominent place. It is the view of this author that 'adaptation' and 'coping' go together. People among whom the newcomers settle may regard them as intruders, thus rejecting them or treating them suspiciously, or the host society may view the new arrivals with some measure of acceptance and hopefulness. In their efforts to come to terms, that is, cope with the new environment, the immigrant group's many options include adaptation.

The term 'coping' has been used by many writers in an intuitive, everyday sense that one has to rely on the context to make the meaning clear. As a result, 'coping' has been vested with a variety of meanings. For example, Lazarus (1966) defined coping by applying the concept only to situations involving threat. Such a definition appears restricted and too narrow in scope. Even more restrictive in some respects is the approach of Haan (1969), who differentiated coping from defence mechanisms on the basis of certain valuative properties. Other definitions are more encompassing; for example, Lois Murphy (1962) defines it as any attempt to master a new situation that can be potentially threatening, frustrating, challenging or gratifying.

Thus, the idea of coping has been used to cover the broadest possible forms of adaptive behaviour, in which it becomes nearly co-extensive with the concept of adaptation, as well as to identify more specific and narrowly conceived adaptive processes. Coping may also be regarded as problem-solving efforts made by individuals or a group when the demands they face are highly relevant to their welfare. In this case a pertinent question for this thesis is: how do minority immigrant individuals and groups cope with the adaptation process? The question will be discussed under the section dealing with ethnic voluntary organisations.

The problem with adaptation and coping is that the first suggests a "giving in to a stronger entity" whilst the second may also mean "to master", that is, to impose one's own criteria on the entity one is relating to. Coping seems active whilst adapting seems passive.
2.1.3 Integration

To overcome some of the difficulties associated with the assimilation and adaptation concepts, Halsey (1970) suggested that there will be a continuing need for anthropological study of these changing patterns of life, so that the developing heterogeneity of the coloured population can be fully accounted for, not in the theory of assimilation but in a new theory of integration where the process is seen as a highly differentiated one of absorption, incorporation and accommodation to the multiple relationships of locality, occupation, politics and indeed the whole network of society.

Integration is therefore described as a situation in which a group continues to be an integer or unit on its own, but one which, as part of a greater whole, is accepted by the majority. In Australia, Price (1963) has used the term integration to mean the process whereby two or more ethnic groups adapt themselves so well that they can accept and value each other's contribution to their common political and social life (p.13).

Price's definition implies that integration refers to group interaction and is viewed as the end product of a process. This end result is not a fusion of cultures and it permits diversity. Whilst sociologically, integration can signify both a unifying process and an end product, others view the concept only as a condition - a state of affairs to be achieved by the process of adaptation. Accordingly, for these scholars integration is a condition, and adaptation its process. Price, for example, uses the term adaptation to describe the actual process of integration of which the various dimensions are not causally related but, over time, are mutually reinforcing in a feedback loop; that is to say, the degree of adaptation on one dimension will act back or reinforce adaptation on the other dimensions.

The concept of integration has emerged from the social and national experiences in the United States and the colonies-turned-states of Africa and Asia. The main task of national integration in the United States of America has been to merge, amalgamate and maintain different racial and national groups into a new collectivity along with new emergent identities.

Angell (1941), who was perhaps the first to discuss the nature of integration in his study of that phenomenon in American society, stated that no matter how primitive the communication and transportation may be or how economically self-sufficient families are, if the people are
intensely devoted to the achievement of common ends and the realisation of common values, there is a highly integrated society.

Angell considers integration as a condition or state to be attained by the diverse groups of the nation. His context is the American nation as he points out:

By integration we refer to the capacity of the society to operate as a somewhat integrated totality, without degeneration into frequent open conflicts, or break down into a series of independent small systems to mention two types of departure from integration. (p.27).

This author, however, does not discuss the process which binds the total system together.

For Gordon, integration is an inter-group activity. It can be viewed at two levels: the community integration level and the pluralistic integration level. Community integration consists of “the refashioning of institutions to proclaim symbolically equality and the common values which embrace diversity” (Gordon, 1954, p.140). Pluralistic integration, on the other hand, provides opportunities to the “marginal groups” to join together and create new subsystems which, widening in the course of time, will break down the barriers and make the whole society, as it were, one strand (ibid, p.140). Gordon’s approach to the concept of integration is, therefore, essentially that of a process.

Other scholars have preferred to employ the term 'incorporation' instead of integration. Cohen and Middleton (1970), for example, used incorporation in the studies of former colonial African regimes which are moving from the tribal state to nationhood. They apply the term “to all situations in which individuals and groups from differing cultural backgrounds interact in most continuing fashion” (ibid, pp. 8-9).

Integration processes can be located at two levels: the intra-group level and the inter-group level. In order to maintain the identity and entity of a group there are processes which maintain the bonds among the units. At the inter-group level these processes maintain the boundary of the larger system under reference.

In this study, the social effects of immigration will be dealt with under the term "integration" whilst "adaptation" will denote the process of integration. The understanding of integration

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here implies that a group integrated in this sense would, at least, keep its own distinguishing features, such as religion and language, but members' children would go to general schools and immigrants perform their jobs alongside the majority. This leads to the next section which is devoted to a critical examination of pluralist conceptions of integration.

2.1.4 **Pluralist Conceptions**

Scholars, such as Martin (1978), usually refer to the above understanding of integration as based on cultural pluralism which, in its simplest terms, is the existence in a society of several or many cultural groups which operate under a single set of broad social institutions such as the legislature and parliament. For Martin, cultural pluralism referred to the existence, side by side, within a framework of a single society, of distinctive lifestyles and institutional arrangements: a system in which different cultures can coexist and be preserved. Cultural pluralism envisages a society where ethnic groups are encouraged to maintain their own communal structure and identity and to preserve certain of their values and behavioural patterns which are not in conflict with broader values, patterns and legal norms of society at large. Pluralism implies acceptance of cultural heterogeneity and recognition of cultural equality among ethnic groups. All contemporary societies are composed of more than one ethnic or cultural group.

Cultural pluralism in the United States was seen as a means of coming to terms with the ethnic diversity of American society (Gordon, 1981). There was a growing awareness by the mid 1960s in that country, that ethnicity and race constituted the basis of existing structured inequality. In order to confront the problems such inequality would mean for society, it was argued by academics, such as Milton Gordon (1964), that the recognition of cultural pluralism and an incorporation of that recognition into state policies could resolve some of the dangers of fragmentation and disintegration that confronted American society.

In Australia, the primary advocates of cultural pluralism have been politicians. Australian multicultural policies have been locked into the paradigm of 'cultural pluralism' without any clear resolution of the uncertainties and ambiguities of the concept (Jayasuriya, 1991b). The
term 'culture' has been seen as unproblematic and is narrowly interpreted in idealist terms as a 'distinctive way of life, an informing spirit', thereby stressing ideal types, values and attitudinal characteristics (Jayasuriya, 1990). According to multicultural policy, the strength and vitality of Australian society is derived from its many different ethnic groups, which together form a nation or "multicultural society". Each group should be permitted to retain its unique qualities while affirming its allegiance to Australian society. In the definition of ethnicities, specific cultural beliefs and practices appear as distinguishing characteristics or boundary markers or both. In multicultural policies, ethnicities can become co-terminous with these culturally defined boundaries. But policies usually emphasise language and national groupings, using categories such as 'Ethiopians', 'Serbians' and 'Arabic-speakers'. Multiculturalism, which is really polyethnicism, therefore suggests that separate, bounded 'cultures' exist, but in practice ethnicities are blurred into pseudo-homogeneities that obscure the constant struggle within and between those classified as ethnic groups. At the same time, only 'ethnic' cultural practices are seen as multicultural. The cultures of those of the various descendants of earlier immigrants (eg. the Anglo-Celts in Australia or the United States) are not seen to be part of the multicultural society. It is obvious that ethnicity denotes a particular kind of minority status. Steinberg (1981) showed clearly that ethnicity is not just 'a means for disadvantaged groups to claim a set of rights and privileges which the existing power structures have denied them', as Bell (1975, p.174) puts it. It has also been a means of creating and maintaining disadvantage and of legitimating inequalities.

De Lepervanche (1980) takes this view in the Australian context. She examines a discursive move from 'race' to 'ethnicity' as 'a series of ideological transformations in the creation of hegemony' (p.25). De Lepervanche argued that the promotion of ethnicity today serves a similar purpose to that of racist ideas and practices a hundred years ago in that it 'masks conflicting class interests and the nature of class relations' (p.34). The official promotion of ethnicity must therefore be examined within its political and economic context, or, as mentioned previously, within the totality of societal structure.
Pluralists' assertion that ethnicity can mobilise interest groups, tends to ignore the fact that ethnic identifications are more likely to be used to maintain hegemony and oppression (Hall, 1994). Ethnic cleansing in former Yugoslavia is an outstanding example of this process. Ethnic oppression and hegemony continue to flourish in Indonesia and, to some extent, in Australia, the U.K., Canada and other parts of the developed world. All ethnicities have been imprinted by political and economic factors, perhaps in the maintenance of a minority status, or in the development of a sense of national identity. In countries like Australia, Canada and the U.S.A., where immigration has been a central feature of the formation of the nation, one of the ways in which some ethnicities have been defined is by their official absence. In Australia, for example, despite a policy of multiculturalism, immigration of some ethnic groups such as the African people is of marginal interest to policy makers. The welfare state stresses equity and justice in an attempt to guarantee a basic quality of life, it is also crucially concerned with the reproduction of social relations and with social control. According to the authors of a recent report on ethnicity, class and social policy in Australia, social control has now taken priority (Jakubowicz et al., 1984; 1994; Castles and Miller, 1993; Markus, 1994). Earlier, Martin (1978), analysing institutional responses to the migrant presence in Australia in 1977, made the point that

Whether naturalised or not, immigrants are peculiarly subject to control by the state in that their freedom to establish a family is limited by the state's power to decide what other family members may join them as settlers in Australia (p.18).

A theory must be evaluated in terms of its applicability. In a society such as Australia, with one dominant, powerful group and a number of disadvantaged, oppressed and relatively powerless minority groups, pluralism may not be possible to attain; the dominant group may subsume minority groups by classifying them as 'others' in official statistics. In response, minority groups may voluntarily segregate, accommodate, revitalise, contend and/or submit. Multiculturalism may be viewed as a dream by some minorities and as dominant-group propaganda by others (Clark et al., 1993; Jayasuriya, 1992a; 1992b). In this case the persistence of ethnicity among minority immigrant groups should not be regarded as a direct consequence of continuing exploitation, but rather as "resistance" on the part of the minority
to reaffirm its identity and its interests (Hector, 1974; Despres, 1975; Wilson and Yeatman, 1995; Jayasuriya, 1995a).

Under the circumstances of consistently disadvantageous social and economic positions and the consequent absence of a smooth path of integration, two things may happen to the minority immigrant groups; the situation of disadvantage may give rise, in time, either to hopeless communities of "unassimilable" ethnics or to militant minorities, conscious of a common identity and willing to support a collective strategy of self-defence rather than rely on individual integration. A typical example of the latter was the upsurge in the politics of ethnicity in the U.S.A. in the 1960s with the Civil Rights and Black Power movements.

Many academic writers (eg. Jayasuriya, 1994; McLennan, 1995) maintain that cultural pluralism is a fact of life which should be respected and catered for, yet few discuss the operation of power and dominance of the key institutions. Others recognise the issues as important but hedge the question by referring to some kind of unspecified balance between the host structures and ethnic practices.

There would appear to be structural limits to cultural pluralism within a society but these limits are glossed over rather than conceded, pondered and studied. However, scholars such as Jakubowicz (1994); Pettman (1992); Castles et al. (1988); Petruchenia, (1990) and Bereson and Matheson (1993) are most critical of this view.

Another structural issue which is significant is the interaction of class and ethnic factors (Jayasuriya, 1990b). Even if the most personal costs of acculturation are ignored and a society allows the optimum degree of cultural pluralism, there are still significant disadvantages to members of minority cultural backgrounds Jayasuriya, 1990b; Rattansi, 1992). Society is stratified not only in terms of ethnic belonging but also by class belonging, and these two dimensions often overlap or intersect. Members of the indigenous working class may be hindered in their efforts to rise socially owing to sub-cultural characteristics (accents, manners, consumption styles) and social background (friendship circles, school background, membership in organisations and clubs). It is hard for people of working class
background to break into the more elite positions because of their class 'sub-cultural' belonging, and therefore even less possible for those whose basic cultural identity and ethnic networks are further removed from the dominant culture to reach positions of power and influence.

It seems, therefore, that structural theories provide an effective critique of the excessively benign image of the adaptation process presented by earlier writings. The most useful approach to the study of immigrants seems to me to be an analysis of the power structure of the society in which they try to enter, and their relationships with specific groups within that society, both indigenous groups and groups of people sharing their ethnic background. For the latter, one of the main foci of interest in this work is the processes by which friendship networks provide support which allows the immigrant to cope with the inevitable stresses of the new situation. The social integration of an immigrant group in a new society connotes the existence of a 'boundary' to be crossed by the incoming group. This gives rise to the need to discuss this boundary in terms of race, culture and ethnicity.

SECTION TWO: RACE, CULTURE AND ETHNICITY ISSUES

2.2 RACE, CULTURE AND ETHNICITY

The concept of race as a distinguishing feature between human groups has a long history. In the seventeenth century Bernier proposed that "mankind consists of four groups: Europeans, people of the Far East, Blacks and Lapps" (quoted in Dubinin, 1975). Linnaeus, on the other hand, was concerned with "species"; although he regarded Homo Sapiens as a single species, he recognised four sub-species that were associated with specific regions: Homo sapiens Europeans, Homo Sapiens Asiaticus, Homo Sapiens Afer and Homo Sapiens Americanus. Blumenbach presented a similar classification linked to skin colour: Caucasian (white), Mongolian (yellow), Ethiopian (black), American (red) and Malayan (brown) (Dubinin 1975, p.70).

Such distinctions between groups were based on observable phenotypical variations but they were not necessarily associated with personal or cultural attributes. Because they were
linked to various geographical regions, however, they had the potential to be associated with
the predominant cultural expressions from those areas. In the nineteenth century a number of
theorists drew together the strands of phenotypical regional variation and their cultural and
economic expressions into a theory of racial hierarchy, thus interrelating the biological notion
of race with the social construction of culture. Between 1853 and 1855, Comte de Gobineau
adopted this position in his four volume work The Inequality of Human Races. Gobineau
distinguished three types of the human species based on "physiological grounds alone".
Gobineau stated that this would provide a typology from which we can proceed "with absolute
certainty". He placed the negroid variety at the bottom of the ladder in his typology. To
Gobineau, the black man's

... intellect will always move within a very narrow circle. ... If his mental faculties are
dull or even non-existent, he often has an intensity of desire, and so of will, which may be called terrible.... To these qualities may be added an instability and
capriciousness of feeling, that cannot be tied down to any single object, and which,
so far as he is concerned, do away with all distinctions of good and evil (in Gibb,
1973:15).

On the middle rung was the "yellow race" which he described as follows:

The yellow man has little physical energy, and is inclined to apathy; he commits none
of the strange excesses so common among Negroes ... He does not dream or
theorise; he invents little, but can appreciate and take over what is useful to him ....
Every founder of a civilisation would wish the backbone of his society, his middle
class, to consist of such men. But no civilised society could be created by thelu; they
could not provide its nerve-force, or set in motion the springs of beauty and

Gobineau's white race occupied the top position in the hierarchy. He described this white
race thus

These are gifted with reflective energy, or rather with an energetic intelligence ... an
extraordinary instinct for order ... a remarkable and even extreme, love of liberty,
and are openly hostile to the formalism under which the Chinese are glad to vegetate,
as well as to the strict despotism which is the only way of governing the Negro (in

In this way Gobineau created three steps in extending orders of abstraction: the first was to
recognise phenotypical variation, the second was to classify these variations into three distinct
classes, and the third order was to ascribe social and cultural attributes to the second order
classification. Lapouge (1864-1936) also explained social phenomena by biological/racial
differences (Dubinin, 1975). Galton (1822-1911) argued that the Nordics constituted a
"superior human race" and Lombroso, in a similar way, linked criminality to biological phenomena (Dubinin, 1975:71). Thus, race and culture were theoretically linked in a way that imposed social and cultural boundaries on groups of people on the basis of phenotypical variations. The social implications of this theoretical interconnection have been significant in the cultural domination of various groups of peoples around the world.

Consequently, various manifestations of the ideological framework from within which this theory or classification was developed have been a continuing focus of analysis for researchers concerned with inter-group relations based on "race", "culture" or "ethnicity" (de Lepervanche and Bottomley, 1988; Miles, 1988 and 1989; Valentine, 1975; Bottomley, 1992).

Such ideas about race have provided a rationale for the perpetuation of the subjugation of various cultural groups around the world. It is, however, important to distinguish between what Levi-Strauss has called the "original sin of anthropology" and sheer exploitation. For Levi-Strauss, the "sin" committed by Gobineau and others, was to confuse qualitative phenomena with quantitative observations.

Once he had made this mistake, Gobineau was inevitably committed to the path leading from an honest intellectual error to the unintentional justification of all forms of discrimination and exploitation (Levi-Strauss, 1952:96).

Boas (1911; 1922) related cultural and social achievements to "racial prejudice". In 1922, he explored the relationship between environment, culture, heredity and racial prejudice as factors influencing the "inequalities" described by writers such as Gobineau. In explaining the plight of the Afro-Americans, Boas stated,

The traits of the American negro are adequately explained on the basis of his history and social status. The tearing-away from the African soil and the consequent complete loss of the old standards of life, which were replaced by the dependency of slavery and by all it entailed, followed by a period of disorganisation and by a severe economic struggle against heavy odds, are sufficient to explain the inferiority of the status of the race, without falling back upon the theory of hereditary inferiority (p.272).

The idea of an inherited racial superiority or inferiority, whilst still persistent in various discourses (for example, the socio-biology controversy and the IQ debate in the U.S. - see Gartner, et al. 1974; Richardson & Speers, 1972; Montagu, 1975; Herrstein and Murray, 36
1994 and Fraser, 1995), has been refuted by researchers across many disciplines as scientific fiction (see Kuper, sociology, 1956; Dunn, zoology, 1971; Dubinin, genetics, 1975; Boas, anthropology, 1922; Klineberg, psychology, 1951). The use of racial categorisation, especially phenotypical physical characteristics, is controversial, as it raises the difficult and complex question of the scientific status of the concept of race. It is relevant to note in this context that the American Psychological Association drew attention in 1982 to race as a pseudo-biological classification system that, in addition to perpetuating racism, may also threaten an individual's self-concept (Kee, 1986).

It is agreed in scientific circles that the term 'race' as a biological concept has no scientific validity. The state of the concept of 'race' is best summarised in terms of an exposition given by UNESCO at a meeting in Athens in 1981. This statement, while asserting the basic biological unity of humankind, makes the pointed observation that the genetic factors underlying 'visible physical characteristics' (on which much previous race theorising have been based) show a far greater degree of diversity than had been imagined. This UNESCO statement also maintains that there is no justification whatsoever for asserting any hierarchy of differences between individual or groups on biological grounds, and adds that 'in any event one is never justified in proceeding from the observation of a difference to the affirmation of a superiority-inferiority relationship'.

It is for this reason that UNESCO and most social scientists advocate using the term 'ethnic groups' instead of 'race', because for most people 'race' is any group whom they choose to so characterise, despite the fact that they may, in fact, be religious, geographic or cultural groups. This viewpoint represented in UNESCO's work emphatically rejects the view expressed in some scholarly and less scholarly quarters that the term 'race' signifies groups differentiated in terms of biological or physical attributes. Despite the stand adopted by UNESCO and other scholars that there is no biological basis for believing in 'race', it still remains a powerful way of categorising people (Findlay and Reynolds, 1987). Chambers and Pettman (1986:5) reiterate that, while race is not a valid biological concept, 'physical
differences do exist and can act as a trigger to racism, when taken as evidence of the
differences'.

There is a growing consensus of scientific opinion that 'race' and 'ethnicity' are social
constructions that have much in common, especially in terms of ideology and resulting social
practices, such as discrimination, negative attitudes and inclusion/exclusion in the broader
structures of society. Thus, Van de Berghe states that, whether it be ethnicity or race, what is
important is the 'consciousness of a distinction between "them" and "us"' (1970, xviii) and
adds that these differentiations crystallise around clusters of objective characteristics, which
become badges of inclusion or exclusion.

As an ideology, the term 'race' denotes a way of signifying and symbolising the ideas and
beliefs surrounding its usage and how these present a particular perspective on the underlying
social reality. These meanings and interpretations are political, prescriptive and purposive in
that they give legitimacy to particular forms of use and delimit the boundaries of meaning
(Smith, 1989). In this sense, 'race' as a social construction is real; people recognise that it
exists, whatever its connotations, positive or negative evaluations. Thus, according to one
theorist, race is 'a social construction based on the perceptions of some combination of
pigmentation, physique, descent, historical or geographical origin, dress, language and
cultural norms' (Reeves, 1983, p.7).

The way in which the ideology of racism operates depends, according to Castles (1990a), not
on 'the characteristics of the groups to be dominated, but on the interests and culture of the
dominant group'(1990b, 17). This is because 'racism is a process of ascription, in which a
dominant group attaches social meaning to real or imagined physical or cultural characteristics
of the groups which are dominated' (Castles, 1990b, p.17-18).

To be more specific, what the doctrine of racism does is to characterise groups that are
essentially "products" of social and historical processes as biological or pseudo-biological
groupings, which are hierarchically ordered as superior/inferior (Pettman, 1986; Cashmore,
1987). What is more important, racism as an ideology proceeds to ascribe negatively
evaluated characteristics (that is, of abilities and other cultural features) in a deterministic manner to these supposedly biologically different groupings (different in terms of phenotypical or genotypical characteristics). Thus racism can involve one or more of the following elements:

**racial prejudice** which is the forming of negative attitudes without sufficient knowledge based on physical and cultural characteristics;

**racial discrimination** which is behaviour which disadvantages people on the basis of their membership of an ethnic or racial group;

**racist ideology** which reinforces the views of the dominant group about racial and ethnic groups often attributing their inequality to their perceived/assumed inferiority and towards building up social myths in relation to this;

**institutional racism** which is embedded in the political, economic and social structures of society and results in systematic discrimination and oppression of racial and ethnic groups (Pettman, 1986: 4-10).

These stereotypical representations associated with racial groupings and the cognate social myths lead to evaluations, giving preference to some groups and not to others. Some writers distinguish between racial prejudice and racism; they argue that racism is "racial prejudice plus power". For example, Ohri, Manning and Curno (1982:7) argue that racism exists where prejudice combines with power to inform "any attitude, action, or institutional structure which subordinates a person or group because of colour, race or ethnic differences". A typical example of this is reflected in the White Australia policy and subsequent Australian immigration policies in which some ethnic groups were severely discriminated against. In other words, the doctrine of racism is an ideology that leads to a 'racialism' that practises or advocates the dogma that some 'races' are and always will be inferior/superior for biological or pseudo-biological reasons (see Jamrozik et al., 1995 and Markus, 1994).
Other writers (for example, McConnachie, Hollinsworth and Pettman, 1987; 23) differentiate between racism and ethnocentrism. These writers describe ethnocentrism as a belief in the superiority of one's own culture and that this provides the basis for discriminating against people of other cultures. Here, racism is defined as cultural superiority based on genetic superiority. Thus, although racism and ethnocentrism do get confused, the outcome is the same in terms of the way people are treated (Pettman, 1992).

Although race and culture came to be perceived by sociologists and anthropologists as two separate objects of study, the concept of racism is still widely used in social analysis because it has the potential to describe how phenotypically distinct groups can be structured into lower status positions through what has been described as "racial" prejudice. Race, in other words, can be studied for its significance as a cultural construction rather than as observable phenotypical variations that are used to define "racial boundaries". Thus, scholars such as Miles (1988, 1989) are arguing strongly for the retention of the notion of "racism" as a descriptive concept because analyses of its formation can provide insights into the broader economic and political structures of society. As a descriptive concept, however, anthropologists and sociologists have used the concept of culture or "ethnic group" to describe groups based on kinship, regional, religious or national boundaries (see also Gunew and Rizvi, 1994).

2.2.1 The Notion of Ethnicity and Ethnic Groups

The term ethnic group is generally understood in anthropological literature from which its current usage is derived, to designate:

- a population which: a) is largely biologically self-perpetuating; b) shares fundamental cultural values, realised in overt unity in cultural forms; c) makes up a field of communication and interaction; d) has a membership which identifies itself, and is identified by others as constituting a category distinguishable from other categories of the same order. (Barth 1969:200)

In real terms, Barth's definition includes race, culture, language and society, all of which, as functional systems, reject or discriminate against the generalised others around them.
Social scientists have used the term in two different senses, one narrow and one broad. Some definitions of the term are broad enough to include socially defined racial groups. For example, in Gordon's (1964, p. 27) broad definition an ethnic group is a social group distinguished by "race, religion, or national origin." Here, the distinctive characteristics can be physical or cultural, and language and religion are seen as critical signs of ethnicity even where there is no physical distinctiveness. Glazer has given this inclusive definition of ethnic groups:

A single family of social identities - a family which, in addition to races and ethnic groups, includes religions (as in Holland), language groups (as in Belgium), and all of which can be included in the most general term, ethnic groups, groups defined by descent, real or mythical, and sharing a common history and experience.

Other scholars prefer a narrower definition of ethnic group, one that omits groups defined primarily in terms of real or alleged physical characteristics.

Whether ethnic group is defined in a narrow or broad sense, ancestry is very important. Perception of common ancestry, both real and mythical, has been important both to outsiders' definitions and to ethnic groups' self-definitions. Weber (1961) saw ethnic groups broadly as human groups that entertain a subjective belief in their common descent - because of similarities of physical type or of customs or both, or because of memories of colonisation or migration - in such a way that this belief is important for the continuation of the non kinship communal relationships (1:306).

The concept of ethnicity which is mostly associated with minority groups has been accepted by policy makers around the world as an empirical reality that is both observable and "measurable" (Kee, 1986).

Price (1963) defines an ethnic group as

a collection of persons who, for physical, geographical, political, religious, linguistic, or other reasons, feel themselves, or are felt by others, to constitute a separate people.

The two central distinguishing characteristics of an ethnic group are the sharing of a distinct social and cultural tradition and the development of a sense of common identity. Normally, an immigrant ethnic group exists within a larger social context that incorporates other ethnic groups. It may be possible for immigrants to live exclusively within their own ethnic group, exclusively in the 'dominant group' or, most commonly, within both to varying degrees. To
a considerable extent, individual integration patterns are influenced by the nature of ethnic
group development.

In 1950 a United Nations study group stated

National, religious, geographic, linguistic and cultural groups do not necessarily
coincide with racial groups and the cultural traits of such groups have no
demonstrated genetic connection with racial traits. Because serious errors of this
kind are habitually committed when the term "race" is used in popular parlance, it
would be better when speaking of human races to drop the term "race" altogether and

Such statements reflect the ambiguity of the concept of "ethnic group" - whether as an
alternative term to race, as a concept to be applied as an alternative to culture, or as a concept
that refers to combined forms of cultural difference (expressed through behaviour and beliefs)
and racial difference (observed as phenotypical variations).

In 1900 Deniker clearly drew a distinction between race and ethnic groupings (see Montagu,
1964). He stated that we should distinguish between ethnic groups that are formed 'by virtue
of community of language, religion and social institutions, etc., which have the power of
uniting human beings of one or several species' and races that are what zoologists call species
or "subspecies".

Two important developments were crucial to this perspective. First, there was the clear
distinction between the biological category, race, that preceded the social category, ethnic
group. Secondly there was the implicit notion of boundaries that could be crossed or
integrated.

For Warner and Srole (1945), ethnic group was directly equated with cultural group. They
argued that ethnic groups would be assimilated into American life but that the issue for the
future was the "problem" of race. This was because physical variations, such as skin colour,
are more definitive and enduring than variations in behaviour and belief;

The future of American ethnic groups seems to be limited; it is likely that they will be
quickly absorbed. When this happens one of the great epochs of American history
will have ended and another, that of race, will begin (Warner and Srole, 1945:295).
One particular problem here is the difficulty in operationalizing concepts such as "race" (only useful in relation to racism and racial discrimination) and "ethnicity" (which effectively becomes a culturalist notion of 'race' if externally imposed and rigidly defined).

Warner and Srole's (1945) distinction between culture and race introduced the idea that it would be easier, and indeed more likely, for individuals to cross cultural boundaries than it would be to cross boundaries marked by phenotypical racial symbols. Their assumption was that Blacks and Whites were separated by a "caste" barrier rather than a class barrier, which often operated within each caste (see also Said, 1993). Although this assumption attracted much criticism from a class based perspective, it did, however, ensure that class analysis subsequently became a significant theoretical perspective from which to explain ethnic action.

Both 'race' and 'ethnicity' are problematic categories. 'Race' is used as a social construct with links to racisms, old and new. While 'race' as an analytical category has lost favour, 'ethnicity' has been popularised. These days the 'ethnic' question in the national census is both rigid and externally imposed: it uses a culturalist, geographical and 'nationalist' notion of 'race' dressed up as 'ethnicity'. This appeal to cultural distinctions, national allegiances, 'natural' boundaries of inclusion and exclusion has much in common with the discourse of the 'new racism' (Husband, 1991; Baker, 1983).

De Lepervanche (1980) argues that the conceptual move from race to ethnicity has simply reformulated the old nineteenth century "original anthropological sin". That is, as she puts it, "where racist behaviour and ideologies were convenient to ruling class interests one hundred years ago, the apparent opposite - the promotion of ethnicity - performs a similar role today". (p.34). Race and ethnicity are mainly social and political constructs. Eipper (1983), following de Lepervanche, has argued that where the concept of ethnicity has been used as an explanatory concept it has been used uncritically and that it is an urgent theoretical task to deconstruct its social meaning. This is not the task of this thesis. In Australia the term ethnicity has come to be used exclusively to refer to groups from non-English speaking background (NESB). The term NESB has acquired dubious conceptual significance and come to be synonymous with the term 'ethnic minority groups' (Martin, 1978). This is one
of the terms which has been used for racial and ethnic groups. The term was explicitly
defined by Wirth (1945) in terms of subordinate position, as

a group of people who, because of their physical or cultural characteristics, are
singled out from others in the society in which they live for differential and unequal
treatment and who therefore regard themselves as objects of collective discrimination
(p. 347).

The term implies the existence of a "majority group," a dominant group with superior
resources and rights. This points up differences in power among groups and underscores
racial and ethnic stratification, a hierarchy of more or less powerful groups.

2.2.2 Fundamental Themes in the Analysis of Ethnic Group Relations

Three fundamental and divergent themes in the analysis of ethnic group relations seem
important: the cultural and ethnic content of groups; the structural organisation of cultural or
ethnic boundaries that define these groups and, finally, the structure of society that creates
such groups and their boundaries. The emphasis in this dissertation is on the structure of
society that creates ethnic groups and their boundaries.

The cultural theme is concerned with the nature or the social content of the groups under
analysis. The questions that are normally pursued from this perspective are: what are the
common bases of allegiance for these groups; and how can each group best be described?
Writers that adopt this perspective are concerned with the "nature" of ethnicity and it is
therefore important for them to define what it is being analysed.

Park and Burgess argued that racial consciousness was transmitted through communication or
interaction. This emphasised the subjective aspect of group activity. As a result, they were
particularly concerned with describing the ethnic relations as categories that were undergoing
integration or assimilation rather than cultures that were undergoing transformation (Ballis Lal,
1986, 297).

In the 1940s and early 1980s a considerable body of literature emerged that was primarily
cconcerned with explaining and describing these persisting ethnic groups (eg. Gordon, 1967;
Glazer and Moynihan, 1975; Bell, 1975; van den Berghe, 1981; Schermerhon, 1970; Myrdal,
1944; Martin, 1978) as well as Anthony Smith's *The Ethnic Origin of Nations* (1981), Nash's recent account (1989) of the connection between nationalism and ethnicity and Norbu's work on *Culture and the Politics of Third World Nationalism* (1992). In Bostock's (1977) view, ethnicity can be a pathway to participation or lead to a state of "imprisonment" (implying inclusion or exclusion). While he accepts that ethnicity, like race, serves to provide boundary markers between "them" and "us", his concern is more with the nature of ethnicity rather than with what is happening around the boundaries. Research studies that are concerned with ethnic content are focused at the micro-level of analysis. They are concerned with the nature of perceptions and experiences rather than with the social structures or historical processes that may have contributed to those experiences.

Pluralists are also concerned with the ethnic content of groups. Smith (1965; 1982; 1986), for example, wanted to discover the distinctive social properties of societies that could maintain "plural systems" without the need to develop a moral consensus. He studied both ethnic groups and the societies in which they persisted and the institutional arrangements that linked the distinct groups or segments together. Regarding this, Smith stated:

> Western scholars rely disproportionately on descriptive analyses of relevant situations in Western societies provided by other Western scholars, thereby entrenching the myopia and ethnocentric bias in scholarly studies from which these questions have perennially suffered. In an effort to open a small window on the wider world and to persuade colleagues to devote more time to the systematic study of foreign situations, I present here a comparative analysis of data from twenty-seven contemporary African states in an attempt to determine the relative significance of pluralism, race and ethnicity for social order and political stability in these societies (p.187).

A major criticism of Smith's work lies in the fact that in explaining the institutional links between groups he emphasises political arrangements and neglects the role of economic relations (Rex, 1986:33). However, a significant implication of his work is the introduction of an anthropological perspective that looked at relations between ethnic groups rather than at relations within an ethnic group (Rex, 1986:92, Wallman, 1986:226).

Following the "racial" tensions in the United States during the 1970s, Gordon, who had earlier on proposed a pluralist model that envisaged different levels of assimilation and pluralism, re-examined his theoretical position and produced an expanded "multi-causal
model". As already stated, Gordon (1964) proposed that it was possible for cultural assimilation to occur without structural assimilation taking place, but that if structural assimilation did take place then the other forms would follow. This model did not incorporate considerations of power and conflict. In the "multi-causal model", Gordon realised this major weakness and said that we need,

a consideration of power relationships and an examination of relevant basic social-psychological processes of human interaction (Gordon, 1975:89).

Gordon proceeded to establish variables in a theory of racial and ethnic inter-group relations. These included interactive variables, that refer to the interactive process between individual and collective units; bio-social variables, that refer to the development of self in the social environment; and societal variables, that refer to the collective structures and demographic and cultural ecology. He regarded these as independent variables. His dependent sub-variables which formed the basis of his amended theory of racial and ethnic inter-group relations were:

- type of assimilation (structural or cultural)
- degree of assimilation;
- degree of conflict; and
- degree of access to societal rewards.

This approach has resulted in the operationalisation of concepts that take the ethnic group as the prime focus of analysis at a particular point in time albeit within a broader social structural framework. This has meant that studies have assumed that a group of empirically defined people (according to language, religion, birthplace or combinations of each) are "bounded" by that group definition. Alternatively, they may be dealing only with a core group that may, in fact, represent a considerably more loosely-connected ethnic category. The consequence has been that many studies of ethnicity and assimilation have dealt only with hypothetical groups and left the problematic nature of where those groups start and end out of consideration. The same empirical definition of groups has been influential in many studies in Australia (eg. Borrie, 1954, Zubrzycki, 1964; Evans and Kelly, 1986; Birrell and Seitz, 1986; Price, 1975; and Campbell et al., 1989).
In Australia, de Lepervanche has been critical of pluralistic interpretations that in general treat ethnic groups as the salient groups in the society under analysis. Basing the analysis on the way these groups define themselves, she says,

... is to take for granted precisely what requires explanation. What needs to be accounted for is why particular groups have come into existence and into conflict or competition with each other (de Lepervanche, 1984:188).

For de Lepervanche, a class analysis provides the only adequate explanation. She argues that ethnic groups are not merely cultural flowerings or biologically determined entities but have a past in one society and a present in another. She holds the view that what is necessary is to consider the structures of power that continually define and redefine their existence and is more concerned with developing a macro-sociological approach to the study of racial and ethnic studies. De Lepervanche, like Cox (1987), is concerned with the historical processes that have given rise to ethnic differentiation whereas the pluralists, like Park, have been concerned with what it means to be part of an ethnic minority. Pearson (1981), on the other hand looks at the economic and social factors. He points out the possibility of "some" degree of economic and social differentiation within ethnic and racial minorities.

2.2.3 Ethnic Group Boundaries

As already noted, the assimilationist model proposed that ethnic group culture would be 'absorbed' into the culture of mainstream society; it suggested only change on the part of the minority cultures but not on the part of the majority. This approach differed from the widely used "melting pot" metaphor introduced by Lucy Mair (Epstein, 1978) which saw all cultural groups adapting and changing thus creating a new "amalgam". In neither case, however, was it explained how the boundaries between the different groups were maintained in the first place, how they were crossed, nor how they changed in the way the respective models proposed.

Wallman (1979, 1986) has attempted to develop a model to explain ethnic boundaries around a strand of anthropological theory "that deals explicitly with the relation between structure and process" (Wallman, 1986:232). In order to do this, she incorporates theories about identity structure, economic theories about market forces and sociological theories about the division
of labour. Much of Wallman's work demonstrates the relationship between ethnic boundaries and social networks across a range of social networks. In her London study, she compares two communities in terms of their internationalist characteristics (open) and their insular characteristics (closed) and examines the networks utilised by the "white" and "coloured" populations in each local area in different social contexts. These contexts included employment, housing, political membership, travel and organisational membership. From this study Wallman found that the more closed system had sharper economic boundaries and less flexibility in access to community resources, compared to the more open system.

Wallman's approach is a reversal of the approach taken in network studies carried out in Australia by Bottomley (1974), Mackie (1975) and Cox (1975). These researchers were looking at the "density" of kin-based networks of immigrant families and the relationship between these networks and cultural integration. They generally found that close-knit, or more closed networks were associated with cultural maintenance but that these did not inhibit their integration into the new society. Wallman, on the other hand, was investigating the structure of particular residential categories and looking at the implications they had for networks and, through these, for ethnic boundaries. Wallman argued that within an open system there was a range of boundaries surrounding the different social contexts such as employment, housing, and political activity and that these could be individually breached or maintained.

Wallman's argument is that in the closed community, social relationships will be more interlinked and there will be fewer network links to areas of social activity outside the residential system. According to Wallman, "differences between groups of people turn into ethnic boundaries only when propelled into significance by the identity investments of either side" (Wallman, 1986, p.210). Thus, whereas Mackie assumed that 'hard' ethnic boundaries might either support or retard a smooth transition into the host society, Wallman has argued that the structure of the community can influence the 'hardening' or 'softening' of ethnic boundaries (see also Rothman, 1965 and 1979).
What role do ethnic community organisations play in the softening or hardening of these boundaries? The purpose of the next section is to review the major existing theories relevant to this question.

**SECTION THREE: VOLUNTARY ETHNIC ORGANISATIONS**

2.3 **THEORISING ETHNIC ORGANISATIONS**

As it is the case with voluntary organisations, it is not easy to identify a ‘theory’ of ethnic organisations. In his attempt to theorise ethnic organisations, Jackson (1991, p.20) points out the difficulty associated with the identification of a relevant ‘theory’ of this phenomenon. He notes that

> It is extremely difficult to identify a ‘theory’ of ethnic organisations, if we understand theory to be the definition of concepts and the linking together of these concepts in such a way as to establish causal relations between them, and formulated in such a way as to enable the testing and application of the ‘formula’ to other situations. Each of the ‘concepts’ making a ‘theory of ethnic organisations’ is in itself part of a usually contentious debate about the best way to represent that particular aspect of the social world of ethnic organisations. There is therefore no ‘theory of ethnic organisations’ as such, but only different ways of specifying the relationship between a number of constituent and often competing theories or concepts.

As a complex subject, ethnic organisations have attracted the attention of different disciplines, each discipline bringing its own distinctive perspective to bear on modes of explanation of ethic organisational behaviour. Thus ethnic organisations have been analysed using such concepts as theories of the role of the state and the political control of dissent (eg. Sivanandan, 1982); intergroup relations theory drawing on psychodynamic models of groups or individuals (e.g. Dollard, 1957), or models of group formation and intergroup comparison and rivalry (eg. Tajfel, 1981; Turner and Giles, 1981); theories of the political psychology of ethnic group formation (eg., Jackson, 1982a); theories of urban political behaviour (eg., Katzenelson, 1976); and theories of community politics and ‘voluntarism; (eg., Stasiulis, 1980).
The basis of ethnic organisational behaviour could also be explained by the different circumstances which give rise to the construction of a particular theory relating to ethnic organisations.

This means that a theory may grow out of a need to explain phenomena or explanations may grow out of the application of a predetermined theory to a particular situation. A theory may also be an interactionist theory/action relationship such as that found in the construction of practice theory in social work.

Such a variety of ways of explaining organisational behaviour becomes a practical problem if an attempt is made to 'clarify' the role of ethnic community organisations in promoting immigrant social integration.

Jakubowicz, et al, 1975) describes "culture" as referring to a premise that consciousness, as a distinctive and distinguishable process, is that in which individuals are the subjects of their own actions; that this consciousness expresses social relations between individuals, groups and classes, as they are experienced and formulated by participants; however, a theorised specific history is also necessary to understand this consciousness at any moment (Johnson, 1979).

'Culture' prescribed (erroneously) as ethnicity in its popular usage, risks the tendency to stop short at including concepts which relate to socio-economic status and the structure of social relations (Marjoribanks 1980: 11; Gordon 1978: 136). However, as has been discussed in the previous section, as a first cause role (Hraba, 1979) this almost entirely omits ethnicity as a concept embracing social and politically constructed class analysis (Jakubowicz et al, 1975),

In fact, "ethnic behaviour" everywhere has to be associated with patterns of economic, political and cultural dominance (de Lepervanche 1980: 34).

As a notion then, 'ethnicity' expresses itself differently through time and circumstances, by virtue of its attributed peripheral nature as operated or constructed within a context of socio-political relations, and is bound by the exercise of power or closure on the part of those in control of politically significant institutions (Martin 1978).
Given that 'ethnicity' is derived from the Greek word 'ethnos,' referring to a sense of belonging to a particular group in place and time, it is reasonable to consider 'ethnicity' as a matrix for any particular consciousness, shaped by social forces which impact from both within and without an ethnic group. Dominant cultural ideologies, supported by political and economic prescriptions, in peripheralising the notion of ethnicity, thus reinforce vested interests by divorcing their own 'ethnicity' and its specific history, and replace it in terms of assumptions of power and social relations. An implicit assumption of value difference is thus able to be made. Yet, on the other hand, for ethnic groups and organisations, the notion of ethnicity requires some degree of positive politicization in order to claim equitable distribution of resources and opportunities, within the dominant setting and against their own marginalisation (Lewins, 1979).

There may be no way, in fact, of reaching agreement on the role of ethnic community organisations in immigrant social integration unless it is grounded in particular settlement policy objectives of the host society.

2.3.1 Ethnic Community Organisations

The social integration of the ethnically heterogeneous population of modern nation states has been advocated by those concerned with human welfare for some time. Governments, humanitarian and religious organisations and international agencies alike, all advocate social integration as a means of promoting certain broad values or principles such as social justice, social harmony and unity and the principle of interdependency and mutual respect.

These principles translate into goals, which become more and more important as immigrants undergo the upheavals of social change in which the relationships between different sections of societies are altered and access to opportunities shifts.

Whatever the circumstances, newly arriving minority immigrants with visible characteristics and with no established networks of family and friends face a strong barrier to entrance into mainstream society. Racial and ethnic prejudice among the indigenous population may lead to complaints about 'foreign' customs with regard to such things as immigrants' clothing, food,
religious rituals or personal habits, which are regarded as offensive. Perceived competition for jobs, housing and opportunities for social mobility may lead to the creation of a social boundary between the immigrant group and the host society. Immigrant women may experience a double threat, facing discrimination on the basis of sex as well as race or national origin. Extremist movements may endeavour to maintain an ideology of racial or cultural purity, advocating strict immigration controls and even the expulsion of ‘aliens’. Although such extreme racist or ethnocentric views may be held by only a small minority, leaders of such movements may be able to mobilise popular support, particularly at times of economic crisis, and open discrimination and at times violent clashes may ensue. In turn, immigrant minorities who are victims of such discriminatory attitudes may feel obliged to protect themselves, usually by identifying themselves with each other to form collective ethnic voluntary associations.

For several reasons, ethnic community organisations have been seen as particularly appropriate bodies in which to promote social integration of immigrant groups, by means of the programs and activities they provide (see Cox, 1987 and Scott and Scott, 1990, for example). Ethnic community organisations provide social contact and opportunities to use familiar languages and forms of behaviour. They alleviate alienation and isolation and they can defend their members' interests when necessary. Perhaps even more important, these ethnic organisations provide a social setting in which contact between different social groups can be made and grow into relationships that may defuse tensions and increase the possibilities for sharing diverse experiences.

2.3.2 Voluntary Organisations

This section will review literature on ethnic organisations in a host environment. Since ethnic organisations can be categorised as voluntary associations, a clear understanding of ethnic organisations requires a knowledge of voluntary organisations. However, it must be emphasised from the outset that, while ethnic voluntary organisations may be considered within the overall examination of other voluntary organisations, they cannot be classified as one distinct category.
Voluntary organisations may also be described as community-based organisations. These are developed by and accountable to the community of citizens from which they spring. They are organisations in the sense that they rationally co-ordinate the activities of a number of people for the achievement of some common explicit purpose or goal, through division of labour and function, and through a system of authority and responsibility (Schein, 1970, p.9). These organisations include those which are defined with reference to a community of interest, not simply a geographical area. They may receive grants and other resources from public (that is, governmental) or private sources.

According to Pifer (1966) "the use of non-governmental organisations to carry out public functions. . . is now accepted policy in most parts of government" (p.4). Voluntary organisations are vital in meeting the social needs of members in the community. In voluntary organisations, individual choice is supposed to be paramount; by way of contrast, one does not choose the nation or the family into which one is born. In Adam's (1986) estimation the voluntary organisation is a decisive and characteristic instrumentality of the democratic society. Many perceptions and needs, discussion and consensus, competent community leadership, and thus responsible public opinion come into play through it.

Boles (1985) indicates that voluntary organisations are connecting bridges between the larger society and the individual: they act as mechanisms of integration, agents of mobilisation and change, mediators between the individual and the larger society and concomitants of modernisation and they play a very crucial role in the socio-cultural life and politics of a society.

Scholars (for example, Price 1969; Smith and Freedman, 1972; Jackson, 1991) argue that there is no general theory that is able to explain the vast variety and fluidity of voluntary associational forms. It is interesting to note that there is not even an agreed definition of voluntary organisations (Sills, 1968). Williams and Williams (1984) define voluntary organisations as "groups of individuals who by choice and out of necessity, organise for the pursuit of one or more interests or goals that all members share." In this way the functions of such associations/organisations differ from group to group. However, there are common
characteristics associated with most traditional voluntary organisations. Williams and Williams (1984) identify these elements as follows:

a) all members share in common a sense of “community”;

b) the association provides an identity for group members;

c) it heightens social status and self-esteem of group members;

d) it provides some degree of social control over group members;

e) it serves as a powerful influence over the activities of non-members in a number of situations; and

f) it provides social, economic, and political assistance and protection for members and their families” (p.22).

As already noted, scholars of voluntary organisations have not been able to develop a theoretical framework for the examination and analysis of organisational definitions, structures and functions. In 1979, Radecki stated that, owing to the sheer complexity of the field, ‘it is most likely that this theoretical vacuum will continue to exist into the foreseeable future.’ It has been argued that “no general theory or even an encompassing typology could account for the great variety and fluidity of associational forms (Hammond, 1972:2). As far back as 1969, Price observed that voluntary organisational theories had been found inadequate and “are being abandoned in favour of classificatory schemes” (Price, 1969).

Although there are a good deal of general organisational theories, these theories have been recognised as having little applicability to voluntary organisations since they concentrate on governmental bureaucracies and big businesses which operate on different levels.

Owing to the lack of theoretical frameworks for the study and analysis of voluntary organisations, many scholars have devised typologies and classificatory schemes to provide the necessary framework for examining and analysing this phenomenon. Clark and Wilson (1961) classified voluntary organisations based on the incentives which are offered to individuals as an inducement to contribute their activity to the group.
They distinguish organisations of material, solidarity and purposive types. Voluntary organisations, however, offer all three types of incentives to their members. Gordon and Babchuk (1959) use the “instrumental” and “expressive” typology. Others rely mainly on examining the relationship of socioeconomic variables and the rates of voluntary organisational joining (Laskin, 1962; Wright and Hyman, 1958). Blau and Scott (1962) propose a typology of voluntary organisations based on the principle of *cui bono* (who benefits). They distinguish four categories of beneficiaries, namely:

1. members, or rank and file participants;
2. owners or managers of the organisation;
3. people “outside” the organisation, i.e. clients and
4. the public at large, or the society in which the organisation exists.

Using the criteria of "who benefits" (Blau and Scott, 1962, p.43), four types of organisations are differentiated: (1) mutual-benefit and self-help associations, where the prime beneficiary is the membership; (2) business concerns, where the owners are prime beneficiary; (3) service organisations, where the client group is the main beneficiary; and (4) commonwealth organisations where the prime beneficiary is the public at large.

The ideologies on which some of these are based are many and varied. For example, self-help associations developed on the principle that individuals are responsible for themselves and should not rely on the State, whereas mutual aid has its foundations in ‘collectivism’, a system within which people protect each other from exploitation because they have shared interests. There are a number of self-help organisations which are the offspring of the combined ideologies of individualism and collectivism.

Since the study is concerned with ethnic community organisations the next review will focus on sources having a more direct bearing on ethnic voluntary organisations.
2.3.3 Ethnic Voluntary Organisations

Rossides (1966) has observed that the emergence and continuation of voluntary organisations is "obviously related to the fundamental values and ideals of any society" (p.22). However, Radecki (1979) notes that active participation in voluntary organisations is historically a part of a general mode of life in which an individual participated in various social groups such as the extended family, friendship cliques and other social aggregates. An individual who joins a voluntary organisation acquires a special status and an additional framework of orientation and with them, a right to have and enjoy certain services and interactions not readily available to others. The organisation as a body acquires on its part the service, allegiance and support of its members, each of whom gains something worthwhile: protection, duty, honour, affection, identity, acceptance and support.

This is generally true of all voluntary organisations and their members, but additional and important factors are to be considered when ethnic voluntary organisations are the focus of analysis.

For members of the host society, voluntary organisations may be but one link between immediate life situations and the broader social environment, since other avenues (institutions, associations, etc.) are present and serve to satisfy their various needs. In this case, voluntary organisations most often serve a specific need and a narrow function, satisfying that particular need at a particular time. On the other hand, new immigrants entering a new country like Australia, characterised by different customs, language or appearance and who form an ethnocultural minority, may find it difficult, if not impossible, to join voluntary organisations of the host society. Even following a period of adjustment or acculturation, many immigrants will still find such organisations undesirable or unsuitable for a variety of reasons (for example, language). Under such circumstances attempts will be made to set up and support a distinct organisational structure which will satisfy their special interests.
Ethnic voluntary organisations are defined as bodies that intend to satisfy diverse fundamental social welfare needs of its members. Radecki (1979) defines ethnic organisations as

...bodies established to meet a variety of basic human wants (economic, social, cultural, religious, political) and a variety of values or cultural needs for an ethnocultural group. Individuals join such organisations on the basis of common ethnic background, or from a concern with the culture of their country of origin. Ethnic organisations are characterised by dynamic structures and goals reflecting the influence from at least two frames of reference - the old and the new societies (p.12).

Societies at any level of development reflect the needs and interests of the most dominant group in particular as embodied in their organisation and structure, thus relegating minority group members to the margins of society where they may feel alienated and unfulfilled in many areas of life. Under such circumstances it is not unlikely that such ethnic minorities may establish organisations such as voluntary associations and self-help groups to handle these difficulties. The development of such organisations becomes more important in a multicultural society and there is considerable evidence that ethnic and racial minority groups are prone to deprivation, disadvantage and even oppression (Schermernhorn, 1970; Lieberson, 1972; Breton, Reitz and Valentine, 1980; Western, 1983 and Shergold, 1985). Like other voluntary associations, ethnic organisations can assume a variety of forms and types, for example, dispersed, formal and informal, primary and, in terms of purpose, a social, power or ideological group. Of central importance to the newly arrived immigrants is the face-to-face or primary group. Immigrants, as an ethnocultural minority, most frequently establish their own associations when they lack access to the dominant group which provides support to the immigrants in meeting their special interests and needs. Secondary groups are also important for the well-being of immigrants. Gordon (1978) has described the secondary group as a group “in which contacts tend to be impersonal, formal or casual, non-intimate, and segmentalised; in some cases they are face-to-face, in others not” (p.115).

Notwithstanding the growth and significance of large-scale associations such as trade unions and co-operatives in the modern state, smaller primary groups also exist alongside such large-scale associations and form within them. Undoubtedly, the primary group plays an ongoing vital role in the psychic life of individuals by providing them with training, support and the opportunities to express affection and find intimacy. It is clear that many social problems are
the result of or are at least accentuated by, social isolation, and it is isolation from close-knit primary groups where affective bonds are strong that can be particularly critical. Research findings suggest that social support "... is directly related to increased psychological well-being and to a lower probability of physical and mental illness" (Furnham and Bochner, 1986, p.184-5).

The migration process can also generate sudden or excessive social isolation among immigrants in a new environment, as migration often involves the leaving behind of family, friends and acquaintances, such as work colleagues and neighbours. Sources of social support are reduced and there is a consequent increase in physical and mental illness (Furnham and Bochner, 1986, p.185). Whatever the outcome in any particular situation, there is no doubt that immigrants' well-being can be impaired by isolation. Common examples of isolation among an immigrant community in a host society include young single adult refugees who are brought into that country alone and lack the resources to form friendships, as well as older refugees who had to leave spouse and children behind. Because all such situations place those involved at risk, the significance of primary groups cannot be over emphasized. While primary groups are important in the settlement process of immigrants, secondary groups also play a significant role in the integration process.

Secondary group involvement contributes significantly to a person's identity. For most people, the important elements of their commonly 'multi-layered identity' (Gordon, 1964; Gordon, 1978 and Breton, 1978) include national, ethnic, religious, locality and occupational identities, which all presuppose at least a sense of group membership. The function of this group identity, according to Isaacs (1975), 'has to do most crucially with key ingredients in every individual's personality and life experience: his sense of belonging and the quality of his self-esteem' (p.34). This is to say that people need to feel that they fit into society through their membership of specific social groups and that their sense of personal worth is reinforced by how they are treated within these groups. Regarding identity, Erikson (1966) refers to 'a complementarity of an inner synthesis in the individual and of role integration in his group' (p. 149). Individuals need to be able to locate themselves, both temporally and structurally, in a
particular socio-cultural-historic context to answer for themselves Erikson’s ‘pertinent question’: “What do I want to make of myself and what do I have to work with?” (p. 165). A well developed ethnic secondary group will minimise problems with individual identity and self-esteem. This view is supported by Rovner (1981, p.37):

The above research findings (of few inter-ethnocultural group differences in self-esteem) are entirely consistent with self attitude formation theory. That theory postulates that one’s self-evaluation is formed through perceived evaluation of one’s self-experiences by significant social others. Given that de facto ethnocultural segregation is extremely prevalent (in the USA), in most cases one’s comparison reference group (and significant others) will mostly consist of people from the same ethnocultural background. Thus, although the dominant cultural group or other outgroups may negatively evaluate one’s own group and by extension one’s self, the most powerful other evaluations come from one’s comparison reference group which is likely to be ethno-culturally consonant with oneself and thereby do not downgrade one’s ethnocultural features but rather affirm them.

Secondary groups may be described functionally as a means to an end more than an end in themselves and thereby provide a context for the development of primary ethnic groups. For many people primary group relations emerge from meeting people within a secondary group context. It is in ethnic organisations that many immigrants find and develop the strong personal relationships so critical to their well-being (Burnley, 1985). This is so because ‘beneath the formal ethnic structure was the informal network of ethnically enclosed cliques and friendship patterns which guaranteed both comfortable socialising and the confinement of marriage within the ancestral group’(Gordon, 1964, p.134). Martin (1972, p.45) explored this subject in relation to refugee ethnic groups in South Australia. She referred to the existence of both associational organisation and a social life based on informal ties and discussed the interaction between the two forms of group life as follows

Common ethnic origin is a source of network ties that operate very much like kinship networks, except that they may act as the basis of more formal groups such as ethnic churches or community associations. Although no material on networks has been produced in the present study, the research revealed substantial evidence of their importance; indeed, associations often appeared to have developed as a formalisation of network ties. But the informal network is much more resilient than the associational structure ... The function of ethnic origin in generating networks for immigrants and their children is likely to continue long after the more brittle of ethnic associations have disintegrated.

And so Martin notices a pattern of individuals with a common ethnic origin establishing networks which may in turn form associations and later revert to ethnic networks. Another way of looking at the situation is that the individual joins an existing ethnic organisation and
forms relationships which constitute a personal social network through which many needs can be met and tasks performed.

Ethnic organisations are therefore, in most cases, ideal sources of contacts for many purposes beyond the specific needs those associations were established to meet. Ethnic organisations exist in all national groups to provide something of an extended family for the new settlers in the new environment. These organisations assume a multiplicity of roles to cater for the many diverse needs of their communities. However, if ethnic organisations are the only organisations open to an immigrant or a minority group member, then the process of immigrant social integration into mainstream society will encounter difficulties. The existence of ethnic organisations and ethnic institutions such as schools may mean that social segregation and cultural exclusion are maintained and promoted (Raymond Breton, 1964; Reitz, 1980). These organisations may minimise the possibility of contact between majority and minority (Gordon, 1978, pp. 117-8) and encourage members to stay within the ethnic group's confines in order to meet their needs. For example, Wong (1975) observes that the established Chinese leadership in some American cities has been unwilling to co-operate with local authorities. Some Chinese communities in the United States continue to resist intrusion of publicly sponsored welfare measures, preferring traditional mutual-aid. Leonard Dinnerstein et al. (1979) point out that while ethnic organisations were absolutely vital to new immigrants who needed security and safety, they were organised to close the door to full integration into the new society. The transmission of country of origin culture, values and characteristics to the new generations was the basic goal of these associations. They kept members of the group together, celebrated traditional holidays, established their own schools for their children, and published newspapers in their language. At the same time, the objective of many ethnic organisations has been to help newcomers make the transition from the old world to the new. Dinnerstein et al. indicate that these organisations aided immigrants by finding jobs and homes, by providing forms of unemployment and life insurance and by making available transportation facilities.
Ethnic organisations are generally seen as a means of cushioning integration and providing a socialising mechanism. Lal (1983) argues that they have an integrative effect on the individual and on society as a whole and create a balance between different interests and thus play a positive role in social integration.

Richmond (1969) also argues that ethnic associations play a very significant role in the process of acculturation and socialisation and Moslehi (1986) concludes that they create a bridge between new immigrants and the community, facilitating the adaptation process by providing necessary links.

It has been argued that ethnic associations, especially those belonging to minority group, perform "compensatory" functions (Drake and Clayton, 1945). Myrdal and others argue that blacks in the United States are more likely to join and participate in voluntary associations than whites of a similar socio-economic status (Myrdal, 1944; Smith and Freedman, 1972; Babchuk and Thompson, 1962; Caplan, 1970). The thrust of the argument is that ethnic associations, especially as they applied to Afro Americans, attract blacks who are unlikely to participate at a higher level of the socio-political order. This sort of compensatory function of ethnic associations has been discounted by many. It is argued that participation in ethnic organisations may, in fact, be a 'usual' aspect of adaptation by ethnic minorities in situations of rural/urban migration (Little, 1957; 1965; Mangin, 1959; Willmott, 1964; Bruner, 1963; Banton, 1957; Du Toit and Safa, 1975; Klobus and Edwards, 1976; Pierson, 1977). Gulick (1973) suggests that 'one can responsibly risk the generalisation that wherever there are recent migrants to cities, there probably are migrants' organisations that exist primarily for the purpose of mutual aid'.

This does not mean that ethnic associations may not at times serve as "passageways for withdrawal and entrenchment" whereby ethnic urban residents avoid discrimination and confrontation with exponents of the larger political and socio-economic structure (Olzak and Nagel, 1986). What it means is that careful attention needs to be paid to the actual functions of the ethnic association in its role as an adaptive/integrative mechanism for the ethnic groups in a 'migrant' phase of minority/majority relations.
In the literature on the ethnic association there is explicit concern with the rural/urban dimension, particularly as an aspect of social change. Banton (1968) has suggested that the study of voluntary associations is part of the study of social change and, as such, any judgement as to their significance must be related to particular phases of social change. Little (1957, 1965, 1974) commenting on the role of voluntary associations in West African urbanisation suggests that, if urbanisation is taken as the overall social change process, then voluntary associations will act as an adaptive mechanism, providing culture maintenance, culture modification and 'secular', often financial, functions for its members. Much of this adaptive behaviour involves restructuring social relationships and Little suggests that in relation to adjustment to urban conditions, "the association facilitates this by substituting for the extended group of kinsmen a group based on common interests which is capable of serving many of the same needs as the traditional family or lineage" (Little, 1957:593).

Some scholars contend that ethnic associations exercise different functions at the same time (Lopata, 1964; Paasche, 1969; Johnson, 1975). Such paradoxical functioning, where the ethnic voluntary organisation may be characterised both as conservative and innovative in terms of determination of relationship to mainstream society, was noted in the context of the functions of voluntary organisations in the Polish community in Chicago (Lopata, 1964). Lopata differentiates many different functions of the Polish community, either in the process of integration or in the preservation of Polish cultural heritage. The variety of functions, performed by Lopata's Polish associations include:

1. the formation and preservation of the community as a distinct, though not necessarily unchanging unit;
2. the formation, development and active manifestation of a close relationship between this community and the national culture and society from its members emigrated;
3. the formation, development and active manifestation of a relationship between this community and the national culture and society within which it now exists;
4. economic assistance;
5. meeting special interests within the community;
6. welfare and care for deviants within the community;
7. providing Polish companionship;
8. educational and cultural activities;
9. relating Polonia to Polish society, and
10. relating Polonia to American society.

In his research on German ethnic organisations in Toronto, Paasche (1969) discovered a large number of diversified associations which differed in goal and functions. Some of them were formed for meeting specific needs; the objectives of others were the preservation of cultural and linguistic heritage and its transmission to the younger generations.

The concept of 'institutional completeness' is particularly useful in understanding the internal and external processes of ethnic organisations. Breton (1964) uses the term to refer to the extent to which the ethnic community can provide the services needed by its members. Normally, an immigrant ethnic community exists within a larger social context that incorporates other groups so that the concern of any study of an ethnic group should not be only with the nature of the group but with its position in society. As noted elsewhere in this study, it may be possible for immigrants to live exclusively within their ethnic group, exclusively in the 'dominant group' or, most commonly, within both to varying degrees. To a considerable extent, individual integration patterns are influenced by the nature of ethnic group development. Breton suggests that a crucial factor in ethnic community development is the degree of institutional development in the community. He points out that

Ethnic communities can vary enormously in their social organisation. At one extreme, there is the community which consists essentially in a network of interpersonal relations. . . . Most ethnic groups probably were at one time - and some still are - of this informal type. Many, however, have developed a more formal structure and contain organisations of various sorts . . . . Institutional completeness would be at its extreme whenever the ethnic community could perform all the services required by its members (p.49).

Breton says that the notion of 'institutional completeness' is more important in attracting the immigrant than merely the ideal of community. Institutional completeness and self-sufficiency are measured by the number of available ethnic services within the boundaries of
the ethnic group. These include religious and educational facilities, vernacular newspapers, voluntary associations and other social services. These services keep the social relations of the immigrants within the boundaries of the ethnic community. While noting that the degree of institutional completeness loses some of its salience over time, as the need to stay within the ethnic community for social contacts decreases with time, Breton argues that the ethnic community can only act in this conservative way as an alternative to integration if it possesses the organisational and service resources necessary to play such role. That is, people will generally not remain isolated and encapsulated if their needs are not being met. However, for most immigrants the ethnic community constitutes the immediate context within which integration occurs.

Perry (1976) has suggested that ethnic organisations change over time. Kuo’s (1977) analysis of the relationship of voluntary associations to processes of social and political change in New York’s China Town, suggests that certain types of organisation are relevant at particular times. Kuo distinguishes four main orientations or phases through which ethnic organisations move. The first phase relates to the ‘migration’ phase of minority/majority relationships and is primarily an economic orientation involving family, district, guild or merchant associations providing various forms of mutual aid. The second phase is represented by modern service associations. Kuo further suggests that

The government program that most influenced the evolution of Chinese voluntary associations was the Anti-Poverty Program established in the 1960s. It directly created a new type of modern service association that performs the functions of social service agencies, at times the functions of political pressure groups that challenge local traditional leadership and governmental institutions in the larger society (1977:45).

Kuo notes that the government can play a crucial role in the development and functioning of these associations through its funding role and that these associations often have the difficult task of relating to ‘government’ at local, state and national levels.

The third phase that Kuo identified is that of political pressure associations. In the case of associations that she studied, political pressure associations were often localised developments of nationwide social movements. The final phase, united political action association, reflects
a broadening of interests from a fairly narrow single ethnic group to a concern with those who share a similar disadvantaged position politically, as well as socially and economically. It is a phase marked by a willingness to enter coalitions, but also by a high degree of inter-ethnic competition for limited resources. That these ‘phases’ may represent functional change over time in one association or the relatively ‘fixed’ position of different associations, is a point taken up by Martin(1972). Martin makes the point that ethnic associations should not simply be seen as reactive or protective structures, but as interest groups pursuing ‘political’ goals in a variety of ways.

It is evident from this review that there are divergent views as to the role ethnic community organisations play in the social integration of immigrant groups. But it is also clear that whether ethnic organisations assist integration or not depends on a whole range of factors such as their basic orientation, the degree of community development within the ethnic group and on the funding role of government as well as the overall flexibility or rigidity of the host society.

The distinction between the maintenance of cultural symbols and the creation and expression of new ethnic symbols by ethnic organisations in the new environment has been labelled as “private” and “public” ethnicity respectively (Turpin, 1990). Individual organisations which are based around national, cultural, religious or linguistic maintenance and expression are characterised by symbols of cultural maintenance and “private” ethnicity. On the other hand, individual organisations which are based around national, cultural, religious or linguistic ways of dealing with contemporary social issues are characterised by symbols of cultural reconstruction and “public” ethnicity. Turpin notes that most organisations operate, to some degree, at both “private” and “public” ethnicity levels.

SECTION FOUR: CONCEPTUAL AND ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK

2.4 CONCEPTUAL OVERVIEW

Lewins (1979: 35) states,
It should be clear that cultural identity cannot be separated from issues of social equality, which in turn, cannot be divorced from social cohesion...and the link between cultural identity, social equality and social cohesion is provided by viewing ethnic relations as political relations. Putting politics into ethnic relations also provides the key to understanding the process of Australian ethnic relations and its likely outcomes.

With the recognition that there are many ways of approaching the study of ethnic organisations, an 'applied' theoretical approach would be needed to understand the role of African ethnic community organisations in the social integration of African immigrants in Australia. The value of this 'applied' approach lies in the fact that ethnic organisations are to be understood for a purpose other than just that of pure academic exercise. The real purpose has often to do with formulating a plan for purposeful intervention in ethnic communities 'via more or less direct or indirect methods of facilitating the construction, maintenance or in some areas the deconstruction of ethnic organisations' (Jackson, 1991, p.41). This could be achieved through a consideration of such factors as the host society policy context which legitimates or delegitimizes the formation of ethnic organisations. This policy context will necessarily include a consideration of immigration and settlement policies and the way they impact on the settlement process of a particular immigrant group. The policy context identified in this study is the Australian immigration and settlement policies as they affect the immigration and settlement of African immigrants in Australia.

Therefore, a political economy perspective is adopted in this thesis, to emphasize the importance of social structure in the process of adaption of immigrants to a new society. This perspective opens the way for a critical analysis of the mechanisms and agenda of government policies as they are operated and as these affect formal and informal networks, rather than merely taking prevalent socio-political conditions as given (as is the case in many studies of immigrant social integration.) Given the nature of a society permitting structured inequality along class, gender, race and age lines, the explanation of social problems must lie at a higher societal plane. A political economy perspective adopts this type of analysis, thus potentially removing an individual or group problem-centred focus.
In order to emphasise the importance of social structure in the process of adaptation of immigrants to a new society, a political economy approach will be adopted in this thesis. This approach is considered important because most studies of immigrant integration neglect consideration of the relationship between social structure and mastery of the new environment by new immigrants. These studies view success or failure within the immigrant adaptation process largely as the outcome of individual efforts (Stone, 1971; Krane, 1975, 1979; Featherman and Howser, 1978; Tienda, 1982; Chiswick, 1977a, 1977b, 1977c, 1978, 1979a, 1984; Wilson, 1985).

Taking a political economy perspective, together with the literature review for how best to understand the purpose of ethnic organisations, an overall framework for inquiry and understanding must be selected for development. It is thus that a structural approach forms the basis of this Dissertation, and is also compatible with a political economy perspective.

This approach is not new to social work. The term "structural" refers to the inherent problems that are a part of the present social order which confronts social work. These structures refer to the way in which our social institutions function, for example, discrimination against people in terms of class, gender, race, sexual orientation and disability. The "structural" perspective of social work practice focuses change on the structures of society rather than solely on the individual. Its breadth lies in its flexibility to address all groups who are victimised by the process inherent in the existing social order and pertains to issues that lie either inside or outside the social welfare system in the more narrow sense of the word.

The term "Structural Social Work" was first used by Middleman and Goldberg in 1974. These authors, while attributing social problems to the social environment, retained the liberal notion of social disorganisation. Their prescription falls with the ecological approach, suggesting a modification of social institutions rather than any wholesale social change or analysis of capitalism. Ann Davis (1991) and other writers (eg. Wood and Middleman, 1989) embrace the term "structural social work". Davis presents two contrasting approaches from the literature:
1. a consensual view of practice, arguing for maintenance within given conditions, with recognition of the discrimination suffered by vulnerable groups. This is dealt with through advocacy within organisational and political givens.

2. argument for change of existing structures which perpetuate inequality. This promotes an adversarial views of practice, seeking alleviation and transformation of the conditions with oppressed clients.

Maurice Moreau (1979) pioneered the development of structural social work in Canada. Moreau presented the structural approach as an umbrella that included all the major radical themes of Marxism, feminism, radical humanism and radical structuralism. This approach views the various forms of oppression as intersecting with each other, creating a total system of oppression. This is a generalist model of practice, not restricted to social institutions and requiring skills and knowledge in a range of settings, always making the connection between the personal and the political.

As I have already pointed out, the essence of socialist ideology and of the radical social work perspective is that inequality is an inherent part of capitalism, falling along lines of class, gender, race, sexual orientation, age, disability and geographical region. Inequality excludes these groups from opportunities, meaningful participation and a satisfactory quality of life in society and it is self-perpetuating.

In giving reasons why social workers should attend to inequality as a major part of structural practice, Pond (1989) discusses the nature of economic distribution between differing groups as an important aspect of the nation's economic and social structure. Economic and social inequality are inextricably intertwined, reinforcing divisions and distinctions in access to economic, social and political power, which, in turn, become self-perpetuating reinforcements of class structure.

The conceptual framework I intend to adopt looks at ethnic organisations as one mechanism of immigrant social integration. One has to view the historical, socio-cultural, economic and political conditions of the host society as the environmental context in which social integration of immigrants takes place. The immigrant's ethnic origin and social class or ethclass (Devore
and Schlesinger, 1981), type of immigrant (that is, voluntary or involuntary), nature and power of the ethnic community (Furnham & Bochner, 1986) should be considered as some of the key factors affecting the integration of individual immigrants.

An implication of the multicultural model is that the experience of migration, even to a different culture, is not particularly difficult if the receiving society is tolerant of cultural pluralism. However, for a variety of reasons including those already discussed (see section on race, culture and ethnicity), the migration process is costly to individuals in personal and social terms.

Uprooted from their supportive ties in the home country and accustomed to meanings which differ from the host society, the immigrant must cope with a very different social milieu in which he or she must relearn a whole series of behavioural patterns and cues, just to be able to manage daily life. This is a taxing process complicated by the physical disruption of relocation. This readjustment is stressful even in a society which does not discriminate against new arrivals. Settlement may not be as traumatic for a new arrival if the loneliness and disorientation are reduced by an existing community which can act as a buffer between the immigrant and the host society.

If, in fact, migration to Australia has sharply reduced Africans' social field - the breadth and structure of the interactional and institutional milieu around which their lives were shaped - the way they cope with the stresses of the new environment would depend, in large measure, on their ability to construct a new field in Australia and the availability of resources to meet the demands of the environment.

2.5 SUMMARY

This chapter has been divided into five sections. Section one included the introduction and related to migration and the process of immigrant integration in a new environment. This was followed in section two by race, culture and ethnicity issues. Section three was devoted to literature review on voluntary organisations and section four concluded the chapter with an overview of the conceptual and the analytical framework. This chapter has examined various
concepts employed by scholars in analysing the settlement process of immigrants. Some of the major concepts examined included assimilation, adaptation and integration. The migration process was also discussed.

The basic conceptual framework inherent in the notion of assimilation was found to be that of 'strangers' or 'newcomers' entering a 'host society.' The assumption was that the 'host society' has a set of generally accepted values, norms and behavioural patterns, while the 'newcomers' (that is, immigrants) bring different values and behavioural patterns with them. The result is lack of communication, competition and conflict, leading to problems of 'race relations' or 'community relations'. The root of this approach was found in the urban sociology of the 'Chicago School' (also known as the 'ecological school') developed in the early part of this century at a time of massive immigration and urbanisation in the United States of America. Generally, this type of theory saw the cultures of immigrant - sending and receiving societies as fairly homogeneous and static.

Many scholars saw that the principles of assimilation were untenable. The concept of "adaptation" intended to overcome the above problems and was adopted by many scholars in migration and settlement analysis. However, "adaptation" is suggestive of passivity on the part of the immigrant, and is rather a means of coping. "Integration" has been found to be a more benign and appropriate term than assimilation or adaptation. Integration has been described in this chapter as a situation in which an (new) ethnic group continues to be an integer or unit of its own, but one which, as part of a greater whole, is engaged in a constant negotiating process with the existing established groups in the host society.

It became obvious that the social integration of an immigrant group in a new society connotes the existence of a 'boundary' to be crossed by the incoming group. This 'boundary' connoted with the phenomena of race, culture and ethnicity. The structure of society can influence the 'hardening' or 'softening' of racial/ethnic/cultural boundaries.
An examination of the concepts of race, culture and ethnicity revealed that they characterise groups that are essentially the result of social and historical process as biological or pseudo-biological groupings which are hierarchically ordered as superior/inferior (Pettman, 1987).

From a systematic point of view, race and ethnicity have to be understood and analysed in terms of the nature of the ideology that underlies the use of the concepts and sustains their continued use in everyday experience. It is these ideologies (racism is one of them) that impinge on all aspects of social and political reality.

Racism/ethnicity as an ideology constructs differences that impinge on the way everyday experience is perceived, which, I argue, is particularly important in understanding the migration/integration experience of minority ethnic groups, such as the African group, in polyethnic societies such as Australia.

The literature review on ethnic organisations revealed that ethnic organisations can play an important role in the softening or hardening of these boundaries and thus open the way for their members to integrate into mainstream society. It was realised that immigrants to new societies have to contend with structural problems in the adjustment process. A political economy approach was identified as an appropriate analytical tool.
Endnotes

1 Adrienne Rich, in discussing racial and ethnic cultures around the globe, defines a patriarchal system as "a familial-social, ideological political system in which men - by force, direct pressure, or through ritual, tradition, law and language, customs, etiquette, education and the division of labor - determine what part women shall or shall not play, and in which the female is everywhere subsumed under the male." (Quoted in Michael Albert et al, p.35).

2 It is also significant to note the one-way nature of this interaction. This places another burden on the migrant. Many still hold this view today.

3 In Australia the term integration can be used in several ways and has been used interchangeably and inappropriately with assimilation and multiculturalism. Its primary meaning refers simply to the process of people of non-English speaking background (NESB) being accepted into and participating in society generally. A person of non-English speaking background is usually someone who has migrated to Australia and whose first language is not English, or someone who is the child of such a person.

4 See also The Empire Strikes Back (CCCS, 1982).


6 A primary group refers to a group where members usually associate with each other directly and continually and have a 'we-feeling' of belonging to the group. They set boundaries between themselves and outsiders. The chief example is the family but a set of 'tight friends', migrants from the same ethnic background or a sports team might also form a primary group. Primary groups are essentially small, so that all the members know each other well. Primary groups can be formed within large-scale associations. They are socialisation agents and they are the groups within which individuals largely form.

7 Secondary groups which Rex (1973) identifies with associations, are groups of individuals who are bound together through sharing a common set of cultural meanings, norms and beliefs, which structure the social forms within which they interact. Rex mentions four major forms of assistance which the secondary group offers to its members, namely, overcoming social isolation, affirming cultural beliefs and values, goal attainment and pastoral work.
CHAPTER 3

THE POLITICAL-ECONOMY OF AUSTRALIAN IMMIGRATION: AN OVERVIEW

3.0 INTRODUCTION

This chapter examines Australian immigration selection and settlement policies (especially as it affects black African immigration to Australia) from the political economy point of view. It sees decisions regarding the parameters of immigration selection settlement policy as the outcome of a political decision-making process.

The chapter is divided into two main sections. The first section is an overview of Australia's historical and contemporary immigration policies and the second is a summary of the country's settlement policies.

Migration has been a major challenge to many nations for many centuries and by 1990 many were still 'convinced that along with human rights, economic development and the environment' it continues to be 'one of the major challenges of the 1990s' (Purcell, 1990:1). Migration has played a significant role in Australia's and other developed countries' (eg. Canada) economic and social development over the centuries (Hawkins, 1989).

More than 5.3 million people have settled permanently in Australia since the Second World War and net migration has accounted for more than 40 per cent of the increase of Australia's population during this period (B.I.R.¹, 1991, DIEA Fact Sheet, 1995). By June 1990, 22.5 per cent of the total population of approximately 17 million had migrated to Australia from over 100 different countries. While 31.7 per cent of these overseas-born migrants came from the United Kingdom or Ireland, the presence of such a large percentage of non-British immigrants has resulted in cultural changes (B.I.R., 1991). Since the mid 1970s Australia has been accepting immigrants for permanent residence under a diversity of categories and
from a very wide range of countries of origin (see Borowski and Shu, 1992: chapter 3 for a summary of the main features of the Australian selection pattern. Today nearly one in four of Australia's 18 million people was born overseas (DIEA Fact Sheet, 1995).

In Australia, one major factor that has shaped immigration policy is that an immigration program which produces a significant degree of cultural diversity may well, as a consequence, lead to or maintain ethnic conflicts and reduce social cohesion (Burnley et al., 1989; DILGEA, 1988). The assumed impact of various types and levels of immigration on social cohesion has always been an important consideration in both immigration and settlement policies and politics in Australia. Up until the late 19th century, immigration was not really restricted, as it was believed that population increases were desirable and any racial conflicts were secondary to the benefits of growth. However, between the late 19th century to the late 1940s, it was feared that an influx of people from a variety of places would cause social division. This perceived fear has resurfaced time and again. The Blainey Debate in the mid 1980s is a case in point\(^2\). (See also The Age, 20 March 1984).

3.1 AUSTRALIA UNTIL THE LATE 1880S

In the early part of Australia's history, until the late 1880s, immigration was largely unrestricted. After convict transportation ended, labour shortages became pronounced, and these problems were partly solved by indentured workers who were mainly Chinese, Indians and Pacific Islanders, known as 'coolies'. Many Chinese emigrated to Australia during the Gold Rush. While there were ethnic tensions on the goldfields, the situation was not as explosive as it might have been, considering that this was a society in transition in competitive times, and the society of the goldfields was volatile and unstable. It seems that comparable situations, such as the one in California, were beset by more ethnic conflicts.

It was not until the mid 1800s that legislation was introduced to restrict non-European migration to Australia. In Victoria, the **1855 Restriction Act** was inaugurated. This was "An Act to make Provision for Certain Immigrants" (Willard, 1967, p.21). This Act was specifically aimed at Chinese migration to the Victorian goldfields. The Act was repealed in
1865. A similar restrictive legislation was passed in the South Australian Parliament in 1857 and repealed four years later in 1861.

It was not until November 1861 that the Parliament of New South Wales passed its restrictive legislation: the **Chinese Immigration Restriction Act**. This Act was practically the same as the Victorian Act of 1855. The Act had its intended effect, that is, the reduction of Chinese immigrants in New South Wales. It was repealed in 1867 (ibid.).

Australia's lack of restriction on immigration during this period was derived from British practices and principles. The British, following the slavery era, were in favour of a free movement of labour. This was seen as deliberately non-racist, which was important for the Empire, itself the coloniser of many non-white societies. This was a kind of 'laissez faire' principle which applied also to employers in the labour market, who could employ whoever they chose. Anti-Chinese immigration legislation of the Australian colonies in the mid-nineteenth century was strongly disapproved of by the British government and it therefore was not pursued. The official British view of this legislation was that it was 'exceptional' and 'objectionable' since it excluded peoples with whom the Empire was 'at peace'.

From the late 1830s, Australia thus had a period of immigration which was continuously unrestricted, resulting in ethnic diversity. Perhaps some of the conflicts of these years between different ethnic groups may now be seen as inevitable, given the social situation which was quite volatile in socio-economic terms. Government regarded the extent of the ethnic conflict as reasonably acceptable; its official concern was not going to justify a restrictive immigration policy which would be effective. That is, in this period, the assumption was that ethnic conflicts would not occur through unrestricted immigration. Such assumptions which were dominant during this period were soon to give way to the era of the "White" Australia policy.

3.2 **THE WHITE AUSTRALIA POLICY**

The legislation, which had been initially devised to contain the immigration of the Chinese was revived during the 1880s and had become Australia wide by 1888. This happened in the
context of rising unemployment, the need for Australia to assert itself against the principles of
the British Empire and the emergent nationalism within Australia. Protests which were part
of this context included the establishment of anti-Chinese leagues and an incident known as
the 'Afghan' incident of 1888. A development regarded as critical and with long-term
implications was the rise of an organised labour movement. The aims of this movement
included the maintenance of wage levels and living standards. The seamen's strike of 1878,
which opposed the use of labour which was non-white and less expensive, became a
formative moment for this movement.

The 1888 Influx of Chinese Restriction Bill was justified to the New South Wales Parliament
by Sir Henry Parkes. He suggested that this Bill was necessary on the grounds that
competition between two groups - one which had fought hard for its living standards, the
other competing because of its willingness to accept a lower standard - produced socio-
economic conflict:

We have in this country... the working class... great by its apparent and
undeniable virtues. I do not believe that at this moment there is any class in society
of more value, of higher character, with a more lively sense of social and personal
obligations, than the better portion of the mechanics of New South Wales. Most of
these men are married and have families; many of them have freehold homes, which
even in bad times they struggled to preserve. Can it be surprising to any of us that
the mothers of those families, during a period of depression such as that which has
passed over the country of late, look with something like aversion - with even
stronger antipathy - towards the Chinaman who is a direct competitor to her husband
... I maintain that no class of persons should be admitted here, so far as we can
reasonably include them, who cannot come amongst us, take up our rights,
perform on a ground of equality all our duties, and share in our august and lofty
work of founding a free nation... I content that if this young nation is to maintain
the fabric of its liberties unassailed and unimpaired, it cannot admit into its population
any element that of necessity be of an inferior nature and character.

(New South Wales Parliamentary Debates, 16 May 1888, pp. 4782-3).

The 1890s then became a period in which the 'White Australia' policy was refined and built
upon, following the assumption suggested above, that maintaining social cohesiveness was of
primary importance in considering immigration policy. In 1896 an inter-colonial conference
resulted in the resolve to extend restrictions to "all coloured races". All subsequent Bills were
received by the Imperial Government as discriminatory. The Empire saw itself as non-
discriminatory, but also expressed 'sympathy' to the colonists. A compromise was
suggested by the British Secretary of State for the Colonies, Joseph Chamberlain (Willard, 1967).

Federation saw the Immigration Restriction Act (1901) as a legislative priority. The federal parliament passed an Act to maintain a 'White Australia'. It devised a strategy that enabled 'coloured' races to be excluded without naming specific groups and thus offending Britain's treaty partner, Japan, or non-white members of the Empire. Entry into Australia now depended on passing a dictation test of fifty words in 'any European' (later changed to 'any prescribed') language. However, it emerged that the British, Irish and other acceptable Europeans would not face the test, which would be confined to 'undesirables' who were bound to fail, since a language foreign to them would be deliberately chosen.

Edmund Barton, then Liberal Prime Minister, rationalised the immigration legislation by quoting from a treatise on race and social development, National Life and Character:

The fear of Chinese immigration which the Australian democracy cherishes... is, in fact, the instinct of self-preservation, quickened by experience. We know that coloured and white labour cannot exist side by side... Transform the northern half of our continent into a Natal, with thirteen out of fourteen belonging to an inferior race, and the southern half will speedily approximate to the condition of the Cape Colony, where the white are indeed a masterful minority, but still only as one in four. We are guarding the last part of the world in which the higher races can live and increase freely for the higher civilization (Commonwealth Parliamentary Debates, 7 August, 1901, p.4782-3).

This argument went further than the previous one by Sir Henry Parkes and implied that racial and ethnic differences would inevitably produce and promote conflict in society. However, Asians such as Indians, Japanese, Syrians, Lebanese and Chinese were treated favourably under the Act. Of the 64,000 non-Europeans (mostly Asians) admitted to Australia without a dictation before 1922 none was from black Africa. This policy lasted formally till 1973 when it was abolished. It covered the mid-year wars as well as after World War 2 (Callan, 1986; de Lepervanche, 1984).
3.3 AUSTRALIA'S IMMEDIATE POST-WAR IMMIGRATION POLICY

In the period between the mid 40s and 60s, assimilation policy built upon the assumptions of 'White Australia' and insisted that Australian society could only remain stable if it remained homogeneous. Thus this was a period of some cultural continuity, despite other changes.

It is generally suggested that the Australian immigration policy initiated by the Federal Labour Government in 1945 was a direct outcome of Australia's experiences during the Second World War (Jupp, 1966; Price, 1979; Australian Population and Immigration Council, 1977; Birrell, 1981 and Atchison, 1984). Some of the reasons given were that:
(a) the Australian population was too small to defend itself;
(b) the country's resources should be developed; and
(c) the birthrate was too low during the 1930s that the number of young persons now entering the workforce was actually declining, so endangering the whole development program (Price, 1979).

The decision was to draw immigrants from Europe. The decision to draw immigrants from the world's 'white' population was probably inevitable, given that at the time the overseas-born component of the population was only 9.8 per cent, with 80 per cent of those being British (1947 Census), together with the negative attitudes towards Asians intensified by the war experience.

To minimise the political cost of accepting immigrants from other European countries, the Minister for Immigration and chief architect of the post-war immigration program, Arthur Calwell, emphasised in November 1946 that for every non-British immigrant accepted into Australia there would be 10 Britons (Calwell, 1946). He said,

the Government's immigration policy is based on the principle that migrants from the United Kingdom shall be given every encouragement and assistance. It is my hope that for every foreign migrant there will be ten people from the United Kingdom. Only time will tell how far this hope can be realised. We have already given indubitable evidence of our preference for the United Kingdom migrant . . . Aliens are and will continue to be admitted only in such numbers and of such classes that they can be readily assimilated.

(Commonwealth Parliamentary Debates, House of Representative, Vol. 1 89 p.508)
The belief that Australia's economic development required a large-scale immigration program characterised the policy of the Liberal-Country Party governments that held power from 1949 to 1972. To a large extent, the immigration policy throughout this period was characterised by a search for immigrants, exemplified in a series of migration agreements that usually offered incentives to potential immigrants in the form of assisted passage. Agreements were signed with Britain in 1946, Malta in 1948, the Netherlands and Italy in 1951, West Germany, Austria and Greece in 1952 and then with the United States, Switzerland, Denmark, Norway, Sweden and Finland in 1954. Other agreements with Turkey (1957), Spain (1958), Yugoslavia (1970) and Italy (1971) followed (Department of Immigration, 1974).

Through the 1950s and 1960s the search for immigrants was characterised by an ethnic preference hierarchy. This can be seen in an analysis of the assisted passage schemes which show that high proportions of British were assisted, northern Europeans were highly favoured, while southern Europeans were greatly handicapped by having to meet their passage costs in a majority of cases (Jupp, 1966). This immigration policy was based on assimilation principles. For example, the Good Neighbour Council (GNC) was the most overt expression of the residual, assimilationist, and individualising strategy. The GNC was a Government sponsored volunteer scheme to resocialise immigrants (initially, mainly British) into becoming 'good Australians' through contact with Anglo-Australians.

Arthur Calwell was Australia's first Minister for Immigration and he suggested that this process of assimilation was to be 'soundly scientific'. Immigrants were to be taught 'our language' and 'way of life'. Refugee camps are an example of the program to be embarked upon by immigrants, together with education on board ship. Displaced persons at Bonegilla were taught various things including a further course of utilitarian English, Australian social conditions and other subjects 'which will assist their easy absorption into the community' (Commonwealth Parliamentary Debates, 28 November 1947, p. 2297). A last step towards assimilation involved the employment places and further education, at night classes, and education for the children of immigrants which involved mixing with Australian children.
The public was advised that Australia was experimenting in a way that no country had done before (Commonwealth Immigration Advisory Council, Sixth Meeting, 28-29 January 1948, Agenda Item 19).

In the decades after the war, the Government continued to stress the concept of White Australia. Immigration had become extensive and varied and although it continued to include new groups, there was always a line to be drawn about who was welcome and why.

The main sources for the immigrant intake for the period 1945-1970 were European again, although a considerable number of Asians were admitted. Some ethnic differences, it was assumed, would produce a seriously divided society. Calwell stated:

The only claim, ever made or implied in our society, is that there are different varieties of human species distinguished from one another, not by skin pigmentation, but by languages, religion, standard of living, cultures and historical backgrounds, and that it is wise to avoid internecine strife and the problems of miscegenation which such differences have caused throughout history, where races of irreconcilable characteristics have lived in the same community. Our policy is based on the proposition that anything which tends to unite a modern community is good and desirable and that anything which tends to rend it asunder is bad and should be avoided at all costs. The White Australia policy . . . has the fervent support of the overwhelming majority of the Australian people and has had this support since Federation.

(Arthur Calwell, statement by the Minister for Immigration given at the annual conference of the Australian Natives Association at Bendigo, Vic., 23 March 1949, Department of Immigration volume of Calwell ministerial statements, p.471).

It was argued by Calwell that this policy was not racist. He said that Australia was prepared to admit some Asians if they were culturally appropriate, 'in line with the spirit of assimilation'.

There was a certain irony in the quest for assimilation, reflected by government policy. Tolerance of ethnic pluralism in the name of achieving the aims of assimilation included a watchful eye on the ethnic media by the Immigration Department. Newspapers and radio might be harmful as they could encourage minority behaviour. The regulation of 'foreign' radio and print and insisting on immigrants speaking English was a way of reducing this threat.
These fears did not appear justified. Another point of view was that the ethnic media might aid the work of assimilation by using its access to the ethnic minority groups to talk about the issues. All the rhetoric of the assimilation era seemed tired as time went by. Other strategies for the maintenance of social cohesion emerged. Some suggested that under a 'strict regime of assimilation':

the immigrant may become isolated from all group life, feeling identification neither with the country from which he originally came nor with the new country. Such isolation is often the lot of the immigrants themselves, but, in the American experience has often more seriously affected the second generation. And in the United States, this isolation has borne fruit in the comparatively high juvenile delinquency, crime, suicide and mental disorder rates of the second generation immigrants. In the light of these findings, it is perhaps worthwhile to examine more closely the glib assumption that the second generation immigrants will automatically and painlessly become 'good Australians'. And it may be necessary to choose between a program of rapid absorption, on the one hand, with the attendant disruption of immigrant family life and a considerable proportion of isolated individuals, and, on the other hand, a slower rate of absorption, with the attendant maintenance of immigrant group and family life and a lesser degree of personal disorganisation (Craig, 1953, Agenda Item 24).

Assimilation was thus attacked and criticised as possibly a misleading strategy for social harmony. It appeared that it was possible that mass immigration required another strategy other than assimilation to prevent conflict. The notion of 'integration' became another possibility.

Thus in 1956, the government significantly modified conditions for the entry and stay of non-Europeans and persons of mixed descent, and in 1958 a new Migration Act abolished the controversial 'dictation test' (the provision of permitting migration officers to give applicants a dictation test in any European language). Then in 1966, following a comprehensive review of non-European policy, the Government announced that:

Applicants for entry by well-qualified people wishing to settle in Australia will be considered on the basis of their suitability as settlers, their ability to integrate readily and their possession of qualifications which are in fact positively useful in Australia (Department of Immigration, 1974, p.14).

In effect this decision was to admit non-Europeans possessing specialised technical or professional skills which were in short supply in Australia. What is seen throughout this period is the slow but sure erosion of the 'Europeans only' attitude that had been so common
in the earlier days of immigration (Price, 1974). The 1966 changes were significant in their impact. In the period between 1966 and 1970, Australia gained approximately 9,000 Indians, 5,000 Chinese, 3,000 other Asians, 6,000 Eurasians and 2,000 non-Europeans, together with some 11,000 Lebanese, 6,000 Turks and 5,000 Mauritians, which in total came to nearly 50,000 (Price, 1970, p.A14). Black Africans did not appear in the immigration statistics. However, the way was being opened for all nationalities to enter Australia.

3.4 IMMIGRATION AND ETHNIC POLICIES FROM THE 1970S

There is a common feature which is evident throughout the history of Australian immigration. This feature is particularly true of the post-war era when the inward movement from each particular country had come in a wave, with the timing of the peak of the wave for each country tending to vary according to changes in Australian immigration policy (Hugo, 1990).

The timing of these waves of immigration has some distinctive features (Jupp in Reid & Tromp, 1990; Jupp, 1991; Price, 1984). The waves began with Eastern Europeans, mainly from the Baltic States, as displaced persons; followed by British and Northern European immigrants; then from Greece, Italy, and Yugoslavia; followed later by Middle Eastern groups and most recently have been the Asian settlers, mainly Indo-Chinese refugees (Jayasuriya & Sang, 1990). Sub-Saharan African countries did not form part of the list.

New policies emerged in the 1970s in response to the forces for change on the international scene and under 'progressive internal pressure' (Kennedy, 1989). The 1965 Federal Labour Conference quashed the longstanding references to 'White Australia' and restrictive immigration, and at the 1971 Conference Gough Whitlam, Don Dunstan and Al Grassby spearheaded the successful move to redefine Labour's immigration platform to include the 'avoidance of discrimination on any grounds of race or colour of skin or nationality' (Price, 1975, p.A5; Grassby, 1984)). This officially marked the beginning of a non-discriminatory immigration policy in Australia. Non-Europeans did not however, enter Australia in significant numbers until 1975 (Jupp, 1988; 1989; Dudgeon & Szwarc, 1987).
The Labour Government under Prime Minister Whitlam ushered in many changes, not least of all in immigration policy. In 1973 the government extended assisted passages to all races, ended discrimination against the entry of Maoris and other New Zealanders of non Anglo-Celtic stock, allowed easier entry of non-European students, introduced a new points system for the selection of immigrants, reduced the five-year naturalisation waiting time to three years (the waiting time for citizenship as at 1995 is two years) and abolished all race statistics and special records of non-European migration.

This non-discriminatory policy was adopted by the Coalition Party under the leadership of Malcolm Fraser from 1975 to 1982. When Labour regained power in 1984, the Prime Minister, Mr Hawke made it clear that the 'White Australia' policy was buried forever.

It was mainly under such circumstances that black Africans have been allowed to enter and settle in Australia, their numbers remaining very small and insignificant as compared to other nationalities represented in Australia. For example, there is no black African country represented in the top ten source countries in the 1964-65 to 1994-95 intakes of immigrants. Table 3.1. shows the generally consistent trend in Australian immigration policy of favouring intake of people born in European countries, or whose cultures, traditions or racial characteristics may be deemed as more adaptable to Australian society. Intake from the United Kingdom for example, has continued to claim the relatively highest proportion per year. "Settlers" in this Table refers to those who have been granted permanent residence (as differentiated from student or visitor visas).

Notwithstanding the fact that for almost 20 years, Australian Governments have promoted non-discriminatory immigration policy, some ethnic groups continue to enjoy special preference over others as Table 3.1. clearly demonstrates. By contrast, since 1947, only 4.2% of immigrants have come from African countries (including white immigrants from South Africa, Kenya and Zimbabwe).

In 1984-85, perhaps in part to demonstrate the stance the government was taking, the intake broadened considerably in terms of source countries. Although numbers were small,
movement from countries like El Salvador, Afghanistan and Ethiopia resulted in a considerably increased diversity. This development, which had occurred over a considerable period of time, was, however, consistent with the trend towards a 'non-discriminatory' policy and a willingness, through programs such as the Special Humanitarian Program, to respond to situations where the provision of, at least, limited resettlement opportunities was important. The current policy appears to be to contain African intake to approximately 4.5% . (Communication from the Bureau of Immigration, Multicultural and Population Research, Canberra, 1995). Intake ratios of African refugees and migrants are thus buried in the category of "Other," being too low to warrant a particular category. DILGEA statistics indicate that until 1990, the annual intake of African refugees into Australia, was less than 200, (with for example, actual intakes being 99 in 1988-89 and 143 in 1989-90). (Betrouney, 1991:17). During 1993-94, some 11,350 people arrived under Australia's refugees and special humanitarian program - 40.4% from Europe and the former USSR, 31.1% from South East Asia and 10.6% from the Middle East. Refugee intake from black Africa countries including Rwanda during the same period was less than 1% of the total number of refugees admitted into Australia (DIEA, Fact Sheet 1, 25 October, 1994).

These figures appear inexplicably low, given the overwhelming number of displaced persons and refugees on the African continent, for whom extra-regional solutions are required. Australia has in the past been somewhat tentative about resettlement from Africa. Given the nature of events on the continent, and recognising that UNHCR has increased its projection of resettlement places each year, there is a need for Australia to reassess its African program.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>COUNTRY OF BIRTH</th>
<th>1964-65</th>
<th>1974-75</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UK &amp; Ireland (a)</td>
<td>74,754</td>
<td>53.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greece</td>
<td>16,991</td>
<td>12.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>10,309</td>
<td>7.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malta</td>
<td>5,864</td>
<td>4.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yugoslavia</td>
<td>5,278</td>
<td>3.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>3,485</td>
<td>2.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Netherlands</td>
<td>2,106</td>
<td>1.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Zealand</td>
<td>2,021</td>
<td>1.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>USA</td>
<td>1,713</td>
<td>1.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U.A.R. Egypt</td>
<td>1,479</td>
<td>1.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sub Total</td>
<td>124,000</td>
<td>88.5</td>
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<tr>
<td>Other</td>
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</tr>
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<tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Zealand</td>
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<td>13.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Viet Nam</td>
<td>8,309</td>
<td>10.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hong Kong</td>
<td>7,196</td>
<td>9.2</td>
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<tr>
<td>Philippines</td>
<td>3,282</td>
<td>4.2</td>
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<tr>
<td>China</td>
<td>3,183</td>
<td>4.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malaysia</td>
<td>2,436</td>
<td>3.1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lebanon</td>
<td>2,396</td>
<td>3.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sri Lanka</td>
<td>2,194</td>
<td>3.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>India</td>
<td>1,791</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sub Total</td>
<td>48,108</td>
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<tr>
<td>Other</td>
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<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
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<table>
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<th>1994-95</th>
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<tr>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>New Zealand</td>
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<td>11.1</td>
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<td>Vietnam</td>
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<td>Former Yugoslav Rep.</td>
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<td>Hong Kong</td>
<td>3,584</td>
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<tr>
<td>China</td>
<td>2,740</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>India</td>
<td>2,643</td>
<td>3.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Former USSR &amp; Baltic States</td>
<td>1,950</td>
<td>2.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Africa</td>
<td>1,654</td>
<td>2.4</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sub Total</td>
<td>43,522</td>
<td>62.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>26,246</td>
<td>37.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td>69,768</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(a) United Kingdom and Ireland data not available separately for this year.
(b) Data for these countries are not available prior to January 1974.

Bureau of Immigration, Multicultural and Population Research
1995
3.5 THE SETTLEMENT POLICY

This section will examine Australian Government settlement policies as they affect African ethnic community organisations' role in assisting their members' settlement process in Australia. First, however, the term settlement as it is used in Australia will be defined.

The Australian National Population Council (ANPC) in 1988 defined settlement as:

the process by which an immigrant establishes economic viability and social networks following immigration in order to contribute to, and make full use of, opportunities generally available to the receiving society (ANPC, 1988).

In other words, settlement is seen as a process of adjustment, making a new start, finding a place, playing a part in society and learning to feel as much at home in Australia as the people who are born in it. There are clear reasons why this should be as smooth and speedy a transition as possible, and this is where Government provision of settlement services can play a vital role in the settlement process of new arrivals.

Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs figures indicate, for example, that for 1988-9, of 145,000 migrants arriving in Australia, 35% joined recently arrived communities with poor support systems (DIEA August, 1990 & 1990a). These are described as 'emerging' communities. The African communities form part of these groups. 'Emerging' communities have been described as those whose members arrived in the past 10 years from non-English speaking countries, or established communities whose numbers have expanded with a recent intake of refugees (DIEA, Ethnic Affairs Branch, 1986, p.6).

Under assimilationist policy before the mid 1960s, Australia placed positive barriers in the way of the successful integration of immigrants in the form of discriminatory legislation. Non-European immigrants, and even those from southern Europe were considered less desirable and more difficult to assimilate (Bottomley, 1992). All non-British immigrants were subject to a range of discriminatory legislation which limited their civil and social rights. For example, no other immigrants, whether assisted or unassisted, were eligible under the Social Security Consolidation Act 1947-52 for age, widow or invalid pensions and associated
benefits (Petruchenia, 1990). Since the economic goal was to recruit immigrants for the workforce, once they were employed, that goal was seen as achieved. (Cox, 1987: 191)

Twenty years of experience with Eastern and then Southern European immigrants proved that total assimilation was unlikely for adult arrivals. Insistence on conformity was increasingly viewed as coercive and unacceptable. Consequently, a shift towards 'social integration' began in the mid-1960s, culminating in the Galbally Report of 1978.

3.5.1 Social Integration [The Galbally Report (1978)]

In 1978 the Prime Minister announced that the Government fully endorsed the guiding principles adopted by the Galbally Review Group in its Report on Migrant Services and Programs:

* all members of our society must have equal opportunity to realise their full potential and must have equal access to programs and services;
* every person should be able to maintain his or her culture without prejudice or disadvantage and should be encouraged to understand and embrace other cultures;
* needs of migrants should, in general, be met by programs and services available to the whole community but special services and programs are necessary at present to ensure equality of access and provision;
* services and programs should be designed and operated in full consultation with clients, and self-help should be encouraged as much as possible with a view to helping migrants to become self-reliant quickly.

This major policy shift drew out two basic principles of settlement policy: that immigrant settlement should be based on collective self-help and that such self-help should be subsidised by the State through 'ethno-specific' organisations, run wholly or largely by immigrants themselves. Whilst these were to be the guiding principles of immigrant settlement, the Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs was to continue to provide English teaching, short-term accommodation, information, interpreting and directly employed workers. This major shift in policy did draw attention to the capacity of migrants to assist each other through organised 'ethnic groups' as well as through multi-ethnic agencies such as the Migrant Resource Centres and the Ethnic Communities' Councils.
The report envisaged an introductory settlement program based on the proposition that ‘about 20,000 adults each year - mainly people who do not speak English - are likely to be in particular need of help with settlement’ (para. 2.7). These would be assisted through hostel settlement centres (most of which are now closed) and community settlement centres (which were subsumed under the functions of the migrant resource centres). The principal functions of the community settlement centres, as set out by the Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs, were:

- to provide survival information courses to meet the needs of new arrivals living in the community . . . ;
- to provide orientation - information activities to complement the on-arrival English language programs;
- to provide an information and referral point for migrants about community services; and
- to provide a catalyst for the development of social and cultural life for new arrivals . . . (DIEA, 1980, P.20).

The Department of Immigration then instituted a system of grants-in-aid (GIA) from 1969 onwards. The Galbally Report recommended around eighteen migrant resource centres based on government funding but with voluntary self-management (para. 6.2-6.9). The Grant-In-Aid Commonwealth Government Scheme enables community organisations to employ social welfare workers to assist immigrants. Grants-In-Aid are also made to trade unions to address the special needs of immigrants in industry, under the Migrant Workers’ Rights Scheme. (DILGEA, 1989b).

Ethnic organisations were seen (and are still seen) to play an important role in consultations about information needs. The report strongly supported the extension/continuation of the grant-in-aid scheme and recommended a shift of focus from mainstream to ethno-specific services. This resulted in the phasing out of the Good Neighbour Councils (GNC) which were publicly funded and based on mainstream welfare organisations. These Councils were found to be no longer appropriate. A significant criticism was the GNCs’ inability to take account of the growing capacity and desire of ethnic organisations to provide their own services [para. 6.37 (e)].
The Galbally Report is most significant in that many of its basic proposals are still in place today. It appears however, that some of these proposals are being watered down. As already stated, ethnic organisations were accorded an important role in consultation about information needs, although this now appears somewhat inconsistent in application and consultations appear to favour the larger, more well-established ethnic organisations. The value of migrant resource centres was established and linked with the voluntary self-management structure. The Report particularly emphasised the right of migrants to maintain their racial and cultural identity. It stated:

We are convinced that migrants have the right to maintain their cultural and racial identity and that it is clearly in the best interests of our nation that they should be encouraged and assisted to do so if they wish. Provided that ethnic identity is not stressed at the expense of society at large, but is interwoven into the fabric of our nationhood by the process of multicultural interaction, then the community as a whole will benefit substantially and its democratic nature will be reinforced. The knowledge that people are identified with their cultural background and ethnic group enables them to take their place in their new society with confidence if their ethnicity has been accepted by the community (para. 9.6).

Thus the Galbally report set the agenda for the years ahead. The Australian Institute of Multicultural Affairs (AIMA) was set up in 1979 in response to Galbally recommendations. The AIMA reviewed the Galbally program in 1982 and found it generally sound (AIMA 1982). On receiving the AIMA evaluation the then Prime Minister, Malcolm Fraser, concluded that there has been an impressive record of implementation and that the package of measures recommended by the Galbally Report has made ‘a crucial contribution to the wellbeing of migrants and to the commitment to a multicultural nation’. At the same time, achievements in some areas have been less than we had hoped. The need is emphasised for adjustment to maintain momentum, to readjust programs in the light of experience and changing circumstances and to undertake further major reforms. Above all, it stressed the need for greater efforts to be made to ensure that all our institutions are responsive to Australia’s ethnic and cultural diversity. (Statement by the Prime Minister, Melbourne, 25 July 1982.)

It is quite clear that the Galbally Report gave birth to multiculturalism and access and equity in relation to migrants in Australia. This settlement policy is the subject matter of the next section. The following table first summarises the post-war settlement phases and how each of the major reports and legislation mentioned, relate to the phases listed in Table 3.2.
### Table 3.2

**POST-WAR SETTLEMENT PHASES**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PHASE</th>
<th>YEARS</th>
<th>POLICY REGULATION/LEGISLATIVE ACTS/REPORTS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

### 3.5.2 Multiculturalism, Access and Equity

The AIMA Review of Multicultural and Migrant Education (1980:3) noted two general meanings of multiculturalism. One refers to a social and demographic fact, based on cultural and linguistic diversity existing within a framework of consensus on demographic values and institutions; the other is viewed as a policy response to the goals, aspirations and needs of ethnic groups. This viewed multiculturalism as both descriptive fact and prescriptive value. (Jackson, 1989: 61). Lewins (1979) however, noted that this "demographic multiculturalism" is acknowledged in numerical terms, but with no value placed on this diversity. An "holistic multiculturalism" does argue for the value of ethnic diversity, but not at the expense of society at large. Lewins notes also a "political multiculturalism" where the focus is on the political nature of relations between parties, rather than on the needs of whole societies. (ibid.).

Jakubowicz (1981) has suggested that multiculturalism is located in the progression of intergroup relations models, from Anglo-conformity through the 'melting pot' approach, to cultural pluralism. In this case, cultural pluralism is seen as a means for preventing deep schisms in the social structure. The integrationist orientation of multiculturalism is derived from the imperatives generated from the history of post-war migration, from subsequent
policy development, and from the failure of assimilation as a policy. This may have been due to the lobby from ethnic communities pushing government from an assimilationist/demographic perspective, to a cultural/pluralistic stance, or it may have more simply appealed politically to the ethnic vote (Sesito, 1982). According to Jackson, Sesito underestimates the extent to which inter-ethnic alliances (such as the Ethnic Communities Councils) challenged assimilationist policy and practice. Rather, what we have seen is a consolidation of the middle ground, a tightly controlled scheme designed to regulate the containable growth of a limited 'ethnic rights' movement. (Jackson, 1989).

Jakobuwicz (1981) proposes that this control over multiculturalism has been achieved through two interrelated processes. Firstly, an 'ethnic labour aristocracy' and the 'ethnic petty bourgeoisie' were co-opted by the state and channelled into legitimising conservative government interpretations of the limits of multicultural development. Ethnic organisations thus occupy a key position in mediating between ethnic groups and the government, and as recipients of much of the special funding programs for ethnic communities, they operationalise the policy of multiculturalism through the development of human service programs (Jakubowicz, et.al., 1984:78). Secondly, a process of systematic identification of multiculturalism with a conservative model of "ethnicity" and "ethnic community" (Jackson, 1989, p.62). This conservative model of "ethnicity" is based on a devaluation of cultural histories as essential for understanding individual group experience. The effective outcome of multiculturalism as an ideology has been the result of the invalidation of the class history of ethnic Australians and the reconstruction of immigrant experience and histories in Australia (Jakobuwicz, 1981). So it could be concluded from the Australian experience, that integration-related services, although necessary from the commencement of an immigration program, develop only when the immigrant population itself comes to represent a political force and exert a demand for rights, for access, for equity and participation (Cox, 1987: 192).

Colin Rubinstein (1993), in The Politics of Australian Immigration reinforces the role expected of ethnic community organisations in the settlement process:
The Fraser approach promoted multiculturalism based on the view that national cohesion is best attained through acceptance of, and pride in, diversity within the framework of shared Australian core values: the rule of law, the values of tolerance, harmony and free speech and the importance of facility in the English language. For Fraser, multiculturalism took as its starting point the recognition that ethnic diversity is legitimate and can be conducive to creativity and innovation and that society can benefit from cooperation and contact between differing outlooks and viewpoints. Because multiculturalism accepts the legitimacy of ethnic diversity and its continuity, it recognises the need for, and support of, the maintenance of ethnic institutions and communal structures to complement, rather than replace, mainstream structures. These institutions and structures provide services catering to the interests of the members of their communities which they cannot receive outside the framework of the ethnic group. (p.149)

When the Australian Labor Party (ALP), led by Bob Hawke, came to power in 1983, the Galbally multicultural programs were left virtually intact until 1986 when the Review of Migrant and Multicultural Programs and Services (ROMAMPAS) conducted its consultations and many of the problems raised by the Galbally Report were raised again.

The Review arose from Recommendation 88 of the 1982 Australian Institute of Multicultural Affairs evaluation. Its terms of reference were very broad, stressing, once again, that the Federal Government is committed to the promotion of the right of every resident of Australia’s multicultural society to have equal access to and an equitable share of the resources which it manages on behalf of the whole community. . . . The process of settlement encompasses various stages of adjustment and may be said to culminate in full and equal participation in Australian society.

This indicated again, that immigrant settlement issues cannot be constrained to Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs functions. Regarding the "stages of settlement", the terms of reference directed the review to:

have regard to appropriate roles and activities of State, Territory, local government and non-government sectors. . . the need for wide consultations to include ethnic communities and their organisations, and other service providers; and likely constraints on resource availability. (Jupp Committee, 1986, p.4).

The issue thus seemed to become, ‘When is a migrant no longer a migrant?’ While this Review had neither the scope nor the resources of the 1982 AIMA evaluation, it nevertheless adopted the position that settlement for non-English speaking immigrants may be a life-time process, making multiculturalism relevant to their descendants as well.

Although much of what ROMAMPAS recommended was not endorsed by the Government there are however, some traceable longer-term influences that have impacted on settlement
policy. The Review’s terms broadly referred to NESB Australians rather than recent immigrants. Importantly, the Review enunciated four basic principles and four strategies for implementation:

**Principles**

1. All members of the Australian community should have an equitable opportunity to participate in the economic, social, cultural and political life of the nation.

2. All members of the Australian community should have equitable access to and an equitable share of the resources which governments manage on behalf of the community.

3. All members of the Australian community should have an opportunity to participate in and influence the design and operation of government policies, programs and services.

4. All members of the Australian community should have the right, within the law, to enjoy their own culture, to practice their own religion and to use their own language, and should respect the rights of others to their own culture, religion and language.

The **Strategies** were:

1. Measures to equip people born overseas and their families with the basic resources which they require to function effectively and on an equitable basis in Australia.

2. Measures to achieve institutional change, so as to ensure that the organisations which make decisions about program and services, and which implement them, do so in an equitable manner.

3. Measures to promote good community relations, that is, social attitudes and behaviour which respect the rights of all.

4. Measures to support the opportunity for people to maintain, enjoy and develop their cultural heritage and identity (ROMAMPAS, paras 15.10 and 15.11).

In terms of immediate settlement priorities, the Review spelled out fundamental resources required for effective functioning in Australian society. They included;

- accommodation

- English language proficiency
useable occupational skills

income

information

support networks (ROMAMPAS, para 15.16).

It was argued that new arrivals ‘have a pressing need for information about services, structures and systems in Australia if they are to be able to orient themselves and link into basic provisions’ (ROMAMPAS, para. 15.17). Although the next major report (the FitzGerald Committee to Advise on Australia’s Immigration Policies) was centred on immigration, it devoted ten pages of its report to settlement issues. A summary of these issues is given in the next section.

3.5.2.1 The FitzGerald Report (1988)

FitzGerald’s Report on settlement issues: Immigration: a commitment to Australia was brief. By 1988 all the major prerequisites for settlement were virtually established. These prerequisites include:

- access to English-language teaching at an appropriate level, taking both immediate (‘survival’) and long-term (effective literacy) objectives into consideration and making provision for workplace teaching and child care;

- effective information on services and programs in appropriate languages using accessible media;

- translating and interpreting services readily available at an appropriate level of proficiency;

- recognition and utilisation of work skills and access to the labour market and to labour market and training programs;

- on-arrival programs and (if necessary) accommodation to orient new arrivals and especially refugees;

- a network of ethnic-specific and migrant resource facilities on a voluntary, granted-aided basis (emphasis mine);
- the capacity to maintain language, religion and culture as a necessary psychological support;
- access to all public services through intermediary staff who are either competent in or sensitive to the cultural and linguistic variety of their clientele;
- community relations which are not threatening or discriminatory.

Many other prerequisites hold equal importance, such as family reunion, cultural maintenance, socialisation with those of similar backgrounds, acceptance into the dominant socio-economic and political life of Anglo-Australian majority, and genuine access and equity for securing employment and opportunities.

As already stated, the FitzGerald Report recommended both family reunion and ethnic community networks as part of the settlement process. The Report was significant for its specific recommendations in calling for a 'shift in priority in settlement services to those who have been here for less than two years'.

Additionally, it supported priority to English language acquisition, skills recognition, support for women and interpreting and translation services (rec. 12).

The issue of immigrant and refugee settlement was still a concern for the Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs. With the arrival of settlers from new countries of origin and large numbers of refugees after 1975, the Department began to argue that its resources could not cope with existing and new commitments simultaneously. As a consequence, another body was commissioned in December 1987 to develop a broad strategy for the settlement of immigrants into the Australian community. This body was the National Population Council (NPC) advising the Minister for Immigration. The Council's report on settlement policy is summarised in the following section.

3.5.2.2 The National Population Council Settlement Strategy (1988)

The Council reported in August 1988 and its deliberations thus paralleled those of the FitzGerald Committee. The NPC report argued that, while the Department of Immigration
and Ethnic Affairs' traditional role had been provision of special programs exclusive to immigrants, this did not mean that it was the best or only agency equipped to assist (para. 5.3). The Council identified two high priority areas: pre- and on-arrival information and community-based funding. It endorsed the notion of a planned social investment approach, maximising the potential of immigrants and their participation in Australian society. It also supported the efficient use of resources through a needs-based approach within a cost-benefit framework. The NPC was especially anxious to distinguish between settlement issues and 'general life issues', though it had little to say about problems arising from ethnicity and culture. Of relevance to new immigrant groups was the nomination of 'vulnerable individuals and groups' as one of four essential sub-goals and the specific mention of 'emerging ethnic groups' as a focus.

In developing a settlement strategy, the NPC recognised that 'new arrivals, like all people, need to belong to groups' and that 'community services have to be responsive to the needs of a diverse clientele'. The report limited the Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs' role 'exclusively to immigrants with direct responsibility for pre-arrival services, on-arrival services that are not functionally integrated with services for the general community and a planning and settlement role for immigrants' (para 5.4).

It was envisaged that the Department's functions would still include assisting integration 'for socially vulnerable components of the migration intake (see section 3.6 for the selection criteria for the various categories of migrants), particularly refugees' and 'containing the immediate and long-term social and economic costs for general and social welfare programs through community based intervention strategies (e.g. Grant-in-Aid workers, Migrant Resource Centres, community development projects' (para. 5.6).

3.6 THE SELECTION CRITERIA

In recent times different categories of migrants have been selected under different criteria. Migrants are chosen from three major categories, namely humanitarian, family, and skill.
3.6.1 Humanitarian Program

Although Australia has been actively involved in refugee developments since 1921, it cannot be said that it was an unconditional involvement (National Population Council, 1991:65). In 1993 the Humanitarian program was separated from the general migration program to ensure "a better balance" between international and humanitarian obligations, and the economic and social considerations which determine the migration intake. (DIEA FACT SHEET No.2, September, 1994). Although Australia has over the years accepted a large number of immigrants under the humanitarian components of its immigration program, with only a relatively small proportion as exceptions, these persons were selected in large part as immigrants with a potential to contribute to Australia. This is not to say that the program was without compassion; rather that it was a program in which Australia's best interest was a dominant consideration. The program was based largely on the two premises that the Australian Government would always select its immigrants, and that individuals would be selected only if there was clear evidence that they would integrate into Australian society without imposing any excessive charges on the supply / demand balance of the labour market. (ibid.).

Under the Humanitarian Program people who have left their countries to escape persecution may be eligible to come to Australia under the Refugee program, Special Humanitarian (for those with close links to Australia who, although not classified as refugees, have nevertheless suffered gross violation of human rights) or Special Assistance programs (for displaced persons or otherwise are in situations of hardship and special need). Australia accepts refugees after making a determination of their status based on the criteria contained in the 1951 UN Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees as modified by the 1967 protocol. Australia also considers applications for refugee status from people in Australia using the UNHCR Migration Legislation Amendment Bill of 1995 (DIEA, 1995).
Family Migration

There are two types of family migration which allow for family members overseas to be reunited with permanent residents. **Preferential family** migrants are essentially spouses, fiancés, dependent children and parents who meet the "balance of family" test (a test designed to give an indication of how strong the parents' family links are with Australia compared with other countries). This scheme only permits application through sponsorship, for those regarded as 'immediate' family. The **Concessional Family** category allows extended family members (sponsored brothers, sisters, non-dependent children, nephews and nieces) to migrate to Australia provided they also qualify in relation to employability, age, education and skills. They must thus satisfy the Points Test which is explained below. People without family sponsorship could also migrate provided they meet the number of points required to qualify under the category. (DIEA Information Sheet No. 957, 1995).

Family reunion is often a critical factor in facilitating the resettlement process for many migrants; however, the sponsorship system is expensive, frequently with long delays. More will be discussed about this in the following Chapter. Apart from "preferential family" and humanitarian migrants, all categories of migrants must pass the Points Test.

The Points Test

The Points Test which was introduced on 1 July, 1986 is the means by which the Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs selects people of working age (men under 65 and women under 60) who apply to migrate within the Concessional Family (this covers brothers, sisters, non-dependent children, nephews and nieces and parents who do not meet the balance of family test), Migration or Independent (including skilled migrants) under the Migration categories. **Skilled migrants** must satisfy a points test, have special skills; be nominated by particular employers, or have successful business skills and/or significant capital to bring to Australia to establish a business of benefit to Australia (DIEA, 1986).

Initially, applicants self-assess their qualifications for migration, awarding points (or marks) for various factors including level of skill and age. The total number of points gained indicates...
if an applicant is qualified to migrate, subject to health and character checks. Applicants scoring fewer points than the minimum pass mark (see Appendix C) will not be selected.

In addition to points for skill and age they score points for the closeness of the relationship with the sponsor, that is, 15 points for the sponsor's parent, 10 points for a sibling or non-dependent child, and five for a nephew/niece.

They also score points if the sponsor:

- is an Australian citizen;
- has been continuously employed for two years;
- has lived in a designated area for the last two years.

They are not tested for language skills.

Independent applicants score points for skill, age and their language skills. The factors assessed for Independents/skilled migrants can cover such areas as work skills (which takes into account the acceptability of a person's qualifications in Australia and the amount of experience they have in their job, age and English Language competency.

The adoption of a 'points system' of admissibility to Australia, in which racial and ethnic factors are not taken into account, has gone a long way to recognising the irrelevance of national origin. However, the geographic distribution and number of Australian immigration offices across Africa, (only three - at Nairobi, Cairo and Pretoria) their accessibility, processing facilities and processing time, are further factors which contribute to disadvantaging Africans seeking entry into Australia. Chapter Four explains this further.

3.6.2 The Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs View of Their Services and Programs to Immigrants and Refugees

The Department is responsible for refugees, for immigrant selection and initial settlement and for a range of services such as English teaching, translation and interpretation. Thus its own view of its functions is important and it is still regarded by others as having a prime responsibility for successful immigrant settlement. The Department's definition of its role is
contained in documents produced by the Settlement Planning Branch between September 1989 and August 1990, which draw on the National Population Council’s analysis and in the explanatory notes produced for the Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs portfolio for the 1989-1990 budget (Budget Related Paper (BRP) no. 8.9).

The explanatory notes provide a mission statement for settlement and ethnic affairs as seeking to: ‘maximise the economic and social development of Australia by providing migrants with the opportunity to acquire the resources and the individual and group support networks required to function effectively and move towards integration within Australia’s multicultural society’ BRP 8.9, p. 8). The Department’s ‘settlement focus on the recently arrived recognises the fact that their needs are the most intense’ (p.83). Following the Galbally tradition, ‘in addition to providing direct services, DIEA encourages the development of community networks to assist migrants, recognising differing needs within a diverse clientele’ (p. 83).

Background to DIEA’s Settlement Planning, Services and Programs (DIEA August 1990) refers to the FitzGerald Report’s view that DIEA should limit provision of settlement services to migrants who have been resident for less than two years. DIEA goes on to define settlement as a short-term process and to nominate a two-year residency period as the desirable limit of its responsibility. Settlement services are defined as ‘those which address the basic establishment needs of immigrants. On-going needs, which immigrants have in common with other members of the community, should be accommodated within a framework of general community programs and services’. With this in mind, the document goes on to define DIEA settlement responsibilities as:

- language service through AMEP, TIS and translation services 'until such time as migrants achieve a sufficient level of communicative competence'

- information and orientation specific to pre-departure, on-arrival and two years of settlement

- Access to services such as refugee accommodation, funding of relevant non-government agencies and other mainstream services such as public housing.
Needs-based planning is advocated and is analysed in a previous document (DILGEA September 1989). The needs of immigrant groups have, to a large extent, continued to be expressed through consultations and submissions. This dimension cannot be abandoned without imposing concepts of need from outside and from the mainstream culture and institutions. However, the DIEA analyses argue strongly for a needs measurement element and this is obviously relevant to communities which are poorly organised or are inadequately integrated into the welfare and educational networks, now well understood by many larger or older ethnic groups. Much of the DIEA development of needs-based planning still retains a geographical basis, for example in the document Development of Integrated State Settlement Plans (DILGEA November 1989). The relevance of this to small groups is that some are highly concentrated in geographical areas but, many are not and their problems of organisation, mutual support and social networking are compounded by widespread scattering over large suburban areas.

The Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs has never stopped reviewing its settlement programs for refugees and other immigrants admitted to Australia under the humanitarian scheme. In 1993 a Departmental Task Force was established to investigate settlement aspects of people admitted to Australia under the Humanitarian Program; a summary of the Task Force Report is given in the next section as this especially pertains to African groups who are mainly subject to the Humanitarian Program.

3.6.3 Humanitarian Program Settlement Task Force

The report took an operational and planning focus in its tasks of seeking improvement in the provision of settlement services to humanitarian entrants. The Task Force looked at three major areas of settlement services for refugees and people admitted under the Humanitarian Program. This time attention was paid to settlement needs of potential immigrants prior to their arrival in Australia. A brief summary of the conclusions reached by the Task Force is given below under each of the specific Terms of Reference.

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1 The identification of general settlement needs by Overseas Posts for people being admitted under the humanitarian program

The Task Force concluded that a key mechanism here was the development of 'Humanitarian Program Settlement Profiles' for new or special groups entering under the humanitarian program. It was envisaged that this would help ensure that Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs staff, settlement service providers and support groups would have advance awareness of any settlement requirements for new or special groups before the arrival of such people in Australia (Recommendation 7).

2 Methods for Improving the Co-ordination Between Overseas Posts, Central Office and Regional Offices

The Task Force identified a number of different approaches to meeting the need for improved co-ordination in this area in the Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs. These encompassed integration of the policy, planning, processing and settlement functions for humanitarian program entrants (Recommendation 1), through to clear identification of settlement needs in the annual humanitarian program submission to Cabinet, together with remedial proposals on how to address such needs (Recommendations 2 and 3).

3 The Meeting, Accommodating and Settling of Those Arriving Under the Humanitarian Program

The Task Force recommended that, in addition to the better training of appropriate staff at all levels about the nature of the settlement response for humanitarian program entrants (Recommendations 11 and 12), specific provisions were required. These included mechanisms being established to identify people arriving under the humanitarian program so that assistance would be offered once they arrive (Recommendations 22-28).


A recently established Humanitarian Settlement office in the Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs is implementing these recommendations (Post Migration, January 1995).
3.7 ETHNIC ORGANISATIONS IN AUSTRALIA

As already noted, the shift from assimilationist to integrationist policy did not become formalised until 1978, culminating in the Galbally Report which enunciated some guiding principles for settlement policy. Notable among these was an ethos of collective self-help which should then be subsidised by the State via ethno-specific organisations. Ethnic organisations were accorded significance for their consultative and information roles and maintenance of racial and cultural identity. The following section will focus on the role and structure of ethnic organisations in the process of immigrant settlement as seen from the point of view of Australian state authorities.

The strategy of using ethnic community organisations and networks in immigrant settlement process in Australia as advocated by Galbally (1978) has been developed through the settlement, social policy and ethnic affairs branches of the Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs and by state Ethnic Affairs Commissions and the Office of Multicultural Affairs (OMA). Both the state and federal Governments subsidise Ethnic Communities' Councils and the national Federation of Ethnic Communities Council (FECCA).

Jupp (1989:17) has encouraged "the active and vocal reassertion" of ethnic communities and organisations in their role as a major element in Australian politics and in their unification for multicultural policies and practices. Since the FitzGerald Report, there has been a shift away from a holistic stance, due to a diminution of bipartisan consensus from the major political parties; a reassertion of old Australian nationalism, and a movement towards divestation of DIEA responsibility in a re-definition and reduction of the DIEA brief, limiting responsibility for migrant welfare from those who have been in the country for two years or less. (Jupp, 1989).

Effective ethnic self-organisation has become essential in reaching immigrants of non-English speaking background and involving some of the ethnic groups in service delivery, consultation and policy planning. The elaborate network which has grown since 1978 had its origins in pre-existing organisations such as Australian Greek Welfare Society or Australian
Jewish Welfare Association. Ethnic community organisations range from large social and sporting clubs, through the ethnic media, down to *ad hoc* and informal arrangements and personal initiatives.

In 1992 the Australian Minister for Immigration and Ethnic Affairs stated that ethnic community organisations in Australia provide a focal point for social, cultural, welfare, religious and educational activities for their communities (Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs, 1994). In 1975, the Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs started publishing a directory of these ethnic community organisations which, as the Minister said, provides a “guide to the organisational structures of Australia’s ethnic communities” (Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs, 1994).

The 1994 Directory provides a list of over 3,500 entries covering every Australian State. These entries are grouped in the index into one aggregate category labelled 'multicultural, ethnic, national or religious group'. A close examination of these organisations listed in the index shows that they are nationally, religiously, linguistically or culturally based.

Throughout the 1970s and the 1980s Ethnic Affairs Commissions were established in most States of Australia. Despite the fact that each of these departments has different sets of priorities and different operating procedures, they were all established in order to promote ethnic diversity in their respective States (Bertelli, 1986; Storer, 1985; Jakubowicz, 1989).

A common function of these commissions has been to distribute funding grants to ethnic community organisations to assist them in their community work. For example, the Victorian Ethnic Affairs Commission administered an annual grant program of $750,000 between 1983 and 1992 (VEAC, 1983 to 1992). A careful analysis of applicant groups to this funding program provides some idea of the nature of the relationships between these organisations and, in this case, the Victorian State Government.

In the 1990/91 financial year the Victorian Ethnic Affairs Commission received over 600 applications from community based ethnic organisations. The characteristics of these groups were similar to, and in most cases the same as those of the groups listed in the Federal
Government Directory of Ethnic Community Organisations. That is, they were based on either language, nation, religion or culture or a combination of these. It is noteworthy, however, that a considerable number of groups were focused on particular social issues and the groups in these cases were dealing with a social problem from a specific cultural point of view. For example, the following organisations represent a specific collective approach to social issues that emerge for all cultural groups in some form or another:-

Cambodian Community Welfare Centre
The Indo-Chinese Women’s Group of the Flemington Tenants’ Association
The Fawkner/Campbellfield Italian Women’s Group
The Vietnamese Women’s Welfare Association
The Australian Greek Association for People with Disabilities
The Trade Union Migrant Workers’ Centre
Victorian Elderly Chinese Welfare Society
The Arabic Disability Group
National Union of Greek Australian Students.
Australian Greek Society for Care of the Elderly.
The Union of Australian Turkish Workers.

A second feature of the ethnic organisations which applied for funding is that some of them are umbrella bodies who claim to represent the collective interests of groups of smaller organisations within their ethnic realm. These include, for example

The Maltese Community Council of Victoria
The Polish Community Council of Victoria
The Victorian Indo-Chinese Communities Council
The Federation of Macedonian Associations in Victoria
The Federation of Chinese Association and

The Council of Slovenian Organisations in Victoria.

A third tier of ethnic organisational action can be observed on the part of the various “ethnic” councils that are composed of representatives from the umbrella bodies. Examples of these groups include: Ethnic Communities Councils that are regionally based, such as the Ethnic Communities Council of Whittlesea, or the Ethnic Communities Council of Brunswick. Together these groups form an overall state body, the Ethnic Communities Council of Victoria.

At a national level the Ethnic Communities Councils of each State comprise a national body known as the Federation of Ethnic Communities Councils of Australia (FECCA). This is followed in the States by State Ethnic Communities Councils and Regional Ethnic Communities Councils. There are also specific national cultural, religious or linguistic umbrella bodies. Some of these are characterised by symbols of cultural reconstruction and "public" ethnicity. Others, especially those belonging to minority ethnic groups are characterised by symbols of cultural maintenance and "private" ethnicity. The distinction between the two categories is between the maintenance of cultural symbols based on a celebration of a cultural heritage on the part of one set of organisations and the creation and expression of new ethnic symbols, based on cultural interaction with the new environment, on the part of the other set of organisations.

3.8 SUMMARY

This chapter has sketched the picture of Australia’s immigration policy from the late 1880s, when the 'White Australia' policy was first introduced, until 1973 when it was finally abolished. Details of current settlement policy, tracing its three main phases, from assimilationist to multiculturalism, were discussed. A description of the assimilationist policy, whereby non-Anglo Saxon immigrants were expected to act and behave like Anglo-Saxons, was also given. How this policy was replaced by the social integration and multicultural policies whereby each ethnic group was to be given equal opportunity to
participate in society was briefly discussed, as was the role of ethnic community organisations in the settlement process.

It was noted that a shift from assimilationist to integrationist policy did not become formalised until 1978 as a result of the Galbally Report. This Report enunciated some guiding principles for settlement policy. Notable among these was an ethos of collective self-help which should then be subsidised by the State through ethno-specific organisations. It was noted that the social integration policy was followed by the multicultural policy which was characterised by social justice principles. Ethnic organisations were accorded significance for their consultative and information roles and maintenance of racial and cultural identity. Subsequent reviews of importance led to the FitzGerald Report (1988) which recommended a shift in priority to new arrivals (that is, new migrants who have been in Australia for less than two years). The National Population Council Settlement Strategy examined the role and resources of the Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs. It endorsed a 'planned social investment approach' by utilising a needs-based and cost-benefit framework, with identified priorities of pre- and post-arrival services and community-based funding.

It was noted that more recently, the 1993 Humanitarian Program Settlement Task Force, in looking at the settlement needs of potential immigrants, recommended groups 'settlement profiles', improved co-ordination between overseas posts and offices in Australia and improved staff training and implementation of specific provisions to match settlement profile requirements.

The chapter concluded with a look at the roles and structures of ethnic community organisations, such as the Federation of Ethnic Communities Council in Australia; the Ethnic Communities Councils in each State involved in the process of immigrant settlement as seen from the point of view of Australian policy makers.
Endnotes

1 See footnote 3 in chapter one.


3 The Migration Legislation Amendment Bill (No. 3) 1995 proposes to modify the definition of a refugee so that Australia is no longer bound by the international convention on the status of refugees, which it signed in 1951.

4 Australia's immigration settlement policy operating until the late 1960's. Immigrants of non-English speaking background were expected to divorce themselves entirely from their own culture and be absorbed into the existing Anglo-Celtic culture. The objective was that eventually people of non-English speaking background would become indistinguishable from the Anglo-Celtic population. This policy has been replaced by a policy of "multiculturalism".

5 A Commonwealth Government scheme which enables community organisations to employ social welfare workers to assist immigrants. These welfare workers are known as Grant-in-Aid Workers. Grants-in-Aid are also made to trade unions to address the special needs of immigrants in industry, under the Migrant Workers' Rights Scheme.
CHAPTER 4

THE AFRICAN BACKGROUND AND AFRICAN MIGRATION TO AUSTRALIA

4.0 INTRODUCTION

The chapter is divided into three main sections. Section one provides a historical account of Africa's contact with imperialism and its effects on the socio-economic development of the continent. Section two presents an overview of the African background from which African refugees and immigrants have come to Australia, including an account of relevant features of traditional African societies. This is followed by an outline of some of the major political, economic, environmental and cultural developments occurring in Africa and their impact on population movements in and out of the continent. Section three is an account of African migration and settlement in Australia.

Africa, with an area of 19 million square kilometres, is the second largest continent (Grove, 1989), with a population of around 500 million (The Age, Saturday 25 June, 1994). There are problems associated with obtaining reliable census figures on the continent (Hilling, 1988). The 500 million African people are not homogeneous and they could be divided into numerous tribal and language groups. There are over 1600 languages spoken in Africa (Roberto, 1990). In Nigeria (the largest country), for example, it is estimated that as many as 250 languages are currently spoken and there are almost as many corresponding ethnic groups in the Federation (Department of Information, Lagos, 1994).

The Sunday Herald paints the contemporary African situation in the following terms:

Natural disasters, economic setbacks and civil wars have enslaved Africans as never before. Many of its nations exist on foreign aid, almost all have negative balances, illiteracy is high throughout the continent, wars have raged for up to 40 years in places, and ethnic and religious purges have claimed tens of thousands of lives. Of the world's 43 least developed countries 30 are in Africa (Sunday Herald, May 8, 1994, p.8).
Africa was colonised by Europe and partitioned among European countries between 1880 and 1920 (for a good account, see Basil Davidson, 1992). Arbitrary boundaries set by French, Belgian, British, Portuguese, German, Italian and Spanish colonial powers as a result of the Berlin Conference of 1884 are still major contributory factors to civil wars in African countries such as Rwanda, Burundi, Sudan and Somalia. Old patterns of society were broken as a whole populations were put to work, creating the agricultural wealth in rubber, coffee, cocoa and cotton on which European countries flourished. It is only after the Second World War that these powers were forced to loosen their grip over the continent. All African states, including the Republic of South Africa are now "politically" independent. Of Africa's 500 million people, 300 million are living in absolute poverty. Incomes dropped from $570 per capita in 1980 to $350 in 1992 (The Age, Saturday 25 June, 1994). These economic factors combined with political and environmental imperatives have forced many African peoples to flee their countries for political and economic security elsewhere.

SECTION ONE: HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

4.1 SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA'S CONTACT WITH IMPERIALISM

In this section it is pointed out that sub-Saharan African underdevelopment is closely associated with the European colonial era. It reveals that lack of genuine interest on the part of the colonial powers in aiding African socio-economic development with Europeans, rather using Africa as a source for the necessary raw materials to support European industry and as a market to sell European "finished products". As capitalism expanded beyond European boundaries during the heyday of colonialism, the economies of Africa were reshaped in a manner that rendered them subordinate to the demands of capital. One effect of this was the emergence of a kind of semipermanent international economic division of labour, in which the capitalist countries of Europe and North America virtually monopolised the industries as well as the capital needed to sustain them. A further consequence of this was the institutionalisation of exploitation through mechanisms of neo-colonial control (e.g., aid, trade
and investments) so that the regions of the world referred to as 'Third World' would remain subordinate in their agricultural and pre-industrial state (Basil, 1992).

In establishing colonial rule in sub-Saharan Africa, the colonising powers realised a clear objective: control over the socio-economic and political activities of the African people. Colonial rule meant the establishment of a political apparatus for incorporating the pre-colonial indigenous economies into the imperial economy of the colonisers. For the colonising powers, development meant the provision of an infrastructure for exploitation - the railways and feeder-roads, coupled with the introduction of measures aimed at coercing the population into producing the required crops. The imposition of colonial rule gave rise to territorial specialisation and a division of function along geographical lines. The colonies became producers of primary produce to feed metropolitan industries. Additionally, Africa became a market for metropolitan merchandise. For example, from the 1660's the Gold Coast (now Ghana) was embroiled in the so-called triangular trade under which manufactured goods, mainly textiles and hardware were brought to West Africa from Europe and exchanged for slaves who were shipped to the plantations of the Americas to produce sugar and cotton which were, in turn, shipped to Western Europe. Thus in Berger's words...

... the industrial revolution, and the inventions and culture which accompanied it and which created modern Europe, was initially financed by profits from the slave trade. And the fundamental nature of the relationship between Europe and the rest of the world, between black and white, has not changed (in Dyer, 1986, p.93).

This is the period which Amin (1972) calls 'mercantilist' and during which, as Songsore (1979) asserts, incipient dominance and dependency structures were laid between Europe and Africa.

However, slavery pre-dated mercantilism in Europe and North America. In the Ancient World, slavery did not entail the use of specifically racial categories, as it did in plantation capitalism (cf. Hall, 1980, p.337). Nevertheless, the Romans stipulated legal definitions of slavery that were used by those who inherited other aspects of Roman law. In Roman times slaves were totally owned. They were treated just like commodities, bought and sold in markets and their progeny as well as any other of their products were also owned by their
masters. The Romans justified this status by reference to the 'inequality' of certain people. Imperialism demonstrated the superiority of the Europeans through their guns. From the sixteenth century, Europeans started to ship millions of Africans to work as slaves in the Americas and the Carribean, cultivating the highly profitable tobacco, cotton and sugar and other cash crops. As plantation slavery became economically rather less profitable, freed slaves, together with migrants from Europe provided the backbone for the "new slavery" paid labour for the North American industrialised North East and Mid West.

The slave trade reached its peak in 1734, but was abolished by Britain supposedly out of humanitarian considerations, although, in reality, the trade had apparently become unprofitable (Hopkins, 1973; Williams, 1964). The end of the Slave Trade ushered in another kind of trade deriving from the need of Europeans not only for raw materials for their expanding industries, but also to secure markets for their manufactured goods. Thus a two-way trade came to replace the triangular trade. In other words, mercantile capitalism started to decline as the impact of industrial capitalism became progressively stronger (Hindrink and Sterkenberg, 1975:30).

It is quite clear that in deciding to colonise Africa the Europeans planned to keep a stranglehold on the continent for their own self-aggrandisement. This is contrary to the altruistic views held at the time by some colonists and writers. For example, Adam Smith’s assertion that ‘although the colonies could not be other than liability to the colonial powers, no country will relinquish them because of general prestige’ (quoted in Lobman and Gallagher, 1953:15) cannot be substantiated with the available facts. It also appears that Herbert Morrison, the Deputy Leader of the Labour Party in Britain, was being merely paternalistic when he asserted that giving independence to Britain’s African colonies would be like giving a child a bank account and a shot gun. (Quoted in Chamberlain, 1985:75). And Governor Alan Burns was not correctly stating the facts when he wrote in his dispatch on the General Plan for Development, 1944, that the people of the Gold Coast cannot expect to be subsidised indefinitely by the British tax payer, and must, to a considerable extent, in the future depend
on their own resources. (Quoted in Cox-George, 1973:14). (See also statements by Rhodes regarding imperialism in Hechter, 1975, p.239).

What is meant to be demonstrated here is that contrary to the open pronouncements of some colonialists and their apologists, the system benefited the colonialists rather than the colonised and that policies were made with the benefits or anticipated benefits of the metropolitan country in mind. At a time when the colonies lacked housing, medical services and structures for effective development, resources were being transferred to provide such services for the metropolitan country. In fact, it will be demonstrated that there is much credence in Furnivall’s (1948) thesis that colonial policy is directed with primary reference to the interests, real or imagined, of the colonial power.

4.1.2 Dependent Economy

The complete stranglehold on the African continent by Europe did not eventuate until the 1840’s. Even then the ‘master’ and ‘servant’ relationship may not have received effective legitimacy in the eyes of other European powers until the Berlin Conference of 1884/85 which balkanised Africa. Following the Berlin Conference, the European powers gained ‘legitimate’ authority to put into effect their naive ideas of social Darwinism - that is, those who had demonstrated their superiority had a duty and a right to exercise control over ‘inferior’ people (Heaerington, 1978:154). Henceforth, African colonies became the servient tenements (analogy borrowed from the land law theory of profit a’ prendre) to be exploited unscrupulously by Europeans without accountability to anyone, a kind of relationship which Rodney (1972) called ‘exploitation without responsibility’.

Under the prevailing classical economics of Adam Smith, especially the doctrine of comparative advantage, the colonial states were relegated to the role of producing primary goods to feed the metropolitan industries whilst importing their daily needs from Europe, often at much higher price than they received for their produce. Considering the enormous profits which the European firms controlling both exports and imports gained, indigenous
enterprises which the colonialists perceived as competing or having the potential to compete with European business were killed prematurely. As Samoff and Samoff (1976:69) argue, the aliens [Europeans] at times with patience, and more often with brutal rapidity gained control over the production of Africa's resources. Local economies were maintained as producers of primary products and as reservoirs of labour. Internal trade was controlled and diverted to suit European needs. Indigenous enterprises and industry were eliminated or restrained. As subsistence agriculture was integrated into a world wide capitalist network, African societies were forced to become increasingly responsive to external motivation and control.

Within the agricultural sector, a system of mono-culture (that is, cultivation of single cash crops) involving the production of tree crops (e.g., cocoa and coffee) was instituted. Although the production of the tree crops was in the hands of the natives, the purchase and export were handled by European firms who also controlled imports into Africa. Mineral extraction was also concentrated in the hands of European firms. Large quantities of minerals including gold, diamond and manganese were exploited using underpaid African labour.

In addition to agriculture, commerce and mineral extraction, banking and finance were also fully controlled by the colonists. For example, the British Bank of West Africa and later, the Barclays Bank (D.C.O) dominated the banking scene from the 1890's until independence when indigenous banks were established. Shipping, too, was under the control of the colonist firms such as Elder Dempster Agencies and one or two European companies who oligopolised the sector and devised policies which almost invariably disadvantaged native enterprise. Citing the Gold Coast as an illustration, Howard (1976:71) points out that the take over of the Gold Coast economy by foreign business concerns in conjunction with a foreign government imposed by force upon the inhabitants of the territory provided the framework for the integration of the Gold Coast into the world capitalist system and for the limitation of its potential for change and growth within the system.

African labour, among other unfair practices, was over utilised and underpaid. Almost invariably, the African worker was, unlike the Europeans, paid only a bare living wage. It was not uncommon for an European to receive $40 or more per month in addition to well furnished quarters and generous holiday, medical and travel benefits while an African worker, usually working longer hours, got a mere $4 without any of the fringe benefits to which the European was entitled. Out of their meagre earnings, Africans were expected to pay for their
accommodation, food, direct taxes and indirect taxes in the form of higher prices for consumer 
items (Rodney, 1972). Under such circumstances, savings on the part of the African 
workers were negligible.

Despite the fact that European firms were reaping huge profits from the control of the 
economy, they objected to any form of taxation. The burden of taxation was therefore placed 
on the shoulders of African producers and workers who consequently financed the colonial 
government. Howard notes that

whenever import duties were raised, so also were prices charged to African 
consumers. Moreover, a price raised was not lowered if the duties were removed. 
Similarly, after 1916 when export duties were introduced, the prices paid to cocoa 
was reduced (1976:86).

Indeed, between 1886 and 1939, 56% to 86% per cent of all state revenues were derived from 
export/import taxes paid directly or indirectly by African producers and consumers. Howard 
(1976) claims further that Africans were also responsible for financing construction and 
urbanisation in Africa.

Thus, contrary to the view expressed by Chamberlain and other supporters of colonialism, 
that colonial development and metropolitan prosperity went hand in hand (cited in Tordoff, 
1984), it was not a symbiotic relationship in which both the ‘master’ and ‘servant’ benefited 
equally, but rather it was a skewed and parasitic relationship under which the powerful ‘core’ 
country exploited the periphery. As Walter Rodney argued

colonialism was not merely a system of exploitation, but one whose essential 
purpose was to repatriate the profits to the so called mother country. From the 
African point of view, that amounted to consistent expatriation of surplus produced 
by African labour out of African resources. It meant the development of Europe as 
part of the same dialectical process in which Africa was underdeveloped (Rodney, 

Even if colonisation did bring along some of its own benefits to the colonised people, (and 
Rodney seems to overlook this) the overall balance sheet indicates that it has been a curse 
rather than a blessing to Africa. Even the provision of transport infrastructure, which the 
apologists of colonialism claim laid the foundation for the economic development of the 
colonies, was in reality nothing less than the physical and social arteries for the pumping of 
the very life-blood of these hapless colonies to Western Europe and North America (Onimode,
1982:57). During the whole of the colonial period, the key tasks of the British Administration in the Gold Coast, for example, were to maintain an infrastructure which would expedite the export of mineral resources and agricultural produce, especially cocoa and coffee and to take steps to ensure that an adequate supply of labour appeared where and when it was needed. Taxation, on export production and on subjects, was the financial motor for both of these tasks (Sanjek, 1982:65). The appropriation of the surplus in the form of export duties and the difference between the local price and the price commanded on the world market was controlled by the colonial administration and foreign enterprises (Cohen, 1976:158).

Thus, if anything, the colonisation of Africa by the European powers was a stark manifestation of 19th century capitalism/imperialism. The profit motive was supreme and hence all steps, fair and foul, were taken to extract surplus from the colonies. The aim of the imperialists was achieved under the aegis of the metropolitan state which supplied, inter alia, a military machine to maintain law and order, a bureaucratic apparatus to administer the areas under its control, and a series of infrastructure, especially transport and communication to facilitate the extraction of the colonies' minerals or crops to the mother country. New religions and belief systems were also introduced to indigenous societies, generally with the aim of creating a greater identity between the coloniser and the colonised, thus making the fact of exploitation more palatable (Graf, 1988:7).

Thus there is no doubt that capitalism, through colonial penetration, led to the underdevelopment of Africa (Rodney, 1972; Frank, 1969; Amin, 1974a,b; 1977a,b). The end result of the exploitative activities of the colonial government itself and the European firms (produce buying, banking, shipping and mining) was that when colonial powers finally pulled out of Africa, they left behind a continent which bore all the most important features of underdevelopment. In addition, they left behind a continent which had been steeped in socio-cultural dependency through the imposition of western values and standards. For example, in the last few years before the British withdrew from the Gold Coast, they groomed a comprador class to take over from where they left off, thus ensuring that although independence had been granted, only policies which favoured British domination were carried on.
As in Asia, colonialism in Africa may have fulfilled a 'double mission, one destructive, the other regenerating' (Marx, 1962:356). In the case of Africa, however, it appears that the destructive aspects of colonialism made its indelible mark more than the regenerating side. A clearly visible part of the legacy of underdevelopment bequeathed to Africa by European colonialism and the intrusion of industrial capitalism was a malformed capital city, 'an internal core' which extracted not only economic surplus but also human resources from an 'internal periphery' of the countryside and other smaller towns and cities (Adepoju, 1990).

Thus, after 30 years of independence, many African states remain dependent upon commercial mono-crop agriculture and extractive industries for exports, with the larger segment of their populations still using labour-intensive techniques and antiquated technology in the subsistence agricultural sector. Hence, most African economies are still dependent upon outside influences, on foreign markets rather than domestic demand, while at the same time low productivity exists in peasant agriculture.

In summary, it is fair to say that European colonial powers in Africa initiated political and economic measures that only concentrated the development around their administrative and commercial centres. This policy created two polarised communities: urban and rural. The colonial masters were not interested in the development of the African or his technology but the in the extraction of raw materials they could export for profit. Consequently, while the colonial communities saw the development of colonial infrastructures and the provision of basic social amenities, the majority of the indigenous population, living in the rural areas, never benefited from these social amenities. The political independence of African countries in the 1960s did not change this pattern of rural/urban polarisation. This state of affairs in Africa has a direct bearing on the internal and international migration in Africa which will be discussed later.

With this overview of European colonialism in Africa serving as a backdrop of this chapter, I now turn to a discussion of some of the main features of African societies. These features have an impact on African ethnic community organisation in Australia.
SECTION TWO: THE AFRICAN BACKGROUND

4.2 SOME CULTURAL FEATURES OF TRADITIONAL AFRICAN SOCIETIES

African societies are marked by great diversity. The following discussion is focussed on the main features of African culture which have a bearing on African ethnic organisations. The discussion commences with a feature which is the key to understanding traditional societies: kinship.

4.2.1. Kinship

Kinship exerts a very important influence in the life of the different ethnic groups in Africa. The strength of mutual obligation that members of an extended family have towards one another is different within each ethnic group and also varies according to the degree of individualisation and urbanisation.

The kinship system in Africa prescribes statuses and roles to people who are in particular relationships. It determines the rules, duties and obligations of individuals and groups in all aspects of life in which these individuals and groups interact. Thus it is the kinship system, for instance, which determines where the couple will live after marriage, how property will be transmitted, who succeeds whom and even those who should worship at a particular shrine.

The importance of kinship in African traditional societies is all-embracing. This can be seen from how it actually works in specific aspects of social life. If one takes religion, for example, one finds kinship operating in many ways. In African traditional religion, an important aspect of belief is associated with what is sometimes called ancestor worship. This is the belief that death is not the end of a person and that when someone dies, the physical body is survived by a spirit which goes to live in a world of spirits from where it is able to influence life in this earthly world. As most societies have a number of rituals and sacrifices associated with the spirits of their ancestors, one important function of ancestor worship is to maintain a link between the dead and the living (Sudarkasa, 1975; Schuler, 1978). The
beliefs and practices also help to maintain the authority structure within the kinship system and to enhance the continuous working of existing relationships (Nukunya, 1975a).

In political organisation, the key role of kinship is evident because the rules and principles of seniority and of succession are governed by the kinship system as are residence patterns which help to define local groups. Even etiquette is affected by the kinship system because what is at issue involves the principles of seniority, the respective positions of men and women in society, of old and young, father and child, mother and child as well as husband and wife, among others.

In a rural, community in Africa, therefore, kinship looms large and determines almost everything: property relations, political relations, economic and legal obligations, to mention only a few. In urban situations, on the other hand, as a result of social change and spatial mobility or migration, its importance tends to diminish. People no more depend on lineage property, status is no longer dependent on age or a person’s position in the kinship system; kinship groups are no longer localised. The result of all these developments is the decline in the importance of kinship as a basis of social life. However, even in these changing conditions, the importance of kinship has not completely disappeared. If anything, what has happened is that kin groups are taking different forms and new relationships are replacing old ones. Thus in a society in which more emphasis is placed on matrilineal relationships, what is likely to happen in an urban situation is that a more distant maternal relative or kinsman may assume a greater responsibility for an individual in the absence of the immediate maternal uncle who might still be in a village.

Kinship, therefore can be seen as the key to the understanding of traditional African communities because it offers the principles forming the basis of the organisation of almost all spheres of social life in Africa.

In traditional African societies an important aspect of kinship concerns the principles and rules which regulate the organisation of groups within which individuals perform their everyday activities. These principles and rules operate under what are usually referred to as the descent
systems and the groups involved are known as descent groups. There are two main descent systems - the patrilineal and the matrilineal descent system. In the former, the group is made up of all persons, male and female who descended through the male line only from a common ancestor; in the latter, the group is made of all persons, male and female, who are descended through the female line only from a common ancestress.

There are also two main descent groups, clans and lineages. The organisation of clans and lineages differs from society to society. Generally speaking, a clan is a group of people, male and female, who are believed to have descended through one line only (male or female) from a common putative ancestor or ancestress. The members are only believed to have descended from their common source mainly because the clan is such a large and inclusive group that genealogical ties connecting all the members to the founder are not clearly known. A clan is not the same as a tribe or an ethnic group. A clan is a group whose membership is determined by lineal descent even if the genealogical ties are only putative. A tribe, on the other hand, is defined in relation to language. It is a group of people who speak the same language (Nukunya, 1975a). It is true to say that clans are divisions or sections of the tribes within which they are found. When clansfolk find themselves in the same locality their relationships are more frequent and effective.

The lineage, by contrast, is that segment of the clan found in one locality. Thus defined, the lineage may be regarded as a group of people, male and female, who are descended from a common ancestor or ancestress. The difference between the clan and the lineage lies, for the most part, in the fact that members of the latter are localised and know the genealogical ties that connect them to their founding ancestor or ancestress and, theoretically, the ties among themselves.

Kinship, clan, lineage and the family go together; which takes us to the various types of family system in African traditional societies.
4.2.2. Types of Family

There are three main types of family in Africa. These are The Nuclear Family which refers to a married couple and their children. A couple without children does not constitute a family. Polygamous Family comprises a man, his wives and children (polygynous) or a woman, her husbands and their children (polyandrous). Traditionally, polygamy was widely practised in many communities. Among Moslems for instance, four wives are permitted, while it is traditionally accepted among most African peoples that polygamy is natural and conducive to social harmony. At present however, monogamy tends to be the norm as a result of exposure to western culture, but there is no stigma attached to children born out of wedlock (Nukunya, 1992).

The Extended Family is relevant in two ways; firstly, it refers to a residential group comprising a series of close relatives built around either patrilineal or matrilineal lines, usually not along both. For example a woman, her husband, their children and their married daughters with their children; or a man, his wife(wives), their children and their married sons and their wives. In its second meaning, it refers to a social arrangement in which an individual has extensive reciprocal duties, obligations and responsibilities to relations outside his or her immediate (nuclear) family. Africans thus accord these relations the same respect as they would immediate family members. Brothers, sisters, uncles, aunts and cousins assume a closeness and significance in the lives of many Africans which is derived largely from a traditional pattern of communal living. The care of offspring is normally not the exclusive responsibility of parents. The extended family shares in the responsibility (Goody, 1982, Abanihe, 1985). Old men and women hold a particularly prized position within the community because of their age. People go to them for advice.

Much emphasis is placed among Africans on family relations and kinship ties, so that extended family groupings are the norm. Communal solidarity and mutual interdependence is an ingrained element of social life, with the result that in traditional society, even the very poor are never totally destitute. There is a long history of strong family and community life. Unfortunately, such positive aspects of African traditional culture have now been seriously
jeopardised by the relentless pressures of modern city life, although family and communal solidarity still remain essential for the great majority of Africans (Assimeng, 1989).

These traditional structures play a significant role in voluntary associations which African migrants establish in urban centres. This leads us to the next section which deals with voluntary associations in urban Africa.

4.2.3 Associations in Urban Africa

In Africa social life, which is often seen as the most important factor differentiating urban from rural life, is most viable in formal organisations. The most meaningful participation in formal organisations, for both indigenes and migrants is through membership in voluntary associations.

Voluntary associations are usually more formal than primary groups. Generally, associations can be distinguished from sets of people who meet for informal recreation by the presence of a leadership hierarchy, specific goals, rules indicating the expected performance of members and a clear identity, symbolised by a name (Edwards and Booth, 1973).

Thus, a Senior Service Club, for example, has officers and a constitution proclaiming the reason for its existence and who may be considered for membership. Smaller home town associations or drinking clubs also have these features, but the rules may be treated somewhat more casually. Religious and social groups often put considerable emphasis on rules of behaviour, clearly differentiating the standard expected of members from what is allowed to outsiders.

The level of participation differs considerably from one individual to another. If these associations are to perpetuate themselves, they must keep the interest of members; this may be difficult where there are many competing ways of spending one's spare time. One way of maintaining interest is by providing prestige-enhancing roles as officers and members of committees. As far back as 1957, Banton found that young people's associations in Freetown (Sierra Leone) had forty-five officers. In my recent (1994) field work in Nigeria...
and Ghana, I also came across associations with similar number of officers. However, active management is usually in the hands of a few people. But holding office makes people feel that they are important to the association and that their status in the wider community is enhanced.

Regular participation in the association is often limited to office-holders, though the inactive members may be called on for special activities. These activists may have been attracted because they had a greater need for the services of the association or for some status-enhancing activity. The rank and file find other activities sufficiently satisfying or the association only marginally rewarding, and so are content to participate only occasionally. Although this may leave the field clear for a few leaders, there are often conflicts over leadership because status and power over even a small group seem worth competing for, especially if the association can be used as a base for a wider political role (Wolpe, 1974).

In Africa, as elsewhere, individuals vary in the use they make of associations; people have different needs and no one association can fill them all. Various types of associations cater for the varied needs of individuals. Most African voluntary associations fall into the communal and special interest (church, recreation and savings) categories.

There are also the occupational associations which fall under the banner of trade unions. These types of associations will not be discussed in this study.

4.2.3.1 Communal Associations

These are associations based on primary ties (ethnic, clan, family, or hometown). They attract large numbers of migrants in many towns and cities. Associations based on a common home place are generally set up for mutual aid and for development projects in the rural areas.

In Africa, most tribes find communal associations useful in maintaining subgroup and family solidarity, in restructuring lineages, and in forwarding the political interests of subgroups. Thus, the political background may foster or hinder the initial impetus to form associations, but other factors may be more important in long-term development.
This is partly a question of alternative opportunities for getting the support provided by primary associations. The host community (for example, the Ganda in Kampala, Yoruba in Lagos, or Ga in Accra) may be able to control local government sufficiently so that they do not need a special pressure group or if the town is clearly theirs, they may feel no need for an ethnic associations. Other groups may find that a tribal headman or chief can handle the problems of new migrants more adequately and fill the role of lobbyist to the government over a long period more satisfactorily than an association which attracts support only in times of crisis.

There is a clear tendency in many towns for people coming from the same area to settle near each other. This provides opportunities for them to use their own language, patronise sellers of their preferred foods and participate in communication networks. If primary association is wanted, it can best flourish where members live fairly close together, because dispersion all over town makes it expensive and time-consuming to attend meetings. Distance is important for its influence on the number of potential members. If there are few representatives of an ethnic group or village in the town, they may join other people from the same area to form an association. This is particularly true of aliens, who feel a common need to protect their position as strangers in the local society. For example, Nigerians living in Ghana have a Nigerian Association; they would have belonged to separate ethnic or hometown associations in Nigeria, but have found it useful to associate as one group while abroad.

In some African countries (for example, Ghana) mutual aid and support functions directed toward new migrants are an important reason for joining a communal association. However, these days migrants tend to get their initial aid from kinsmen already established in town. Mutual aid is still important for those with a low income and many migrants support the association because it symbolises the value of ties with home, but associations are increasingly used to exercise political influence at home and/or in the host town.

Hometown associations are far more important to most ethnic groups than other associations. For example, Smock (1971) shows that hometown associations were far more important to most Ibo and the Ibo Union and that both levels had an important political role. Well
organised associations can contribute considerably to hometown development and be influential in home town affairs. One of the associations Smock studied provided effective local government for the village over several years as well as building and running a primary and two secondary schools. Another contributed little directly to village development but was able to exercise political influence to the extent of getting government support for several projects.

A majority of urban residents build a satisfactory social life from informal contacts with family and friends. However, many at one time or another join an association promoting some special interests.

4.2.3.2 Special Interest Groups

These may be groups sponsored by churches (such as a Bible society or singing bands); a recreation society for those who want to join together for drinking, dancing, playing football, or other sports. These special interest associations may bring together people of different ethnicity and social background, but often they are homogeneous because their interest is related to common background or because membership involves certain costs which only certain types of people can afford. Since many associations fill social and mutual aid functions, membership in one may be a substitute for membership in another; that is, people who are active in church society often feel no need to belong to a communal association and vice versa.

Young unmarried migrants and members of the elite are the chief patrons of formal recreation. Recreation clubs for young migrants fill various needs. They make new friends, are socialised into the norms of urban life, and may find a spouse if they are not committed to marrying someone from home.

This section on associations in urban Africa can be summarised by examining more generally the role which they play in African cities and the factors which promote or inhibit membership. Socio-economic status is relevant in that some individuals are economically so marginal that all their energies must be given to subsistence. At the other extreme, the elites'
participation in voluntary associations is less than participation of the other groups. The main reason for this is that the relatively small numbers of elite makes formal associations less important.

Middle- and lower-status people are often under considerable communal pressure to participate in primary and church associations, where these are functioning, and find in these associations opportunities for improving their status which the wider society has denied them.

The structure of the town and culture of the various people living there both affect the nature of associational activity. Certain peoples, such as the Ibo (Nigeria), Ewe (Ghana) and the Luo (Uganda), have been notable for their energy in establishing associations wherever they migrate.

The life cycle of individuals and associations is also important. Young people are most interested in recreational associations. Participation is low for both men and women in the early years of marriage, when the new family claims their attention. As the length of residence in town and commitment to stay increase, people tend to become more active in associations. Men tend to turn to primary or religious associations while women tend to favour religious groups, or savings societies if they are employed. Migrants thinking of returning home often become active in hometown associations to renew ties and improve their status in the home community.

Associations also have cycles. The presence of a good leader can lead to a surge of activity, followed by a period of dormancy when he or she goes on to other interests. External factors may also be important. A period of competitive politics may give rise to many associations (Wallerstein, 1964; Skinner, 1974) which cease to exist when the military or a government based on a one-party system is in control.

If primary associations were the main avenues for migrants' socialisation into urban life, this appears to be no longer the case. These days kinsmen and friends who precede the migrants also assist in the socialisation process. The next section gives an account of the political environment from which African immigrants and refugees have come to Australia.
4.2.4 The Political Situation

In Africa, as elsewhere in the developing countries, the historical evolution and stages of political development are crucial to an understanding of migration in general, the distinction and linkages between internal and international migration, their causes and policy issues. Of particular relevance in the African context are the effects of the demarcation of national boundaries and the emergence, since the late 1950’s and early 1960’s of independent nation-states.

Pre-colonial Africa was politically diverse and complex, ranging from monarchies to stateless societies. All these were to change with the partitioning of the continent in 1884-1885. Though foreign powers, mainly European, started to influence the continent through various means of contact, it was only after the partitioning of the continent in 1884-85 that direct and systematic colonial administration with all that it implies began to exert lasting changes on African societies.

The contemporary political history of Africa can be graphically illustrated by the two maps - colonial and post-colonial Africa. Colonial Africa (Figure 4.1) is a represented by a continent fragmented into a series of nation-states. Almost all these nation-states were under the domination and control of an European power such as Germany, Portugal, Britain, France, Belgium, Spain and Italy.
Fig. 4.1 Map of colonial Africa

* Border Demarcation: After 1884-85 Berlin Conference

Source: Batrouney, 1991
Fig. 4.2  Map of post-colonial Africa

Note: Namibia achieved independence in 1990.

Source: Batrouney. 1991
The second map (Fig. 4.2) shows post-colonial Africa as in 1991. This map is the result of widespread independence movements which swept across the continent in the late 1950s and early 1960s. This map is characterised by numerous changes in the names of states, usually from European imposed names to indigenous African names. These changes were designed to serve as a symbolic break with the colonial past and as a reassertion of control over their own territories by the indigenous peoples of Africa. The post-colonial era also witnessed the creation of some new states out of large colonial units. Examples of these are French Equatorial Africa and French West Africa. The establishment of independent African states was also accompanied by a small number of boundary changes, some of which have left a legacy of contention and conflict between the states concerned.

An important feature of the contemporary African political situation is the adoption of imported political ideologies and systems from Europe and from those developed nations which have provided them with aid (de Barrin 1990; Khasiani, 1990).

This has contributed to the destabilisation of the continent. However, a typical feature of African politics is the institutionalisation of the one-Party systems or military regimes. This single factor which has dominated the post-colonial African political scene has brought about a great deal of human suffering to Africa. Deprived of legitimate political expression by the imposition of one party rule, political revolutionary groups are forced to resort to a variety of clandestine means invariably culminating in armed struggle to achieve their goals.

This struggle has led to severe curtailment of human rights by these one-party and military regimes in Africa. Some African governments have chosen to create an order of priority for “rights” and in doing so, basic political and civil rights have not been favoured. They have argued that human rights in the West “grew” alongside economic development and so the Western notion of human rights would be inappropriate for still-developing countries to adopt (Butty, 1991). The human rights issue is therefore presented as a barrier to development. And in the short term, the proposition appeared to have been vindicated as military and one-party regimes, unfettered by any bodies to which they are accountable.
In the past, some Africans have argued that the restrictions of political rights and its corollary, the one-party state, is appropriate to Africa as a safety measure against ethnic tension and internal friction. It was further claimed that one-party rule would provide stability through centralised control during the process of nation-building. In effect, multi-party democracy was seen as an instant recipe for national disaster, on account of the centrifugal forces that were so pervasive in the early stages of nationhood. This view became even more entrenched as the multi-party experiments in the immediate post-colonial era were marred by confusion and bloody inter-ethnic rivalry and violence. But one-party rule has led to economic failures and political disasters in Africa. Thus Africa today is plagued with wars, most of which are intra-national, as opposing groups contend for political power.

However, some struggles are primarily for secession or independence from an existing government and derive directly from the arbitrary way the African continent was carved up by the colonial powers. Demands for the adjustment of boundaries arbitrarily drawn by colonial administrators and which cut across economically and ethnically homogeneous groups, ‘to accommodate the socio-cultural realities of the countries concerned and to regroup the population of ethnic groups arbitrarily assigned to different countries’, have led to war (Adepoju, 1982; 1990). However, a major factor for armed conflict is to oppose repression and gain political freedom either from a one-party civilian government or from a self-imposed military regime.

The Superpowers and some European nations have constantly been involved in the domestic affairs of African states. This interference fuelled internal conflicts. In search of strategic positions, military advantage and political and economic gains, these external powers allied themselves with governments or rebel groups, providing them with arms and logistical support. Superpower rivalry in the Horn of Africa prior to the demise of the Soviet empire contributed to the tension there. Ironically, conflicts that were suppressed by the Cold War have appeared in these areas. Of 35 internal wars raging in the world, where battle-related deaths exceed 1,000 a year, 16 are in Africa (Davies, 1994).
These situations have contributed to the creation of African refugees and asylum seekers all over the world. There are more than 17.4 million displaced people (including refugees) in Africa. This huge number puts undue pressure on receiving countries inside the continent (World Refugee Survey, 1993).

The demand for greater freedom and transparency in Africa's political system, though not new, was given a new impetus by the dramatic release of Mr Nelson Mandela and the lifting of bans on political parties in apartheid South Africa in February 1990. Developments in Eastern Europe have also not been lost on the people of Africa. Despite heavy censorship of news in some areas, Africans are aware of what has happened and parallels are being drawn. As a consequence, long oppressed opposition groups are enjoying a new impetus and pro-democracy demonstrations are becoming more widespread. This is leading to the introduction of multi-party political systems in many parts of black Africa. In 1993, twenty-two African countries had established multi-party democracies and many more were in the process of change from a one-party system to multi-party governments (Rake, 1993).

Although the introduction of multi-party political systems will not be a panacea for the political problems of Africa, it may institutionalise and, to some extent, legitimate differing political views and help to order the accession of political parties and individuals to power. This leads us to the next section which describes the demographic and economic situation in the region.

4.2.5 The Demographic and Economic Situation

The population of Africa, estimated at 486 million in 1981, increased to 516 by 1993 and is expected to reach 813 by the end of the century (ECA 1993). Africa has a young population. In 1993 more than 45 per cent of the population was under the age of 18 while only 6 per cent was aged 65 years or over (ECA 1993). Population growth in Africa, which stands at 3 per cent is the highest in the developing world. Adepoju summarises Africa's demographic situation and its attendant problems thus:

The sum total of the demographic scene - high fertility, high infant and maternal mortality, a youthful population, rapid growth of towns, unfettered migration to the
cities, badly distributed population - have posed tremendous challenges to African governments merely to meet basic needs of their rapidly growing population: food, education, shelter and jobs. (Adepoju 1990, p.2)

This grim demographic picture is directly linked with Africa’s economic problems.

Africa not only has the lowest average per capita income, but the proportion of poor people continues to escalate. A weak economic base characterises most African countries. As already noted, this situation has been mostly caused by the nature of colonial administration. Countries like Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi and Swaziland, among others, are peripheral states, intricately linked to the economy of South Africa. For others, especially the French-speaking West African countries of Ivory Coast, Togo, Benin, Guinea, Mali, Burkina Faso and Senegal, the strategy and philosophy of development pursued is little changed from the situation which prevailed during the colonial period.

Agriculture remains the mainstay of the African economy. The majority of the population (over 80 per cent) depends directly or indirectly on agriculture which provides the bulk of employment, income and food for the population and raw materials for agri-based industries.

As suppliers of primary products, African countries have been hit by the fall in primary commodity prices while, at the same time, the cost of imports has risen dramatically. These economic conditions have been exacerbated by the recent oil crisis. The jump in oil prices in 1990 resulted in an increase in the cost of imports of petroleum products in those countries where oil is not produced (and there are very few countries in the region which produce oil).

Post-colonial political administration has also contributed to the economic crisis in sub-Saharan Africa. Internationally, it has finally become accepted that military governments cost more than civilian ones and that this has adverse economic effects. UN agencies have identified arms spending in the Third World as one of the key factors restraining economic growth. (Jawara, 1991).

In all countries unemployment, underemployment, inequality and poverty, which have not been significantly reduced over the decades, now constitute a major bottleneck to the
attainment of egalitarian societies. Apart from the oil-induced growth of a few African countries, the majority of the others face balance-of-payment deficits, stagnating per capita incomes and high rates of inflation. Most of the loans being repaid were made to "unaccountable governments for unaccountable projects". (Rake, 1994). This grim economic situation has forced African governments to borrow excessively from international money markets. The strings attached to these borrowings have forced many African countries to implement structural adjustments to their economies, compromising spending on education, health and other services. The continuing nature of national debts is in part caused by the needs to retain and provide services and investments in infrastructure development, and a reduction in export output. Meanwhile, subsistence agriculture has been undermined if not destroyed, as either an export earning or as a basis for domestic economies. Various intersecting factors have brought about these downward trends, beginning with colonialism in the last century, as mentioned. At the moment, the single biggest obstacle to development is not population (though it is a major factor); it is the huge debts hanging like millstones around the necks of African countries. As a result, unemployment has grown in all African countries faster than the absorptive capacities of their economies. For example, Ghana’s unemployment rate in 1993 was as high as 26 per cent, spread across all occupational groups including graduates (ibid.). The situation is worse in war-torn Somalia where ‘it is estimated that the output of graduates is more than five times the demand’ (Adepoju 1990, p.5)

The sum impact of these problems is that very few African countries are able to meet the basic needs of their populations. There is a need for 'modern' economic systems, generating employment and activity at the household level. However, the hopes and expectations of the people may never be met. Adepoju’s (1990) remark in this regard is quite pertinent:

It is now over twenty years since the majority of African countries gained political independence, sometimes in very challenging situations. Regrettably, the hopes and aspirations of the African people for improved living conditions remain unfulfilled; in fact, such hopes have in some cases been shattered. Very few countries have ever attained the level of socio-economic well-being initially anticipated, and promised, for their people owing to a complex of internal and external factors. . . (Adepoju 1990 in International Migration Today, p.22).
The deteriorating economic situation of Africa has led directly to the emigration of men and women, skilled and unskilled, to the developed countries of Europe and the U.S.A. as well as to the closer countries of the Arabian Gulf region. These population movements are the subject of the next section.

4.2.6 Migration and Population Movements

There is a general consensus that the poorest people in the most isolated communities in sub-Saharan Africa are not the ones migrating; beyond that, scholars agree that no single factor, but rather a combination of factors related to social and economic development and political change, explains emigration from Africa (Kritz, 1991).

It has already been pointed out that the migration phenomenon in Africa can best be understood within the context of political and historical evolution of African societies. The effects of colonisation and decolonisation on the economy and indirectly on migration are most visible when examined in the context of the pre-colonial, the colonial and post-colonial eras. In the pre-colonial period, population movements in Africa were associated largely with the prevailing socio-political and ecological conditions, especially intercine warfare, natural disasters and the search for farmland.

The colonial era saw the introduction of various coercive measures and incentives which were largely designed to secure labour to meet the growing demands of the mines and plantations. In West Africa, the French colonial administration resorted to various forms of labour conscription in, for instance, Upper Volta (now Burkina Faso) and Mali. In eastern and southern Africa, migrants were not directly coerced; rather a series of strong economic policies were used to induce labour of the required quality and quantity to work in the mines and plantations.

Labour-related movements in Africa did not end after colonial rule. Most post independence movements followed the pattern of the colonial era. People still move to areas where they can find jobs. For example, in the Ivory Coast some 1.4 million, or over 20 per cent of the population, counted in the 1975 census were foreign nationals (Adepoju, 1990). In West
Africa the southern countries of Ghana, the Ivory Coast, Nigeria, etc.; act as destinations for labour migration from the drier northern countries of Chad, Mali and Burkina Faso. In southern Africa there have been massive flows of labour migrants to the centres of mining and manufacturing of white South Africa on a temporary basis (Swindell 1979). National disasters, tribal and civil wars have also forced people to move.

4.2.6.1 **International Migration**

The inter-play of historical, socio-economic and political factors has led to large-scale population movements in and from Africa.

Generally speaking African emigration to other continents is a recent phenomenon which became significant after the 1960’s. However, between the 17th and early 19th centuries many Africans were shipped to the Americas as slaves. Between 1700 and 1860 it is estimated that about 9.5 million Africans were transported to the Americas (Klein 1978, p.xiii). Even before then, some Africans had been taken as slaves to Portugal and Spain between 1400 and 1500 and later to the Mediterranean and Middle Eastern countries.

The slave trade, especially in what was then Equatorial Africa, involving able-bodied people, was by far the most devastating mass population movement out of Africa during this period. By depopulating Africa of males and females at the prime of their production and reproduction, the slave trade initiated long-term repercussions which are still felt. By sparing only the aged from forced migration the slave trade also seriously disorganised the social life of the people (Duffy 1962).

After the abolition of the slave trade there was little (if any) African immigration because of the restrictive immigration procedures of receiving countries which effectively excluded non-European immigration. Hubson (1970) identified five groups of emigrants from Africa during the late 1950’s and early 1960’s. These were mainly: (1) Europeans who held senior administrative and technical positions in pre-independent and early post-independent African countries; (2) European settlers many of whom were owners and managers of large farms or estates; (3) non-citizen Asians in Eastern Africa who were under pressure to migrate through
deliberate discriminatory policies, (4) a small-scale movement of Africans to international organisations - especially the United Nations or its specialised agencies UNESCO, ILO, FAO and WHO in particular and (5) a movement involving the “rented” immigrants or expatriates hired on term contracts. There were very few black Africans who were emigrating to developed countries at that time.

Holmes (1970) has suggested reasons for this. Firstly, there were very few educated Africans and as a result only a few could emigrate. Secondly, the few educated Africans who were found at that time had ample chances to advance in their occupations in their own home countries to the extent of even replacing expatriates. Thirdly, because of the newly-achieved independence most of the educated Africans were patriotic enough to assist in nation building. Fourthly, some of them had heard of or witnessed (during their student days overseas) racial discrimination abroad and feared to find themselves under such circumstances. Lastly, some of them had not gone abroad for training so that there was little or no lure for them to migrate. The situation has changed since the late 1960’s, when Africans began to participate in the massive international movement. This movement has been characterised by two main categories of movers - voluntary (immigrant) and involuntary (refugee) movers.

**Immigrants**

Africans travel and live abroad for all kinds of reasons. Many African countries have experienced severe socio-economic crises over the past two decades during which living conditions have deteriorated dramatically. This has provided the impetus for Africans, both skilled and unskilled, to migrate to developed countries in the West in search of greater opportunities for employment, education and more comfortable living environments. This situation fits Ravenstein’s (1885, 1889) push-pull theory of migration (see Chapter Two).

There are mainly three directions of African intercontinental migration. These are Europe, North America and Australia. The attractions of hard currency and a presumed good existence have lured away many well-trained Africans whose services are sorely needed back home. Many, if not most, of these professionals have been trained at tax payers' expense, either at home or abroad. Many argue that conditions at home do not favour their return.
Some, such as doctors trained in high tech hospitals abroad, claim that they have been over-trained for African countries. Further, it is true that in some African countries an American or a European with no knowledge of local customs and problems is still given greater preference than a well trained African. Under these circumstances the African professional has no other alternative but to move to a 'greener pasture'.

Although precise figures are not available, the dimensions of the loss of a skilled African labour force are suggested in the following:

The Economic Commission for Africa (1988) estimates that between 1960 and 1975, about 27,000 high level Africans left the continent for the developed western countries. This number increased to 40,000 between 1975 and 1984. By 1987, nearly 70,000 such persons or 30 per cent of the highly skilled manpower stock had left sub-Saharan Africa mainly to the countries of the European Economic Community (EEC), (Adepoju 1990, p.6)

This brain drain problem has been compounded by the acute refugee situation in many parts of Africa.

**Refugees**

Generally, the term "refugee" is used broadly, and depending upon different interpretations, may be said to include displaced persons and asylum seekers. The term "displaced persons" refers to those who have left their home regions due to natural or man-made disasters, such as civil strife or environmental degradation. (DIEA Fact Sheet No. 32, March 1995)

Refugees defined in the classical sense include only those people who are subjected to personal persecution and who are therefore forced to leave their country. They come under the protection of the UN system and the international community and under the protection of countries which have acceded to the 1951 Geneva Convention and/or the 1967 Protocol.

Those people who leave their country and cross a national boundary because of poverty and the lack of prospects are not technically refugees under the existing conventions. In UNHCR terminology, they are not within the mandate of the UNHCR but are “of their concern”.

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Although there are many definitions and usages of the term 'refugee', it is appropriate to commence with the definition agreed to by the United Nations in Article 1 (a) of the 1951 Convention relating to the Status of Refugees:

A refugee is any person who owing to well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country; or who, not having nationality and being outside the country of his former habitual residence as a result of such events, is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to return to it.

The United Nations' Refugee Convention 1951 revolves around the relatively undefined concept of a "well-founded fear of persecution", although it is stated that persecution must be for one of the following five reasons: race, religion, nationality, membership in a particular social group, or political opinion. As pointed out by Grahl-Madsen (1990:4), this instrument does "not provide relief for those persons whose fear is of wanton killing or indiscriminate terror".

Recognising that the United Nations' definition did not cover all situations causing refugee problems in Africa, the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) Convention of 1969, Article 1, added that the term 'refugee' applies to any person who:

owing to external aggression, occupation, foreign domination or events disturbing public order in either part or whole of his/her country of origin or nationality, is compelled to leave his/her place of habitual residence to seek refuge in another place outside of his/her country of origin or nationality. (Khasiani 1990, p.370)

The OAU Convention of 1969

applies also ... to situation where forcible return would expose displaced persons to warfare, civil disturbances or other conditions of disrupted social work ... (ibid, p.8).

The OAU Convention articles are an expansion of the United Nations Article 1 (a) of the 1951 Convention. The OAU Convention articles strengthened the position of an individual seeking asylum by incorporating a provision in which signatories undertake to use their best endeavours, consistent with their respective legislation, to receive refugees and secure their settlement ...' (Article II, para 1 in Noel 1989, p.20). They also give birth to such concepts as 'rehabilitation of returnees' and 'refugee aid and development'.
In line with the OAU definition of a refugee, the Latin American Group in 1984, adopted the "Cartagena Declaration" in which

the definition of the concept of refugees . . . considers to be refugees persons who have fled their country because their lives, security or liberty have been threatened by generalised violence, foreign aggression, internal conflicts, massive violations of human rights and other circumstances which have seriously disturbed public order (NPC, 1991:159).

Refugees, as defined above, have increased steadily throughout the last decade in most parts of Africa. Most African refugees make the dramatic decision to leave their own countries reluctantly. They do so for a somewhat uncertain future in a range of neighbouring countries, countries of first asylum and resettlement countries like Australia. They are impelled by the fear that if they stay where they are, they will not survive and will continue to lack basic human rights, live under dictatorial regimes, have totally inadequate housing or remain hungry.

Africa has more than its fair share of the world’s refugees and internally displaced persons. The number of displaced persons in Africa is over 17 million. The refugee population is over 5.6 million (World Refugee Survey 1993) (See Tables 4.1 and 4.2).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AREA OF WORLD</th>
<th>DISPLACED PERSONS</th>
<th>PERCENTAGE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AFRICA</td>
<td>17,395,000</td>
<td>72.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>THE AMERICAS</td>
<td>1,104,000</td>
<td>4.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ASIA</td>
<td>3,725,000</td>
<td>15.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MIDDLE EAST</td>
<td>845,000</td>
<td>3.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EUROPE</td>
<td>1,080,000</td>
<td>4.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>24,149,000</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Table 4.2 Refugees by Region of the World

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AREA OF WORLD</th>
<th>NO. OF REFUGEES</th>
<th>PERCENTAGE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AFRICA</td>
<td>5,698,450</td>
<td>32.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EUROPE</td>
<td>3,282,200</td>
<td>18.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NORTH AMERICA</td>
<td>141,400</td>
<td>0.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ASIA</td>
<td>2,740,300</td>
<td>31.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SOUTH AMERICA</td>
<td>107,700</td>
<td>0.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MIDDLE EAST</td>
<td>5,586,850</td>
<td>31.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>17,556,900</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


With a total refugee population of some 6 million, African countries face serious socio-economic and environmental problems. The following depicts the major features of African refugees:

About two-thirds of all refugees in Africa have in fact been displaced by natural disaster, drought, ecological problems, internal conflict, or wars of liberation. Hence, these refugees are poor or have been rendered so - in the process of flight. Refugees in Africa normally hope to return home when conditions permit. (Adepoju 1990, p.7)

In 1960s and 1970 most African refugee movements were caused by the struggle against colonialism, by attempts to gain independence but most current African refugees come from independent states. The independence struggles and the attainment of independence unleashed political forces that had been suppressed or dormant during the colonial period.
All African states now are independent. Nonetheless, with regard to the refugee situation, the free African states continue to be disturbed by their colonial legacy. At stated earlier, the creation of states and boundaries that suited foreign rather than local needs; the lack of preparation for independence; the injuries done to traditional ways and institutions; the exploitation of physical and human resources; the continuing impact of neo-colonialism; the exclusion of natives from political and economic life; and many other insults, humiliations, abuse and wounds comprise the colonial legacy (Cheru, 1989; Fieldhouse, 1986). The legacy is far from the sole cause of African refugee movements but it is a significant factor. The colonial legacy placed most African states in an extremely bad starting position regarding the beginning of the nation-building process (Cheru, 1989).

Within Africa in recent times, the countries of the Horn (Ethiopia, Eritrea, Somalia and Sudan) have suffered the most devastating natural disasters and endemic political instability. As a result, these countries have experienced major two-way flows as they generate refugees and, at the same time, provide sanctuary to hundreds of thousands of refugees. The latest tribal conflicts in Rwanda and Burundi and the civil wars in Liberia and Sierra Leone, are not helping the refugee problem in Africa. In 1994 the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees reported that its response capacity to deal with the Rwandan crisis was stretched to the maximum by the events and that caseload in this region had grown to over 3.5 million refugees (Austcare News, August 1994). Since mid-January 1995 more than 30,000 refugees from north-east Sierra Leone have crossed the border into neighbouring countries (Record, March 11, 1995, p.5).

A high percentage (about 90%) of Africa's refugees is from rural areas. Only 10% or so are of urban origin. However, this number tends to be several hundred thousand. Some host African countries have tens of thousands in their major cities. These refugees flee individually or in small groups from independence struggles or from political conflict in one-party, military or dictatorial states. They tend to be young, politically active with strong political views, male, students or professionals, educated and with middle-class aspirations.
Some have held high government or other prestigious positions such as ministers, military officers, teachers, party officials and labour unionists.

Whilst African countries are among the most hospitable in granting asylum to refugees, few of them are able to respond adequately to resettlement needs. They do not have the resources or the ability to provide adequate protection to those refugees in need of third country resettlement. Existing government services and infrastructures are minimal and overburdened in normal times. Developing African countries' national resources are inadequate to deal with large scale refugee movements. In addition, few western countries have provided the resources required to enable African countries to undertake effective resettlement programs and as a result of the Organisation of African Unity's policy of encouraging resettlement within the African continent, few western countries feel compelled to do so.

While small number of African refugees have been given asylum in some European countries, the U.S.A., Canada and Australia, entry has been highly restrictive with preference given to refugees with professional qualifications and those who meet restrictive entry criteria imposed by the asylum countries. This approach, which has also been adopted by Australia, was strongly criticised at a recent seminar on Refugee Policy in a Unifying Europe:

Since resettlement is conceptualised here as a tool to help countries of first asylum, the application of immigration criteria to select refugees for resettlement is not appropriate. Immigration criteria should be used for immigration schemes. Ability to integrate and links with the potential country of resettlement should not be used in determining whether or not an individual should be accepted for resettlement. However . . . such criteria may be used in determining to which country the refugee should be resettled. (Report of European and International Refugee Meetings, September-October 1989, Item No. 6)

The total needs for all African refugee resettlement worldwide are enormous. In 1989 for example, African refugees and asylum seekers in need of protection and/or assistance were in excess of 4,500,000 (World Refugee Survey in USCR 1990). Australia, until 1992/1993 had established a quota of 200 refugees per annum from Africa (DILGEA 1992). Not only was the quota of 200 totally insignificant given the needs, "but the actual intake of only 99 refugees in 1988-89 and 143 in 1989-90 appear inexplicably low" (Batrouney, 1991, p.17).
It was mainly under such circumstances that black Africans have been allowed to enter and settle in Australia.

**SECTION THREE: AFRICANS IN AUSTRALIA**

4.3非洲人迁移和定居在澳大利亚

澳大利亚有历史、政治、外交和商业等方面与非洲的多样性联系，从英荷战争时期到支持津巴布韦和南非共和国独立的重要作用。1972年至1985年间，澳大利亚在非洲有23个代表处。目前，澳大利亚在埃及、肯尼亚、南非共和国、尼日利亚和赞比亚建立了大使馆和高级专员公署，以及在开罗、约翰内斯堡和内罗毕设立了贸易委员会。澳大利亚是联合国纳米比亚事务委员会的成员国，积极参与支持南方非洲发展合作会议（SADCC）。最近，澳大利亚派遣部队前往卢旺达协助该国恢复和平（《澳大利亚人报》，1994年7月25日，第8版）。

在技术方面，澳大利亚在所有OECD国家中是独一无二的，它具有亲身体验解决非洲共同问题的第一手经验，如与干旱热带农业有关的问题。由海伦·牛顿-特纳教授所做的调查，有助于识别在农业领域内与非洲相关的令人印象深刻的澳大利亚专长（牛顿-特纳，1985）。通过其国际培训研究所（ITI），澳大利亚国际发展援助局（AIDAB）组织了一个为七个中非和东非国家的教育和培训项目，该项目以澳大利亚的“偏远地区”远程教育经验为基础（ITI，AIDAB，1985年4月）。澳大利亚国际农业研究中心（ACIAR），负责“……提供其经验并建立与发展中国家研究组织的协作协议”，于20世纪80年代初参与了肯尼亚和尼日利亚的项目（克劳福德，1983年）。
Australian trade with Africa has been on a more modest scale. However, its trade with the Republic of South Africa (R.S.A.) has been on the increase. In 1983/84 Australian-South African trade totalled $414 million, an increase over previous 1980s levels of approximately $230 million annually (Dawkins, 1985).

The history of black African migration to and settlement in Australia, is yet to be documented. The first significant black African immigration to Australia did not occur until well into the mid 1980s (Frendo, 1988). This was when relatively large numbers of refugees from Ethiopia were admitted. Prior to that a considerable number of selected Ugandan refugees fleeing Idi Amin’s tyrannical rule were admitted in the late 1970s (Department of Immigration, Canberra, 1979). The third most numerous category of black African immigrants has been those who entered as students and later acquired the right to stay. This was the trend among African students from such countries as Ghana and Nigeria in the late 1960s, when military coups d'état occurred in these two countries. It is estimated that in 1967 alone over 50 West African students did not return home as a result of the political situation.

Over the years, an increasing number of African immigrants and refugees settled in Australia. African migration to Australia from 1982-83 to 1989-94 has been reasonably uniform both in numbers as a proportion of total migration to Australia. It reached a high of 6.8 per cent in 1986-87 but declined to less than 4 per cent in 1993/94 (B.I.M.P.R. 1994).

The preponderance of African immigrants from former British colonies may be accounted for by such factors as common English language, the affinities and links that exist among former British colonies; and access to Australian diplomatic missions and migration officials. These factors, together with the migration controls instituted by Australian governments, ensured that the immigrant intake from these countries overwhelmingly favoured white immigration.

The four major source nations of African migration to Australia have remained unchanged from 1982-83 to 1989-90: South Africa, Zimbabwe, Mauritius and Kenya. Of these, South Africa consistently provided the largest intake which ranged from 50 to 60 per cent of the total migration from Africa over the period. A further pattern to emerge was the appearance of
three Horn of Africa countries in settler arrival statistics during this period: Ethiopia, Somalia and Sudan.

The 1991 Census of Population and Housing figures provided by the Bureau of Immigration and Population Research (March Quarter 1993) list a total of 9,181 setters from Sub Saharan Africa.

4.3. Attitudes to Africans, Afro-Americans and West Indians

On a table (see below) showing Australian attitudes to the various groups from which migrants might be drawn, Afro-Americans rank the lowest. In the three surveys conducted in 1948, 1964 and 1971, in which Australians were asked to adopt one of four attitudes towards the immigration of various ethnic groups, the findings for "negroes" were as shown in Table 4.3

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Attitude</th>
<th>1948 Melbourne Sample</th>
<th>1964 Australian Sample</th>
<th>1971 Melbourne-Sydney Sample</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Keep them out</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Let only a few in</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allow them to come in</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Try to get them to come</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Sydney Morning Herald, 19 July 1971 and Rivett (1975)

It is significant that this negative attitude towards the "Negroes" changed with time. The fall in the 'keep out' proportion from 77 per cent to 34 per cent during twenty-three years is
striking evidence that opinion changed over the years (Sydney Morning Herald, 19 July 1971).

As late as 1974 there has been so little discussion of the immigration of indigenous Africans that one could only speculate as to whether it was viewed with as much suspicion as the immigration of American blacks. Mention of Africans coming to Australia, as well as Asians, seemed to have been part of the reason why the Gallup Poll of June 1961 showed a less favourable attitude to non-white immigration (51 per cent), than those of August 1960 (59 per cent) or September 1961 (57 per cent), when only Asians were mentioned (Sydney Morning Herald, 19 July 1971).

There was evidence that in 1970 Africans or Asians, taken for Aborigines, met with acts of rudeness and discrimination in some employment contexts or when trying to rent accommodation. Hexal Holland, a politically active African from Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe) who had married an Australian, told a meeting that

she had been unable to get employment even as a waitress in Australia for many months. Employers had turned her down because they said customers would think she was dirty. . . . We found it very hard to get accommodation, people shouted and screamed at us and they practised racial discrimination very strong.” (Australian, 13 August 1970)

A senior senator is on record as saying: “a system of administrative entry of all nationalities, excluding Africans, based on racial absorption is not only desirable but inevitable”. (Hansard, 1970 Vol. 69; Whitington, 1967 and the Australian, 20 May 1971). As a result of these negative attitudes, Africans, especially black Africans, have never featured well in any of the Australian government immigration policies. Current Australian government statistics show black African countries as “Other Africa”.

Australian immigration policy, as already noted in the previous section, moved into its current phase with changes made by the Whitlam Labor Government of 1972-75. That government finally put an end to discrimination in immigration policy based on race and colour of skin (Price, 1975, pp A1-14 and Shergold, 1984). This move did not, however, lead to any dramatic and significant increase in African migration to Australia. In fact, over the period
1945-1995 no black African country, or not even all black African countries put together, appeared in the top ten source countries of the immigration list (see Table 3.1).

Even a cursory look at the figures will readily show that Africa has little place in Australia's immigration policies. Of the 4 million immigrants who have arrived in Australia since 1947, 12 per cent come from Asia and only 4.2 per cent come from Africa (including white South Africa) (Bureau of Immigration and Population Research, 1994). Thus while the changes to Australia's immigration policy have allowed Africans to enter and settle in Australia, the actual numbers of African immigrants in Australia remain insignificant to create any significant impact on the decision making process.

In recent times there has not been any public debate on African immigration to Australia, apart from the Victorian RSL president's remarks that black Africans should not be allowed to enter Australia (Frendo, 1987). The prevailing Australian image of Africans appears to be strongly coloured by media presentations of the drought and war stricken Ethiopia, Somalia, Sudan and Rwanda. Those presentations are frequently not typical of Ethiopians, nor is Ethiopian migration typical of African migration to Australia generally. Because of this prevailing image, however, Australian attitudes to Africans are frequently poorly based. These negative attitudes have not helped the entry of African refugees into Australia.

4.3.2 AVENUES BY WHICH REFUGEES CAN ENTER AUSTRALIA

African refugee entry into Australia, as I have already discussed, has been highly restrictive as compared to refugees from other countries. The current low figure for refugee and Special Humanitarian Program intake from Africa is reflected by a similar low figure for family migration from Africa. Australia provides permanent asylum for a designated number of refugees per annum - in the case of the African continent - up to 200 until 1992-93 when it was increased to 900-1000 (as has already been pointed out in earlier sections). There is some recognition by immigration policy of the value of family reunion in the resettlement process, however, the gap between theory and practice is great (see Table 4.4).
Table 4.4 - Third World Component of Major Family Reunion Categories: Visa's Issued 1983/84 and 1988/89

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Middle East</td>
<td>1101</td>
<td>2521</td>
<td>358</td>
<td>638</td>
<td>1013</td>
<td>1968</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South and East Asia</td>
<td>4141</td>
<td>7567</td>
<td>2888</td>
<td>5537</td>
<td>4257</td>
<td>10093</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South America</td>
<td>162</td>
<td>359</td>
<td>174</td>
<td>269</td>
<td>459</td>
<td>717</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Africa¹</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>134</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>420</td>
<td>275</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pacific²</td>
<td>475</td>
<td>1004</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>712</td>
<td>191</td>
<td>871</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Third World Total</td>
<td>5929</td>
<td>11583</td>
<td>3560</td>
<td>7223</td>
<td>6340</td>
<td>13924</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total All Visas</td>
<td>11737</td>
<td>18729</td>
<td>7474</td>
<td>11698</td>
<td>12014</td>
<td>21330</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Proportion Africa</td>
<td>0.43%</td>
<td>0.72%</td>
<td>0.84%</td>
<td>0.57%</td>
<td>3.50%</td>
<td>1.29%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: DILGEA

1. Africa excludes South Africa
2. Pacific excludes New Zealand

There are three avenues by which refugees can seek to bring family members to Australia, namely, the refugee nomination scheme; preferential family migration scheme and the Concessional family migration scheme (DIEA, Fact Sheet, 1994).

4.3.3 The Refugee Nomination Scheme

This is a scheme which allows Australian residents who have relatives in refugee camps overseas, to nominate them for resettlement in Australia. (The Government funds the travel and medical costs for the Refugee category). These Australian residents are normally ex-refugees themselves. There is a tension between the way the Refugee Nomination Scheme is
implemented by Australian Embassies in Africa, and the program's use by African refugees in Australia as a means of removing relatives from harsh conditions to safety in Australia. Refugees nominated by relatives in Australia, many of whom have been waiting in camps for a number of years and have experienced enormous trauma, are not necessarily given priority and remain languishing in appalling conditions while relatives in Australia anxiously worry about their welfare and send money overseas from their own minimal income (from author's own experience and the experience of friends).

An additional problem facing African refugees in camps who want to come to Australia is the limited number of Australian Embassies throughout the African continent and the low staffing levels. As a consequence, refugees in Sudan, Ethiopia, and Somalia are lucky to be visited every 6 months by Embassy staff from either Cairo or Nairobi.

4.3.4 Preferential Family Migration

This scheme is very limited in its focus, basically allowing only spouses/fiances, dependent children and parents who meet the balance of family test to be sponsored. This narrow immediate family focus is problematic for a number of reasons, including:

- most African refugees, would at an absolute minimum, regard sisters and brothers as immediate family;

- the majority of African refugees in Australia are young men, and whilst the preferential family reunion program allows them to sponsor fiancees (although this can and has caused enormous problems for women), many are unlikely to have dependent children. Coupled with the difficulty of sponsoring siblings, parents are also most unlikely to be accepted, because of the balance of family test and

- hence, Australia's refugee and family reunion programs as they relate to the Africans, are maintaining a truncated and excessively homogeneous community - narrow and confined in terms of age, gender and marital status. Such an incomplete community is unable to provide the range of traditional support necessary for the functioning of a community and for the resettlement process. It needs to be born in mind that other migrant communities in earlier migration history in Australia have been able to provide this support.
Table 4.4 shows that Australia accepted only 113 Africans under the Preferential Family Migration category in 1983/84 financial year. This number increased significantly to 201 in 1988. 1983/84 was the period when Australia began accepting Africans in 'substantial' numbers into the country. This is described as 'significant' because prior to the mid-1980s, African migration to Australia was virtually an unknown phenomenon (Frendo, 1988).

4.3.5 Concessional Family Migration

Immediate family members sponsored under the Concessional family migration program, such as siblings and parents who do not meet the balance of family test, must pass the points test. The points test disadvantages many refugees because of the emphasis on level of English, educational level and employment experience. Women are particularly disadvantaged, because the majority of the women from the Horn of Africa over 35 years of age have had little or no access to formal education.

As Table 4.4 shows, 420 extended family members (brothers and sisters) from Africa entered Australia under the Concessional Family Migration Scheme in 1983/84. It has already been pointed out that this was the period when Australia started admitting Africans in 'substantial' numbers into the country. In 1988/89, the number dropped from 420 to 275. The reason for this drop may be attributed to the fact that, unlike spouses and fiancés, brothers and sisters must pass the points test before being admitted into Australia. Many Africans are not able to pass the points test because of such factors as employment history and education (author's own experience).

4.3.6 Special Assistance Category (SAC)

This is for individuals or groups who are not necessarily victims of persecution or gross violation of human rights, but who are in vulnerable positions or suffering grave hardship either in or outside their country of normal residence and who have close links with Australia. Applicants are responsible for meeting their own travel and medical costs. Some few Africans have entered Australia through this category.
An examination of Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs (DIEA) statistics on settler arrivals from African countries revealed that very small number of African immigrants were admitted into Australia between 1990 and 1994. Unfortunately, there was no breakdown of African immigrants arriving under the various categories: Preferential Family Migration, Concessional Family Migration and Special Assistance Category for this period. All efforts by the author to obtain these figures from DIEA at the time of writing this dissertation proved futile.

Reasons for this low intake have already been stated in earlier sections of this thesis. However, it will not be inappropriate to recapitulate the salient ones here.

Access to Australian migration posts for Africans applying to migrate to Australia is a problem. The limitation of processing to Cairo, Nairobi and Pretoria means that many Africans outside Egypt, Kenya and South Africa have to travel enormous distances and cross many borders in order to seek advice about the program or to attend an interview (author's own experience as a Ghanaian).

Processing times at Australian posts in Africa have long been the cause of major concern. An average processing time of over two years for applicants in Africa does not assist the cause of these applicants (DIEA, 24, 1995).

Considering the situation of very low intake of refugees and immigrants into Australia, one is compelled to ask this question: To what extent is Australia interested in migrants from Africa? Can factors be identified which explain the small intake from black Africa in particular?

Answers to these questions may be related to factors such as distance, economics and politics. Superficially one may say that because Africa is far away from Australia, very little of what goes on there gets to Australia. However, in these days of global communication, this argument cannot be sustained. In recent times the Australian media have given graphic accounts of sufferings and hardships of African refugees in camps in Africa. The face of Africa that is most commonly seen in the Australian media is that of starving emaciated Africans, usually women and children, set in a desolate landscape waiting for food.
Economically, Africa is not by any means the centre stage of world economic power. It is not yet exercising enough political power to warrant sustained international attention; and within Australia there are not any viable and effective African organisations to address this issue. These might be reasons for this low intake of black Africans into Australia over the years. However, when one looks closely at the issue one is tempted to recall the theory of the inequality of Human Races as proposed by Gobineau (see chapter two of this dissertation) to assist in explaining this phenomenon. Past and current Australian immigration policies towards Africa reflect this stance.

4.4 SUMMARY

This chapter has discussed some of the factors which have contributed to Africa's underdevelopment. It described how Africa's contact with imperialism impoverished the continent. Some of the key features of traditional African societies and their impact on voluntary associations in the continent were described and discussed. It was pointed out that migration and population movements in Africa are the results of past and present political, demographic and economic factors. African migration and settlement in Australia was discussed. It was revealed that sub-Saharan Africa is the least favoured source of immigrants in Australia.

The first section showed how capitalism, through colonial penetration, led to the underdevelopment of Africa. It was revealed that a superimposed control over the socio-economic and political activities of the African people, through provision of the infrastructure necessary for the exploitation of natural resources, was the principal means for maintaining an interest in the under-development of African countries. Territories were demarcated for production of primary produce to feed metropolitan industries and Africa became a market for European finished products. Colonial policy was directed by self interests, and this relationship continued to hold profitability over time. Notions of social Darwinism were 'legitimated' by the Berlin Conference of 1884/5, and were utilised to reinforce dominant interests in agriculture, commerce, mining, banking and finance. This ensured that colonial development and metropolitan prosperity went hand in hand. Meanwhile, the living conditions of African
people were maintained at a subsistence level. Traditional cultural values and social structures were also eroded by imposed dependency on western values.

Section two of this Chapter began with an outline of the traditional African kinship system - a key to understanding traditional African societies, which offers the basis for the organisation of almost all spheres of social life. The distinction between clans and lineages was clearly described as these related to extended family. It was noted that associations, service clubs and voluntary organisations also fulfil a specific role in African life, and while participation may differ widely, they serve the purpose of affording some status and local power as well as benefiting the communities of which they are a part. The point was made that communal associations also serve to maintain subgroups, family solidarity and lineages, and provide support for migrants settling near their kinsmen for mutual aid.

Against this context, this section discussed the contemporary political situation of African countries. It was noted that adoption of imported political ideologies from Europe and aid nations contributed to the destabilisation of the continent. The link between human rights as 'a barrier to development' and the one-party system and military regimes was explained, along with the impetus for more multi-party democracies in recent years.

The migration phenomenon in Africa was discussed in this section. It was pointed out that the migration phenomenon in Africa is best understood within the context of the political and historical evolution of African societies. It emerged that the slave trade began the history of coerced population movements in what was a devastating disorganisation of the social life of generations of African people (Duffy, 1962). Labour-related movements in Africa were discussed. It was noted that these movements did not end after colonial rule and that most post-independence movements followed colonial patterns in the pursuit of jobs. Causes of internal and international migration in contemporary Africa were given. It was noted that natural disasters and endemic political instability had contributed to these movements.

The final section looked at African migration and settlement in Australia, political and social attitudes towards immigration and settlement of Africans and the entry criteria under which
Africans can come to Australia. This section began by tracing Australia's links with African countries. It then outlined the migration patterns of Africans to Australia. It was noted that although negative attitudes towards Africans in Australia have changed somewhat over the years some traces of these still remain, as evidenced by the continued insignificant numbers of Africans proportionate to total intake figures. This Chapter concluded with a brief appraisal of the main avenues through which Africans may apply for migration to Australia and showed how these programs might be either too narrow in focus, or unrealistically difficult for refugees applying.
CHAPTER 5

EPISTEMOLOGICAL/METHODOLOGICAL AND RESEARCH ISSUES

5.0 INTRODUCTION

This chapter discusses the epistemological and the methodological issues which underpin the study. It begins with a critique of 'scientific' research approaches adopted by some social science scholars. A detailed explication of the research techniques used in this research is presented in Section 5.4. This section describes how the research was designed and pursued. Specifically, the section describes sampling design and selection, a preliminary field inquiry phase, the interview guide and the questionnaire, interview procedures and other sources of data selection. A combination of research methods, including pilot study, questionnaire, interview, observation and content analysis of documents employed are discussed. Validity and reliability issues and limitations of the study design are discussed in the concluding sections of the chapter.

The questionnaire to members of various community organisations and interviewing decision-makers of the African community organisations, provided the most current and accurate answers on most of the research questions.

The research methods covered both quantitative and qualitative aspects of data gathering. A full description of the research method is given in sections 5.5ff.

5.1 'SCIENTIFIC' SOCIAL RESEARCH: A CRITICAL VIEW

The section critically examines 'scientific' social research. The inherent dangers in adopting a positivist stance are exposed and heuristics is identified as a more appropriate epistemological position and strategy.

A common assumption about social research was that, in order to be scientific, a researcher should strive to be neutral, not an advocate (Gibbs, 1983, Greenwood, 1955). This approach to research, which was derived from logical positivism between the two World Wars, maintained that to be scientifically meaningful, theoretical positions must be analytic and verifiable according to methodological guidelines. The main position was that hypothetico-deductive experimentation and observation are the sole sources of valid knowledge (Cook, 1985). In the hypothetico-deductive mode, the emphasis is on the test of prior theory (as opposed to generating theory from data): a priori theory is assumed to direct the processes of collection, analysis, and interpretation of data. In contrast to this, in the post-positivist paradigm, the emphasis is to move from data towards theory, that is, generating theory from data. Or at least to create a more dialectical, reciprocal relationship between the empirical and theoretical dimensions of research and knowledge development.

The positivist approach to research limits the ways of knowing that are considered valid when investigating subjects - fields such as philosophy, political theory, literary criticism and linguistics are therewith excluded from scientific endeavour. Although the meanings of the scientific paradigm have changed since Kuhn (1962) first formulated the concept and Kuhn’s use of the term has been criticised and refined (Gutting, 1980; Suppe, 1977), it is generally accepted that a scientific paradigm is a set of regulatory assumptions about what is real (ontology) and how to know that reality (epistemology). Logical positivists view the aim of science as the generation of assertions whose truth and validity can be guaranteed after rigorous empirical testing and replication (Hanfling, 1981; Hanson, 1958). They maintain that the definition of knowledge restricts scientific propositions to those that are “objective,” “verifiable,” or “confirmable” (Bartlett, 1970, cited in Compton and Galaway, 1984, p.35). In applying the verification principle to understanding another person’s subjectivity, the
positivist has to restrict researchable problems to those that can be studied, using strategies of measurement and quantification. Positivists maintain that quantification is crucial to the scientific method because it renders the concepts embedded in theoretical schemes or hypotheses observable, manipulable, and testable. It is also taken to be a necessary (if not always sufficient) condition for the findings of research to be replicable and generalisable, and for predictions upon the basis of observed regularities to be made. Quantification and measurement are therefore seen as the sine qua non of scientific method (Grinnel, 1988). The assumption is that observations can be theory free (Hudson, 1982b). Four features of positivism have been identified: phenomenalism, nominalism, denial of the possibility of knowledge of values, and commitment to the unity of scientific method (Mammersley, 1993). Positivist epistemology, however, has never been without its critics.

Mills (1959), for example, criticised two tendencies among sociologists in the United States; one, the Parsonian variant, he labelled 'Grand Theory' and the other 'Abstracted Empiricism'. Mills argued that 'Grand Theory never descends from higher generalities' to 'problems in their historical and structural contexts' (p.38) and that Grand Theorists fetishise concepts. One of the philosophical propositions of Grand Theory is that legitimate data are necessarily defined through theory (Feyerabend, 1975). Sociologists (eg. Rennie et al, 1988; Glasser and Strauss, 1976) opposing this trend, originally used the term 'grounded theory' to refer to theory that is generated in the course of the close inspection and analysis of qualitative data, an idea which is now a central tenet of naturalistic research. The term has, since, also become associated with the specific data analysis strategies formulated by Glasser and Strauss. (For a detailed account of the techniques of generating grounded theory see Turner, 1981; Martin and Turner, 1987; Rennie et al, 1988 and Strauss and Corbin, 1990). The second tendency, Abstracted Empiricism, has an overriding concern with method. Social theory, in this tendency, consists of concepts useful for analysing statistical findings. But methods and empirical data often become ends in themselves and the links between theory, method and data are often not made.
The positivist paradigm of social science research restricts the definition of truly "scientific" knowledge to such knowledge that has been tested by means of experimental design as it is assumed that experimental controls can reduce or eliminate bias. Therefore the knowledge generated by methods such as historical, ethnographic or qualitative single-case studies is commonly labelled "exploratory" or "soft" (Reid & Smith, 1989) and is depreciated as inferior to experimentally "tested" knowledge (Arkava & Lane, 1983; Grinnel, 1988; Heineman Pieper, 1985; Monette, Sullivan and DeJong, 1990).

The positivist paradigm has failed to engender research that most scholars - let alone practitioners - find useful. For example, naturalistic, contextual or interpretative critics have emphasised that a natural science method is not appropriate to the study of the social world because the phenomena react to stimuli. They maintain that people interpret their surroundings and act on the basis of those interpretations, exercising free will. This response from anti-positivists involves rejection both of the principle of the unity of scientific method and of phenomenalism which is the idea that we must claim no knowledge beyond the data provided by science. Positivist criteria for research require that practitioners conform to restrictive methodologies that are incompatible with other social work values.

5.2 THE POST-POSITIVIST STANCE

The positivist approach to research has been rejected by some scholars who rely on what has been called 'critical multiplism' or the use of multiple methods of inquiry and sources of information such as observation, self-report and worker report (Cook, 1985). Unlike positivists, post-positivist researchers are not concerned about an ultimate or fixed 'truth' but instead they welcome uncertainty, paradox, contradiction and ambiguity. What matters here is the understanding of the meaning of action and not the establishment of a hierarchy of causes. Epistemologically, post-positivism acknowledges that the world is imperfectly known and measurable, but it subscribes to an objective reality. From the perspective of "critical realism," reality is thought to be organised into understandable patterns, but post-positivism does not exclude the possibility that some patterns may be scarcely knowable with current methodologies (Phillips, 1990a; Zimmerman, 1989). Epistemologically, objectivity is
sought as a regulatory ideal (Phillips, 1990a); that is, although post-positivists admit that research objectivity may be elusive and that there is no single authoritative foundation on which to base scientific reasoning, objectivity remains a goal toward which many researchers strive (Brekke, 1986; Phillips, 1990b).

The positivist and the above-mentioned post-positivist perspectives have been criticised as typifying an academic way of knowing (Davis, 1985; Goldstein, 1990; Imre, 1984; Saleebey, 1989). Critics maintain that they are removed from and having little value for social work practitioners (Davis, 1985; Goldstein, 1990; Imre, 1984; Witkin, 1991) and it is alleged that few practitioners make use of the research literature (Hopps & Gambrill, 1988; Ivanoff, 1990; Kirk, 1990; Kirk, Osmalov, & Fischer, 1976; Kirk & Penka, 1989; O’Hare, 1991; Shilling, 1990, Shilling, Schinke & Gilchrist, 1985; Thyer, 1991).

5.3 THE HEURISTICS APPROACH

To rectify these inadequacies social workers, while maintaining the primary concern with human action, are increasingly turning to the ‘many ways of knowing’ approach, that in addition, endorses research as a tool of advocacy. This approach has been proposed by researchers such as Berlin, (1990); Davis, (1985); Gordon, (1983, 1984); Hartman, (1983, 1990); Ivanoff, Robinson, & Blythe, (1987); Peile, (1988); Proctor, (1990) and Wood, (1990). These "middle-ground" theorists advocate an inclusive position in various ways. They call for an acceptance of both the post-positivist and the constructivist paths (and all paths between) to develop an understanding of what is effective and useful in social work practice (eg. Berlin, 1990 and Witkin, 1991). Many social work researchers contend that the profession could benefit from greater methodological pluralism (Mullen, 1985; Witkin, 1989b). The middle-ground approach, commonly referred to as the heuristics paradigm has been introduced into social work research in response to the unwarranted restrictiveness or even the fallacy of the positivist paradigm (Haworth, 1984; Heineman Pieper, 1985, 1989; Witkin, 1989; Zimmerman, 1989). The heuristic paradigm is an up-to-date, scientific philosophy of research that draws from contemporary philosophy of science and cultural, cognitive and linguistics studies.
Rejecting the fallacies of the positivist paradigm and advancing the movement toward a new, inclusive approach to social work research, Hartman (1990) emphasised that there are currently “many ways of knowing” which social work practitioners can draw from in pursuing research that interests them.

Contrary to positivism, the heuristic paradigm suggests that every practitioner can be a scientific researcher. To Pieper (1989)

The heuristic paradigm makes research user-friendly ... each one of us, whether we specialise in administration, community organisation, treatment, or public policy, can and, hopefully, will have a simultaneous identity as a researcher, because each one of us is capable of exercising judgment and creativity in our area of interest so as to advance our knowledge about the important problems that we encounter daily (p.29).

From the viewpoint of heuristics, knowledge is therefore understood to be “the best understanding that we have been able to produce thus far, not a statement of what is ultimately real”. Problem definition entails ontological assumptions about what the “reality” to be studied is all about. Formulating the problem using multiple problem definitions may appear to compensate for biases. Whereas the positivist researcher seeks to generate nomothetic laws which apply across time, space and culture and thus appear as context-free “truths”, the heuristic paradigm is concerned with the interaction of the parts and the whole of the social milieu. The description put forward by Mishler (1979) on the impact of positivist definitions of scientific meaningfulness on the social sciences is pertinent:

Our ideal in theoretical work is the formulation of general laws, laws that we hope are universal. The essential feature of such laws is that they be context independent, free of the specific constraints of any particular context and therefore applicable ...... This experimental paradigm also serves as the ideal mode for various types of nonexperimental research, including sample surveys and field studies of such social organisations as schools. (p.2).

This positivist prescription that scientific explanation should approximate nomothetic or universal laws that hold across contexts is untenable (Salmon, 1989). Contemporary developments in epistemology suggest that such universally applicable laws cannot exist because all meaning, including scientific meaning, is contextual and because every system studied is contextual (Pieper, 1989; Levins & Lewontin, 1985; Mishler, 1979). For example, by adopting ecological, structural, holistic approaches that address clients in their diverse cultural contexts, social work theory, methodology and research are becoming less
reductionistic and more relevant for practitioners (Germain & Germain, 1980, Lum, 1986; Petr, 1988).

Feminist and minority research in the areas of social policy and other social work practice confirms that meaning is formed within historical and cultural contexts (Abramovitz, 1989; Cleery & Demone, 1988; Coudrogolou, 1984; Ell & Nishimoto, 1989; Gary, 1985; Gibson, 1986). It is important to recognise the fact that the meaning of any scientific concept is embedded in many assumptions that the researcher necessarily makes in the act of knowing, such as assumptions about the environment-system boundary and the cultural and historical context. Unlike the positivist approach to scientific meaning, the heuristic paradigm makes it possible for social work to uphold its cherished value of cultural pluralism that is, the affirmation of cultural diversity and the commitment to understand the foundations of one’s own culture and to be educated about other cultures (Carrizosa, 1991; Tshabalala, 1991).

Heuristic approaches to research are drawn from many sources, including hermeneutics (Gadamer, 1975, Sherman, 1987), social constructionism and deconstruction (Solomon, 1988).

Although positivist researchers have aimed for “objectivity” (Muller, 1985), which they have defined as an observing stance that is value free (Gibbs, 1983; Greenwood, 1955), heuristic theorists know that values inevitably inform or “colour” any scientific endeavour (Bixenstine, 1976; Witkin, 1989) and that “suggesting that the issue of value can be overcome through methodological refinement only makes the discovery of social relevant knowledge more difficult” (Murphy, 1988, p.207). The heuristic researcher recognises that it is impossible for science to be value-free. Humanistic values are part of social work and these values can be used to guide research and practice without having to renounce scientific aims (Goldstein, 1986, Heineman-Pieper, 1989; Witkin, 1989).

The need for a philosophy of social work research that endorses social work’s humanistic values has been recognised for some time (Goldstein, 1986; Vigilante, 1974). A heuristic-realist philosophy of research views research as, inevitably, not only “value-impregnated” but
also “value-impregnating” (Bhaskar, 1989, p.89) as it nurtures a response, of one form or another, to contemporary social problems. What is required is not the “positivist and instrumental goals of prediction and control but of the realist ones of depth explanation and human emancipation” (Bhaskar, 1989, p.167). In Bhaskar’s view, emancipation consists of transformation in social structures such that they are “needed, wanted and empowering” (p.187). Accordingly, research can be a form of social action that changes how we respond to oppressive social realities, such as through consciousness raising and giving voice to the needs of people who have been ignored or underrepresented (Bricker-Jenkins & Hooyman, 1986; Lather, 1986; Davidson, 1988; Freire, 1970).

As an epistemology, heuristics endorses all research methods (including quantitative and qualitative research methodologies) as useful to generate knowledge. In supporting heuristic paradigms of all shapes and sizes, Heineman-Pieper, (1990) advocates the use of “any problem-solving strategy that appears likely to lead to relevant, reliable, and useful information” (p.8). Significant considerations about epistemology include such questions as: What ways of understanding the ontology are suitable for the problem to be addressed? What kind of relationship does the researcher set up with the subject? How should the data be structured? Answers to these questions are the subject matter of the next section.

5.4 MY EPISTEMOLOGICAL AND METHODOLOGICAL STANCE

In this work I have adopted the heuristic paradigm as it enabled me to see my research as a contribution to advocating social justice. The value of this paradigm is its appropriateness for the practical and political dimension of social action and interaction. My philosophical stance for the study is that method should be related by the researcher to the realities of the various issues as they are perceived and the data that is available.

As an important aspect of this work is to explore different ways of understanding and formulating the problems perceived by this target population, the heuristic epistemology and methodology appear to be appropriate choices.
One clear danger of social research is that it often creates mythical "truths" about the phenomenon under study (Crossen, 1994). These truths are often transformed into facts and become a part of the conceptual universe of society. As such, they provide information for policies and guidance for programs whose goal is to solve important social problems. However, determining which research findings should be promoted as facts is a matter of choice which is influenced by values, ethics, and by who stands to lose or gain. Even the original questions to be researched are subject to choice and these choices are of particular concern when the research subjects are members of a disadvantaged group. The disadvantage stems from the historical fact that this group has not had an opportunity to select or even influence the research questions, methodologies, or interpretations of findings concerning their lives.

As noted earlier, in post-positivist research the investigator bias enters into the cognitive and interactional tasks. This was found to be the case because social research, however objective it may appear, is a process that cannot evade the influence of human values. The other problem which post-positivist research contends with is that the researcher is a product of a particular background and thus brings certain values and assumptions that guide the design and implementation of the researcher's work. Thus, "wittingly or unwittingly, the researcher is an advocate" (Boykin, 1979). For researchers to assume that scholarship and expertise inexorably lead to objectivity, and that bias is likely to surface only when subjects under study are from a different racial, ethnic, cultural, or socio-economic background than the researcher is missing the point. As Norton (1978) pointed out, in order to assess the situation (of host society and minority groups) in its totality and to base intervention on that interaction between them, 'it is necessary to understand and be aware of both systems'. As already stated, my African background has enabled me to be aware of both the Australian culture and the African culture.

Oakley argues that the hierarchical relationship between interviewer and interviewee in positivist approaches not only prescribes the behaviour of the researched but also denies their rights. The target population is merely treated as a source of information and not as
individuals who have the right to express what really concerns them as well as having the right to obtain information or withhold it from the researcher. They are not treated as equals but as subordinates to the researcher. As I have already stated in my own case, the relationship between myself and the interviewees was influenced by the similarities of our background. I could not rank myself in any other position but as their equal, because I was a refugee just like most of my interviewees. I offered my professional services on a voluntary basis to most of the organisations that I studied. The choice of the research topic was prompted by my personal interest and knowledge about the difficulties African immigrants, especially African refugees, face in the settlement process in Australia. I saw the importance of my epistemological stance and recognised the fact that the quality information which I expected to obtain had to stem from my genuine belief in and concern for the African population I was about to study. My main concern was to make the research part of the learning by the target population and vice versa.

In this research, I have not dwelt solely on statistical representation of my respondents’ settlement problems and solutions to these problems nor have I been unduly preoccupied with a purely qualitative analysis of the factors affecting the viability of African community organisations in the process of social integration of their members. Kaplan (1960) makes the point when he refers to the “mystique” which takes the form of an exaggerated regard for the significance of measurement just because it is quantitative, without regard either for what has to be measured or to what can subsequently be done with the measure. However, since my approach is based on the heuristic paradigm, I did not neglect numeric and non-numeric data in the research process. Using multiple methods, including qualitative and quantitative data gathering methods, I felt would allow a more penetrating account of the respondents’ subjective and objective experiences which was to be the main focus of my investigation.

A researcher in the Demography Program at the Australian National University, recently discovered that one of the difficulties that has hampered researchers in understanding the special circumstances relating to particular nations and cultures, has been 'the lack of qualitative data which uses in-depth individual and group interviews' (cited from ANU
The researcher reiterated that it is 'this qualitative approach which helps to make the research findings of direct policy use to governments'.

Data emanating from qualitative approaches are, obviously, "rich" and "deep" because the researcher can give attention to detail as far as opinions are concerned. It is also clear that such details cannot be captured by surveys, or by structured interviews or questionnaires, however by combining qualitative, quantitative and other methods such as document analysis in the research, I stood to obtain richer data than otherwise would have been the case. Lincoln and Guba (1985) make this point quite clear in their advice that specific data items should be verified with the respondents or from other sources such as observation or document analysis.

5.5 **RESEARCH METHODS AND INFORMATION SOURCES**

This section describes and discusses the research methods employed in the study. The research processes included document analysis and surveys of the target population.

5.5.1 **Research Focus**

The analysis is limited to immigrants and refugees from sub-Saharan Africa. With the exception of the Sudan and to a lesser extent certain sub-Saharan members of the Arab League, all the North African countries (eg. Egypt, Libya, Algeria, Morocco and Tunisia) are Arabic-speaking countries and identify themselves with the Arab world of the Middle East nations.

5.5.2 **Sampling Design and Selection**

African refugees and immigrants and African community organisations were the "targets" of investigation.

African community associations are defined as organisations with at least a minimal structure which meet at least once annually, and which are recognisable as African by their names or by virtue of the focus of their aims and activities.
One hundred and twenty questionnaires were sent out to ordinary members of 18 African organisations in Victoria. Eighty-five completed questionnaires were returned. The response rate was approximately 71%. Leaders and representatives of 18 African community organisations were also interviewed, using a lightly structured interview schedule.

The choice of sample was stratified in such a way that each region of sub-Saharan Africa was represented. These regions are:

**North Africa:** Sudan

**Southern Africa:** South Africa, Malawi

**East Africa:** Ethiopia, Somalia, Eritrea, Uganda, Kenya

**West Africa:** Ghana, Nigeria, Liberia

According to the 1991 population census, Ethiopia was by far the largest source country, and included respondents who classified themselves as Oromos and Tigreys. In addition, a much smaller number of respondents came from countries such as Zaire, Uganda and Liberia.

The sample can be called representative of African communities in Melbourne in that it included around 10 per cent of all indigenous African adult settlers in Melbourne and covered a range of source countries. Given the gender imbalance in favour of males within the African community, an attempt was made to obtain a proportionate number of women to men. This, however, resulted in women still constituting only 13.6 per cent of the respondents. It is estimated by African community leaders that the gender proportion in the African community in Melbourne is one to four in favour of men.

5.5.3 Document Analysis

Since the study required information on Africa’s historical, social, economic, political and cultural background and Australia’s immigration and settlement policies since the Second World War the researcher had to depend on "all" available source materials for the study. A large number of documents was examined to gain an understanding of the contexts from
which African refugees and immigrants have come to Australia. To gain insights into African
migration and settlement in Australia, I looked closely at Australian Government immigration
and settlement policies toward black Africans.

The document analysis included the following areas:

- social, cultural, historical, political, economic and environmental factors in African
countries from which refugees and immigrants have come to Australia;
- population movements involving refugees and immigrants within the African continent and
internationally: the causes, size, directions and outcomes.

The documents examined on Africa and Australian immigration and settlement policies derived
from a range of sources such as:

- publications of surveys and documents on conditions in sub-Saharan African countries;
- reports by governments and government agencies;
- publications of non-governmental organisations, especially those concerned with refugees
and other immigrants;
- research papers, published and unpublished;
- Australian Government publications and departmental reports and
- newspaper articles.

It is appropriate for me to comment on the usefulness of some of the documentary source
materials consulted.

5.5.4 Newspapers

Newspapers proved useful in my search for information on African migration to and
settlement in Australia. Although the newspapers did not give a historical account of African
migration to Australia, they did give some indication as to the prevailing Australian attitudes
towards African migration to Australia. Some of these newspapers (eg. Age, 12 October
1971; Australian, 28 June 1971; Herald, 11 September 1971) carried press reports on the
results of public opinion polls on African immigration to Australia. The results gave me some
idea of the factors which led to the late arrival of Africans in Australia. This is discussed in some detail in the body of the dissertation. However, later editions of some newspapers carried stories of how the African community was integrating itself into mainstream Australian society. One such report was on Melbourne's African Village project (Age, Tuesday 6 September, 1988). The newspaper carried a report of how the "Into Africa" project is promoting African culture in Australia. The Australia newspaper's report on 'Cultural diversity in society' stated that Africans constitute 0.4% of the total population of Australia (Australian, Friday 3 June, 1988, p.11).


5.5.5 Australian Government Publications and Departmental Reports

Government publications and departmental reports were a major source of information on Australian Government immigration and settlement policies as they affected African migration to and settlement in Australia. These proved very useful in the research process. The Australian Bureau of Statistics' quarterly reports on migration to Australia were really invaluable to the research efforts.

Apart from the Australian Bureau of Statistics publications, the Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs and its Bureau of Immigration and Population Research also publish their own quarterly and annual reports on immigration and settlement issues. These were also consulted. The dissertation would not have been complete without these reports. The Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs statistics gave an indication as to the nature of migration. It was discovered from these reports that most Africans indeed entered Australia as refugees. These publications and the 1991 Australian population census materials also
proved very useful in that they showed the relative strength of Africans in Victoria and Australia (see Table 5.1).
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(a) Includes Eritrea.
5.5.6 Preliminary Field Inquiry/Interview

The actual survey was preceded by preliminary interviews. The need for a preliminary study has been emphasised by several scholars (e.g., Devereux and Hoddinott, 1992) including Blaut (1959) who recognised that his work in Jamaica suffered from a deficiency of preliminary knowledge.

One of the approaches I adopted in the preliminary interviews was the focus group method. This approach has been used in Australia for a number of studies (e.g., McCallum & Gelfand, 1990). Some of the advantages of the method are that it allows researchers to 'work with a larger number of people than in individual interviews and to probe these responses more intensively than surveys using standard questionnaires' (p. 5).

In order to gain background knowledge, clarify issues and to blur the traditional 'we-they' relationship between the target population and myself and to allow to pose questions, I arranged preliminary group interviews with key informants comprising members and leaders of various African communities. These preliminary interviews enabled me to recognise patterns and regularities which pointed to the existence of shared target population problems and to the perceived causes of these problems. In a nutshell, these preliminary interviews brought a considerable number of Africans affected by settlement problems together to share experiences and consider solutions. The outcome of this approach contributed to a more relevant questionnaire and interview guide.

The interviews were based around four central questions:

1. What are the main settlement problems of your community members?
2. What are the characteristics of the African community and the community organisations to which you belong?
3. What role does your community organisation play in assisting your community members in their social integration process?
4. What is the influence of Australian Government immigration and settlement policies on your organisation?

The other important objectives of the preliminary interviews were the (i) the establishment of preliminary contact with the African immigrant population with a view to achieving the goodwill necessary for the success of the sample survey and (ii) the assessment and definition of the problems to be studied on the basis of discussions with the target population. The development of the questionnaire was based on the outcome of the preliminary investigation, informal conversations and related literature. The original questionnaire was pre-tested on 25 members of ten African community organisations. I found pilot testing most helpful. It made a huge difference. As stated earlier, it led to substantial amendments and improvements to all the questionnaires. Failing to pilot the surveys would have resulted in major gaps in the data collected that could not have been easily rectified.

Following pre-testing, the research instruments were amended to their final form as in Appendices A & B.

To decide what was known about African community organisations in the Melbourne metropolitan area, a preliminary field inquiry was made. The Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs (DIEA) Directory of Community Organisations (1994) was used as a primary selection frame. Since this Directory omitted some African community organisations, the researcher supplemented it, using African community contacts. Some unlisted associations were already known to the researcher because of his membership of and relationship to the African community. Addresses of organisations not listed in the directory were obtained through appropriate inquiries and contacts with officers of listed associations.

5.5.7 Survey of Members and Leaders of African Community Organisations

The main method of obtaining primary data in the field research consisted of questionnaire administration to individual organisation members and in-depth face-to-face interviews of African community organisation leaders and representatives.
5.5.8 **Questionnaire Design**

The questionnaire was designed to fall in line with the basic aims and objectives of the survey as outlined in the Introduction. After this, the researcher became acquainted through community consultations, with the problems African refugees and immigrants encountered in their social integration process.

Many questions were open-ended to allow the respondents to structure replies in their own words and, to add as much extra information as they could and would. I tried to design the questionnaires to be easy to use and to order the questions so that they followed a logical sequence. The questions asked were ones which could be easily answered by African respondents who had been in Australia for at least three months prior to the study. Fortunately, over 95% of the respondents had been in Australia for more than twelve months.

Most (75%) of the questionnaires were administered by myself. However, I employed interpreters from the African communities to assist me whenever there was a language and communication problem. The rest of the questionnaires were sent to respondents to complete. These were respondents who could well read and write English.

The questionnaire sought information in three major areas:

a) background of respondents; 

b) information about the purpose of African community organisations in respondents' social life in Australia and 

c) issues affecting respondents' organisations.

A provision was made in the questionnaire for 'other comments'. This gave room for the respondents to make any relevant and useful remarks pertinent to their settlement process. The justification for asking respondents to add their own comments was to ensure that no relevant information was missed out.
5.5.9 Interview of Organisation Leaders

The information about African community organisations was obtained from the leadership of the organisation. I consider this approach to be important for the following reason. Leadership in any organisation is important as without effective leadership organisations are bound to fail in achieving their aims and objectives. The interview of organisation leaders/representatives was conducted over a 24 month period (June 1992 to August 1994).

5.5.10 The Interview Guide

The research objectives outlined in chapter one were used as a basis for designing the interview guide for conducting semi-structured interviews. Questions focused on organisation identification, history, structure, membership, activities, resources and problems.

An interview guide was reviewed by my two supervisors and other experts in the field. Several modifications of questions were made in the reviewing process. To pre-test the draft interview guide, a pilot study was done which involved interviewing six representatives of six randomly selected organisations. This represented one-third of the total number of 18 organisations.

5.5.11 Conducting the Interview

Interviews were held in the offices (where available) or homes of organisation leaders or representatives. I first handed a copy of the interview guide to the interviewees to familiarise themselves with what was to be covered in the interview/discussion.

In order to make the interviewee feel at ease, I commenced the discussion with a brief history about my migration and settlement experiences in Australia. I then switched on to a familiar topic about Africa. We normally discussed current events occurring in Africa. My aim and intentions were to create a trusting and congenial atmosphere for the interview session. The rapport building took between 10 and 15 minutes.

With very few exceptions the people interviewed were enthusiastic about giving information concerning their communities and their problems; many wanted to be able to discuss these
matters with an interested person whom they trusted. In general, I was received as a fellow African immigrant to Australia, experiencing and understanding the same problems encountered by most Africans in Australia.

I started the interview when I noticed that the interviewee had become relaxed. As the discussion became increasingly more friendly, there were occasional and sometimes lengthy digressions by the respondents/discussants. However, I ensured that all the items on the interview guide were fully covered before leaving. I took down notes on important issues which came up in the course of the discussion with interviewees. At the end of the interview, I asked the interviewee for any additional comments or opinions to obtain a more comprehensive range of information. The interviews took a maximum of one and a half hours.

In order to increase the degree of validity of information obtained in the formal interviews, I also talked to many organisation and representatives who attended organisational functions. While attending and participating in their meetings and activities (I was normally invited to attend association meetings and functions), I seized the opportunity to ask some of the members similar questions from the interview guide. The rationale in doing this was to compare their answers to the answers to the same questions obtained from organisation leaders and representatives in the formal interviews. If answers to the informal questions were different, I made time to see the organisation leaders concerned for further clarification.

5.6 FIELD TRIP TO SELECTED AFRICAN COUNTRIES

In the course of my field work in Australia, I realised that there was very little documentation available on the structure and function of African community organisations in the country of origin of my respondents and therefore little opportunity to relate organisational behaviour and the use of these organisations by refugees and immigrants to factors such as the understood role of ethnic organisations prior to migration.

In order for me to locate the adaptive behaviour of my study population in Australia within the context of adaptive processes previously experienced, especially in relation to initial rural to urban migration, and the role of these organisations within that adaptive process, I applied for
a post-graduate travel grant to visit Lagos and Accra to interview members and leaders of African migrant associations.

In my submission for the travel grant I stated that my preliminary findings suggested that most members of the African communities in Australia "show very little interest in African ethnic community organisations in Australia". I stated that African migrants from rural areas to urban centres form strong ethnic community organisations in Africa. One other purpose of the visit was therefore, to ascertain reasons why most African immigrants in Australia do not show great interest in their own ethnic community organisations in Australia.

I spent four weeks (22 December, 1993 to 24 January, 1994) in Ghana and Nigeria interviewing members and leaders of selected voluntary migrant associations. The field trip proved very useful because it enabled me to gather data which was unavailable in Australia and the data assisted my analysis as reported in various sections of the thesis.

5.7 VALIDITY AND RELIABILITY

Multiple methods of data collection were used in this research to complement and check each other in terms of validity and reliability. These methods included preliminary inquiry, interview, observation, questionnaire and content analysis. The multi-method approach was used to counteract the shortcomings of each method with the strengths of another.

The preliminary inquiry, as opposed to straight forward interview and questionnaire administration, ensured that relevant questions and interview guide were designed for the study.

Leaders of African voluntary organisations both in Australia and some selected African countries were interviewed. Interviewing allowed probing and provided rich, meaningful data. Interviewing also prevented a high rate of missing data which the questionnaire yielded. On the contrary, the questionnaire made it easy for me to reach as many members of African community organisations as possible. The questionnaire was more time efficient in this regard than the interview process and was used in order to study how ordinary members of
the various African community organisations perceived the role of these organisations in their settlement process. Thus, the views of ordinary organisation members could be compared with those of the leaders.

The questionnaire to members of various community organisations and interviewing decision-makers of the African community organisations, provided the most current and accurate answers on most of the research questions. To ensure accurate data for the study, I personally interviewed all the 18 leaders and representatives of the organisations selected for the study. I also defined in advance all procedures of the research. Follow-up telephone calls to double-check responses to certain questions and informal interviews were used as other means of data validation.

Participant observation permitted me to gain an insight into the nature, range, and depth of organisations' activities. Entry into activities and functions was easy and inexpensive, but it required a great deal of time. My association and personal participation in organisational meetings and my observation of their activities served as another means of data validation. This process enabled me to seek verification to the answers given by both ordinary members and leaders of the various organisations.

Content analysis helped to find answers to the rest of the research questions which the other methods could not provide. Content analysis of documents and publications complemented the findings of the more obstructive methods: interview, questionnaire and participant observation. It reduced sources of bias deemed troublesome. Various documents relating to the subject were examined and analysed.

The multiple research methods thus covered both quantitative and qualitative aspects of data gathering. As already noted, this combination allowed a more penetrating account of the respondents' subjective and objective experiences which was the main focus of this investigation.

Whilst the primary purpose of the study was to generate some exploratory and tentative conclusions about African migrants and their organisations, there are limits to the
generalisation which can be drawn from it. The number of organisation members interviewed was only 85 out of an estimated membership of more than 2,000. Naturally, a larger sample (120 or more) would have allowed greater power of analysis and generalisations to be made. The original aim was to interview approximately 120 members of these organisations but circumstances beyond the author's control made this impossible. A limited number of members declined to complete the questions sent to them because they 'were busy attending to other things'. In households where husbands had already completed questionnaires, the wives declined to complete one because 'my husband has already completed one', leading to a low number of women participating in the survey.

Within the constraints of the above factors, the survey sampled 4.25% of organisation members. Limitations to generalisation from the findings of the survey sampled therefore include under-representations and a sub-optimal response rate.
CHAPTER 6

SETTLEMENT AND SOCIAL WELFARE NEEDS OF RESPONDENTS

6.0 INTRODUCTION

Chapters Six and Seven present the empirical data obtained from the survey conducted in Melbourne between 1991 and 1994. In these chapters, I have looked at the ways and means the individual respondents dealt with the migration and integration problems with which they were confronted. I then turned to the community organisations and their leaders to ascertain how they assisted these individual migrants in the settlement process. This is followed by a quasi case study of one community association and two umbrella organisations. The rationale behind this strategy is that African groups in Melbourne have no long-established communities, due to the reasons already given in Chapter 4. The lack of an established community for these groups has meant that those members of their own ethnic communities to whom they turn for support, are themselves still struggling for self-sufficiency. This means that most individual African migrants do not simply have the social resources needed by new arrivals to a new environment. I therefore hypothesised that individual migrants would turn to their existing community organisations to obtain this social support. This is the reason for studying the organisations to which respondents belonged. Cultural maintenance depends, among other things, on the existence of a large enough community to support institutions (such as clubs) which will sustain their members' communal identification. There is evidence in the literature to suggest that ethnic and refugee communities must be of a certain size and have established a certain number of businesses to be able to provide both tangible and intangible support (see Scott & Scott, 1991, for example) Since each of the African community organisations studied had few members, I thought that the umbrella organisations would solve the problem of size. This reason convinced me to treat the two umbrella organisations as case studies.
This present chapter specifically focuses on the individual immigrant's and refugee's process of becoming integrated into mainstream Australian society. It describes the major settlement and social welfare needs of respondents in Australia. The chapter also examines respondents' perception about the purpose of African community organisations in their social life in Australia and about issues affecting their organisations.

As Africans fall in the category of newly-arrived ethnic groups, this introductory section will discuss their needs under 'immigrant welfare needs'. Immigrant welfare needs, however, must not be seen as intrinsically distinct from non-immigrant welfare needs. However, post-arrival needs of new immigrants and refugees may differ quite significantly from the needs of the well-established citizen. Immigrants' needs may relate to the process of migration (for example, legal status and sponsorship of family members who wish to join them). Although psychological needs such as nostalgia, marginality and alienation may be problematic for some already established immigrants, the effects of these needs on the newly-arrived immigrant or refugee may be traumatic. Thus the needs that the immigrants present may be different in nature. However, while most needs are common to all groups, some are intensified in ethnic minority groups or immigrant situation and a few are peculiar to refugees. Longer-term needs such as education, employment and social development may equally affect both second generation immigrants and newly-arrived immigrants. However, the idea that the needs of those who migrate are not fundamentally different from the needs of the host society is tantamount to assimilationist conceptions. There is a danger in looking at 'welfare' through myopic lenses. It is quite easy to focus on individual welfare while overlooking the issues concerning the ethnic group as an entity. It is not uncommon for newly-arrived immigrant groups to experience such needs as accommodation, employment, education, identity-related needs, family viability, social support, community support and identity support. The following sections describe the background characteristics and the settlement needs of respondents. Chapter Seven will explore the role of African ethnic community organisations in meeting these needs.
6.1 CHARACTERISTICS OF RESPONDENTS

6.1.1 Gender

Of the 85 respondents who answered the questionnaires, 72 (84.7%) were men and 13 (15.3%) were women. One hundred and twenty questionnaires were sent out to 80 men and to 40 women. The figures represent the proportion of male and female African immigrants and refugees in Australia (B.I.M.P.R., 1993). Conscious efforts were made to maximise the number of female respondents through telephone calls and personal contacts but response from the women was low. The explanation for this low female response rate, as already indicated, is that most married African women preferred their partners to complete such questionnaires. In fact, five African women declined to complete the forms because they stated that their husbands had "already completed the same thing and I am looking after my young children". To a degree such reaction is understandable. As already stated in Chapter 4, participation in voluntary organisations in Africa is low for women in the early years of marriage, when the family claims their attention. However, it would have been good to have more women in the various organisations because African women were more isolated than the men.

6.1.2 Age

Respondents’ average age was 33 years. Of the 75 respondents, 54 (72%) were under 35 years of age and only 14 (18.6%) were over 40 years. Ten respondents did not reveal their age. The weighting of the age profile towards the young and relatively young, both in this sample and in the African community as a whole, has some significant implications which will be examined in later sections. It is noteworthy that only two respondents were above the age of 60 (see Figure 6.1.).
Fig. 6.1 Age of Respondents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age in Years</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>20.0-25.0</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25.0-30.0</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30.0-35.0</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35.0-40.0</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40.0-45.0</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45.0-50.0</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50.0-55.0</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55.0-60.0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60.0-65.0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Std. Dev = 8.85  
Mean = 33.0  
N = 75.00
6.1.3 Marital Status

Forty-two of the respondents were married. This represents 49.4 per cent of a total of 85 respondents. Twenty-five (29.4%) had never married. Six respondents were living in de-facto relationships. Four respondents were separated and two were divorced. Six respondents were widowed (see Figure 6.2).
Fig. 6.2  Marital Status of Respondents

- Never married: 29.4%
- Married: 49.4%
- Widowed: 7.1%
- Divorced: 2.4%
- Separated: 4.7%
- De facto: 7.1%
The fact that as high as 56.5 per cent of respondents had partners reflects the rapid process of resettlement of African immigrants and refugees in Australia. All the female respondents had partners. This may be explained by the fact that African women do not normally emigrate alone, either as single women or without their partners (Batrouney, 1991).

6.1.4 Residence Prior to Arrival in Australia

African international migration is mostly an urban/city phenomenon. This is exactly what the result of this survey indicated. Sixty-four respondents (75.3%) indicated that they lived in cities prior to their migration to Australia and 21.2% of respondents resided in urban areas. Only one respondent lived in a rural settlement before the migration to Australia (see Figure 6.3). This high proportion of urban dwellers amongst African immigrants/refugees in Australia has some implication for ethnic community organisation and membership. This will be discussed in later sections.
Where Respondents Lived
Prior to Arrival in Australia

City
75.3%

Urban
21.2%

Rural
1.2%

Missing
2.4%
6.1.5 Date of Arrival in Australia

As Figure 6.4 shows, only 8 (9.6%) of the 83 respondents arrived in Australia before 1984. From 1984 to 1989 the average rate of arrival was less than 6 persons per year. This low figure is not surprising because the actual intake of African refugees in 1988/89 was only 99 for the whole of Australia. As already indicated, this very low intake has very serious implications for viable community development.
Year first Arrived in Australia

Figure 6.4

Std. Dev = 3.90
Mean = 88.4
N = 83.00
The number of arrivals nearly doubled between 1990 and 1993 to about 10 persons per year. This increase reflects the change of Australian government policy toward African migration to Australia. As stated in chapter 5, during this period the annual intake of African refugees increased from 200 to around 1000 nationwide.

6.1.6 Migration Categories

Figure 6.5 shows the migration categories under which the respondents entered Australia. The Figure indicates that 42.4% of respondents entered under the refugee and special humanitarian program. The next highest group included those who entered on student's and visitor's visas (25.9%) whilst 15.3% of respondents came to Australia through the family reunion program. Only 3.5% of respondents were nominated by employers. These findings confirm what the document analysis revealed about African migration to Australia. It revealed that the majority of African immigrants came to Australia as refugees.
Fig. 6.5 Visa Type

- Student/visitor: 25.9%
- Refugee/Humanitarian: 42.4%
- Migrants points syst: 10.6%
- Family reunion/spons: 15.3%
-ominated by employe: 3.5%
- Missing: 2.4%
6.1.7 Present Immigration Status

As many as 69 respondents (83.2%) were either citizens or permanent residents. The relatively high number of citizens in the target population compares favourably with other minority immigrant groups in Australia (Birrell, 1991). The Bureau of Immigration, Multicultural and Population Research statistics indicate that minority groups coming from Third World countries are more likely to take Australian citizenship than immigrants coming from Western Europe or North America. When considered alongside the very high proportion of refugees in the total intake, these figures may attest to the strong desire of former refugees for the security and identity which accompany permanent residence and citizenship status as well as the advantage of receiving additional points under the points system for sponsorship of family members. Six respondents were temporary residents and eight were in the "Other" unspecified category (see Table 6.1). This "Other" category may relate to those who might have entered illegally and were applying for a change of status.

Table 6.1 Present Immigration Status

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Status</th>
<th>Men</th>
<th>Women</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Citizen</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>38.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Permanent Resident</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>44.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Temporary Resident</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>9.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
6.1.8 Sponsorship of Immediate Family Members

Respondents were asked whether they had tried to bring their immediate family members to Australia. The majority of them (51.8%) indicated that they had tried to do so. In response to the question: *If you did try and you were unsuccessful, what is preventing you from bringing them to Australia?*, the majority (33) of the 43 responses to this question gave various reasons for their inability to sponsor family members to Australia. Eighteen (39.1%) indicated that the Department of Immigration would not issue them with visas (See Table 6.2). This reason may mean that the applicants did not meet the stringent selection criteria set by the Department. Seven respondents (15.2%) indicated that they were unable to contact their kin in Africa. This goes to illustrate the grim refugee situation in Africa. If people are not able to bring their immediate family with them to Australia, their settlement and integration will be adversely affected.
Table 6.2 Inability to Bring Immediate Family Members to Australia

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reason</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Percent.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Unable to contact them in Africa</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>15.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Department of immigration would not issue visa</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>39.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family members not interested</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cannot support them here in Australia</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I do not want to stay</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>17.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>10.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6.1.9 Accommodation

In response to the question, 'With whom do you live?', half of the 78 respondents indicated that they were living with family. Just over 25 per cent lived with friends. These figures are shown in Table 6.3. In Africa, living with family and friends is the preferred mode of accommodation for new arrivals in urban centres (author's own experience). Living with family or friends enables the new arrival to overcome feelings of loneliness and isolation. It also helps them to save money for other purposes such as paying rent advance.
Table 6.3 Accommodation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Live with -</th>
<th>Men</th>
<th>Women</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Family</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>49.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friend</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>27.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alone</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>22.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6.2 CONTACT WITH AN AFRICAN COMMUNITY ORGANISATION AND MODE OF CONTACT

Respondents were associated with 18 African community organisations (see Table 6.4). They belonged to a variety of organisations based on ethnic/tribal/regional and country lines.

Of a total of 79 respondents to the question: Did you get in contact with this organisation as a new comer to Australia? fifty-six (70.9%) indicated that they contacted an African community organisation as newcomers to Australia. The majority (71.4%) made these contacts through 'fellow countrymen'. Five respondents (8.2%) were introduced to their respective organisation through the Department of Immigration. Eleven respondents (18%) made contact through 'other' unspecified channels. Although only 56 people answered positively to the above question, 61 people indicated that they made contact with an African organisation. This discrepancy may be due to the fact that initial contact might have been made but no continued interest shown. Table 6.5 lists modes of contact.

It is interesting to note that as many as 45 respondents were introduced to the organisations by fellow 'countryman'. This confirms what the literature stated about community organisation membership in Africa where people from the same ethnic group or village join together to form associations.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Organisation</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ethiopian Association in Victoria</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Somalia Relief Association</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Afro-Australian Association</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Somaliland Committee of Australia</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eritrean Community in Victoria</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Australian Oromo Community</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nigerian Society of Victoria</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>African Communities Council of Victoria</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ghana Association of Victoria</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East African Association</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sudanese Community Association</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oromo Community Association</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South African Social Club</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eritrean Women’s Association</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Somali Women’s Association</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liberian Association of Victoria</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oromo Women’s Association in Victoria</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zairean Association</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 6.5 How Contact was Made With Organisation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mode of Contact</th>
<th>Men</th>
<th>Women</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Per cent.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Fellow countryman introduced me to it</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>71.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Department of immigration office told me about it</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heard about it on the TV / Radio</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Looked in the papers</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>17.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6.3 SETTLEMENT PROBLEMS

Respondents were asked what they considered to be their main settlement problems when they arrived in Australia and who assisted them to solve these problems. It was expected that a high measure of problems would emerge in matters associated with the public domain - getting a job, finding public housing, etc. It was anticipated that respondents would seek more help from organised community organisations in solving their settlement problems than from any other sources.

All the 81 respondents who answered the question about settlement problems indicated that they had experienced problems of isolation from spouse/children; lack of friends; difficulty in getting a job; finding somewhere to live; racial discrimination and 'other' unspecified problems (see Figure 6.6).
Fig. 6.6 Settlement Problems

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Issue</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lack of friends</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Difficulty in getting a job</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finding somewhere to live</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Racial discrimination</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The problem of getting a job topped the list of settlement problems encountered by the respondents. Sixty respondents (74.1%) indicated that they had difficulty getting a job. Racial discrimination ranked second to the problem of unemployment. Twenty-seven respondents (33.3%) claimed that they had been discriminated against since their arrival in Australia. The other significant problem experienced by respondents was lack of friends; twenty-two respondents (27.2%) indicated that they have had no friends since their arrival in Australia, highlighting the problems of single refugees.

6.4 RESPONDENTS' COPING STRATEGIES

6.4.1 Introduction

Lazarus (1966:259-9) distinguished two general types of coping.

One consists of action tendencies aimed at elimination or mitigating the anticipated harmful confrontation that defines the threat. . . . The other consists of purely cognitive manoeuvres through which appraisal is altered without action directed at changing the objective situation. The latter forms of coping are usually called defence mechanisms.

Mechanic (1970:113) adds that, from the person's viewpoint

there are at least three central considerations that must be taken into account in an analysis of how he will deal with a stress situation: (1) the instrumental one - his skills and capacities; (2) his motivation; and (3) his socio-emotional state; The enactment of instrumental skills I shall call coping; and his socioemotional state (including his feelings of self-confidence and self-esteem) I shall call defense.

Among the coping skills might be level of education, occupational skill, and knowledge of English, referred to by several authors discussing the integration of migrants (Desai, 1963:9, 148; Scott and Scott, 1990 and Johnstone, 1993). Along with skills should be included resources and support which may help an individual to cope.

The following sections describe how respondents coped with the various problems they encountered in Australia.

6.4.2 Isolation from Family Members/Friends

Table 6.6 summarises the coping strategies adopted by respondents who experienced isolation from families or friends. It is interesting to note that only 17 respondents (23%) approached
an African organisation for assistance or companionship. As many as 16 respondents (21.6%) indicated that 'nothing could be done' about their problem of isolation. Thirty respondents (40.5%) were not affected by isolation. Those who were not affected by isolation were either married or were in a de facto relationship. Period of arrival had no impact on this problem. There were 6 respondents who arrived as early as 1979 and were still isolated at the time of the survey. On the other hand, very recent arrivals (1992 and 1993) did not feel isolated because they had their families with them.

**Table 6.6 How Respondents coped with Isolation From Family Members**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Coping Strategy</th>
<th>Men</th>
<th>Women</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Applied for family reunion without assistance from any African organisation</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>18.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sought assistance from an African Organisation</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sought companionship from an African community organisation</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>14.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accepted it: nothing could be done</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>19.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>These circumstances did not apply</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>36.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
6.4.3 *Lack of Accommodation*

Of the 83 respondents who lacked accommodation when they first arrived in Australia, 43 (51.8%) sought help from such bodies as the Ministry of Housing and Construction. Only 5 respondents (6.6%) asked an African organisation for assistance. Twenty-seven respondents (35.5%) were not affected by the accommodation problem (see Table 6.7).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Coping Strategy</th>
<th>Men</th>
<th>Women</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Asked an African organisation for assistance</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Applied to the Ministry of housing</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>39.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Approached an Australian Agency for help</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>This circumstance did not apply</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>32.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>9.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6.4.4 *Lack of Employment*

The most common strategy adopted by respondents for dealing with the unemployment situation was to look for ‘work by myself’; there were 47 responses (59.5%) to this strategy. Twenty-seven respondents (34.2%) applied for unemployment benefits and only one respondent (1.3%) asked ‘my African organisation for assistance to get a job (see Table 6.8).
Table 6.8 How Respondents coped With Lack of Employment

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Coping Strategy</th>
<th>Men</th>
<th>Women</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Percent.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Applied for unemployment benefit</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>32.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asked my African organisation for assistance to get a job</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Approached an Australian agency for help</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Looked for work by my self</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>56.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>This circumstance did not apply</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>71</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6.4.5 Racial Discrimination

There were 86 responses from 75 respondents who answered the question about racial discrimination (respondents were asked to tick more than one box). There were 57 respondents who had experienced racial discrimination. Forty-one respondents (54.7%) indicated that they ignored it whilst 11 respondents (14.7%) stated that they ‘challenged the persons/agencies concerned’. Eight respondents (10.7%) complained to the law enforcement agencies and only 4 respondents (5.3%) enlisted the help of their African organisations. As many as 18 respondents (24%) indicated that this circumstance did not apply to them. On the whole, the majority of respondents (about 75%) indicated that they had been subjected to racial discrimination since their arrival in Australia (see Table 6.9).
Table 6.9 How Respondents coped With Racial Discrimination

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Coping Strategy</th>
<th>Men</th>
<th>Women</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Percent.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Complained to law enforcement agencies</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>9.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Enlisted the help of my African organisation</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Challenged the persons/ agencies concerned</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>12.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ignored it</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>47.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>This circumstance did not apply</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>20.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6.5 INVOLVEMENT OF AFRICAN COMMUNITY ORGANISATIONS IN RESPONDENTS' SETTLEMENT PROCESS

6.5.1 Period of Contact with African Organisation in Australia

Forty-nine respondents indicated that they had contact with an African organisation a year or more after their arrival (see Table 6.10). It is significant that friends played a key role in introducing respondents to an African organisation. Forty-three respondents (65.2%) made contact with African organisations through friends. Leaders of some African organisations also played an important role in exposing respondents to African organisations. Fourteen respondents (21.2%) indicated they were introduced to an African ethnic organisation by leaders of such organisations (see Table 6.10b).
### Table 6.10a  Period of Contact with African Organisation in Australia

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>When contact was made</th>
<th>Men</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A year after my arrival</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>79.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two years after my first arrival</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-4 years after my first arrival</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>10.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Five or more years after my arrival</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>43</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Table 6.10b  How Contact Was Made

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mode of contact</th>
<th>Men</th>
<th>Women</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A friend told me about it</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>63.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contacted by one of the leaders</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>20.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heard about it on TV/Radio</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Looked in the papers</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>13.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>58</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
6.5.2 Role Played by Organisations in Respondents' Settlement Process

African ethnic organisations played a significant role in respondents' settlement process. The role played by these organisations was in the form of provision of information about services and provision of personal contacts. The organisations also referred respondents to appropriate mainstream service providers. Figure 6.7 gives a breakdown of the role played in respondents' settlement process. The role played by respondents' organisations is in harmony with the role of ethnic organisations identified in the literature.
Fig. 6.7  Role of Organisation

- Provided me with information
- Provided friendship
- Served as forum
- Feeling of nostalgia minimised
- No role
- Other
6.5.3 Influence of African Organisations on Respondents’ Social Life in Australia

Table 6.11 shows that the majority of respondents (52%) indicated that the organisations they belonged to reduced their feelings of nostalgia while 47% of respondents were provided with friendship and company by their organisations. It is interesting to note that all the women respondents indicated that their organisations provided them with a sense of identity. See Figure 6.8 for a graphic representation of respondents' answers.

**Table 6.11 Organisation Influence on Respondents Social Life**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Influence</th>
<th>Men</th>
<th>Women</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>% Responds.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Reduced my feelings of nostalgia</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>52%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Provided me with a sense of identity</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>44%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Has had no effect on my social life</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>26%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Provided friendship and company to overcome isolation</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>47%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NA</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Fig. 6.8  Organisation Influence

- Nostalgia reduced: 42
- Identity enhanced: 38
- No effect: 22
- Friendship: 40
- Other: 1
6.5.4 Expectations of Respondents' Organisations

Respondents had high expectations of their organisations. All but one of the 85 respondents indicated that they expected their organisations to assist them in the settlement process. Thirty-seven respondents (44%) expected their organisations to provide them with friendship and company whilst thirty-six respondents (42%) expected African organisations to provide them with 'vital information'. Unlike their male counterparts, the majority of women respondents (85%) expected their organisations to provide them with 'vital information' (see Table 6.12). The majority of respondents indicated that their organisations had fulfilled what they expected the latter to do for them. Of the 85 respondents, 84 (99%) answered 'yes' to the question: Has the organisation fulfilled what you expected it to do for you? (see Table 6.12). These statements confirm what the literature states about the role of ethnic community organisations. It is noteworthy that most respondents expected their organisations to provide them with information about mainstream services and friendship and company.

Table 6.12 Respondents' Expectations of Their Organisations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Expectations</th>
<th>Men</th>
<th>Women</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>% of Responds</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Provision of vital information</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>42%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Provision of friendship and company</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>44%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assistance with sponsorship of family and members to come to Australia</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>18%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assistance with problems of racial discrimination</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>18%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NA</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
6.6 ISSUES AFFECTING RESPONDENTS' ORGANISATIONS

Table 6.13 represents all the 85 respondents' responses to the following question: *What, in your opinion, are the problems facing this organisation, if any?* The major problem perceived by 54% of respondents was lack of resources. This was followed by 'No paid staff' which attracted 38% of respondents (20%) and 'lack of government support' (34%). The other significant problem faced by respondents' organisations was 'lack of members' commitment to their organisations (28%). It is interesting to note that 77% of women respondents identified 'lack of resources' as an issue which affected their organisations.

Table 6.13 Issues Affecting Respondents' Organisations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Issue</th>
<th>Men</th>
<th>Women</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>% Respondents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lack of sufficient numbers</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>18%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lack of Government support</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>34%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Paid Staff</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>38%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lack of resources</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>54%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lack of members commitment to the organisation</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>28%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Organisation does not have any problems</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NA</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
6.7 MAIN ACHIEVEMENTS OF RESPONDENTS' ORGANISATIONS

One significant achievement of African ethnic organisations identified by all the women respondents was bringing the community together. The provision of a sense of identity by these organisations was indicated by 44% respondents as an achievement (see Table 6.14).

Table 6.14 Main Achievements of Respondents Organisation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Achievement</th>
<th>Men</th>
<th>Women</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>% Respnts</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Brought ethnic community together</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>40%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Provided my ethnic community with a sense of</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>44%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>identity</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Enabled new African immigrants to settle</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>smoothly in Australia</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Made it possible for members to get more</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>28%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>information about services</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>My Organisation has not achieved much</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>16%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NA</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6.8 THE INFLUENCE OF AUSTRALIAN GOVERNMENT POLICY ON AFRICAN ORGANISATIONS

Of the 73 respondents who answered the question: In your opinion did and do the Australian government immigration policies have any influence on your African organisation?", thirty-seven (50.7%) stated that Australian immigration policies did not and do not have any influence on their organisations. A close 49.3 per cent (36 respondents) however, indicated the opposite. When answers to this and similar questions were compared, it became clear that the second opinion tends to be the more substantiated one (this also indicates that the role and function of the organisations is not very clear to some members); all the 25 organisation leaders stated that low intake of African immigrants and refugees results in very low
organisational membership and thus the viability of the various organisations is conspicuously undermined (see Table 6.15). Respondents were also invited to make any additional comments that they wished to make regarding their organisations. Table 6.16 lists the main comments made by respondents.

Table 6.15 Some Comments Made by 84 Respondents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Comment</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Government needs to financially support organisation</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>73.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Organisation should be more widely spread and more organised</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>9.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Increase African Immigrant intake so that organisation membership can grow</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>90.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Australian Government does not understand the political problems in Africa. There are very few Africans coming to Australia</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>17.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government support is virtually non existent</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>90.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government should help Africans bring their families to Australia</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>92.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Most respondents (over 70%) expressed the view that Australian Government support for their organisations is virtually non existent. This observation confirms what the leaders and the document analysis stated about government support for the African group.

6.9 SUMMARY AND DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

This chapter set out to find what respondents perceived as their settlements needs and how these were met.

This section has summarised and briefly interpreted the settlement needs of a sample of African immigrant and refugee population in Victoria and how these needs were met.

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General characteristics of respondents were described. Seventy-two men and 13 women were interviewed. The average age of respondents was 33 years. More than half (70%) of respondents lived in city and urban centres before they migrated to Australia. The results confirmed the fact that African migration to Australia is a recent phenomenon. Only 8 (9.6%) respondents arrived in Australia prior to 1984. Refugees constituted the majority of respondents. Over 83% of respondents had either taken up Australian citizenship or were permanent residents.

The majority (51.8%) indicated that they had tried to bring immediate family members to Australia under the Family Reunion Scheme but had not been successful. Most respondents cited the Department of Immigration's 'stringent selection criteria' as one of the reasons for their inability to bring their immediate family members to Australia.

Respondents were associated with 18 African community organisations. Fifty-six of them contacted these organisations when they first arrived in Australia. Isolation from family members, lack of accommodation, unemployment and racial discrimination were the major settlement problems of respondents. These respondents stated that their organisations assisted them to overcome some of these problems. Fifty-nine (73.4%) indicated that their organisations played a role in their settlement process. Some of these roles included the 'provision of vital information about services in Australia'.

Issues identified by respondents as problems which their organisations encountered were 'lack of resources; 'no paid staff' and lack of government support'. The interviewees' experiences showed that a reasonable number of respondents used their ethnic organisations in gaining access to social resources such as accommodation and employment. As high as 90 per cent of respondents expected their organisations to assist them in their settlement process.

The migration-integration process identified in the literature fits the pattern of respondents' settlement process in Australia. The literature states that earlier immigrants to Australia, North America and western Europe experienced economic hardship and discrimination during the initial stages of their settlement. The findings in this study suggest that the migration-
integration process of the African group is following a sequential path from initial socio-economic hardship and discrimination to eventual socio-economic mobility.

Endnotes

1 Newly-arrived immigrant groups in Australia are defined here as communities with fewer than 15,000 members, who have arrived over the last ten years. They are not an homogenous nor categorically defined group but can be identified by a number of common characteristics. These include being small in number, geographically dispersed and having little or no community infrastructure.
CHAPTER 7

ORGANISATIONS AND THE SETTLEMENT PROCESS

SECTION ONE: GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS AND DYNAMICS OF ORGANISATIONS

7.0 INTRODUCTION

This section paints a full picture of the community organisations examined, including:

1. leadership and nature of the organisation (goals and objectives);

2. the history of the organisation: year of establishment, circumstances leading to its establishment, resources available at time of establishment;

3. the structure and operations of the organisation: legal status, governing bodies and leadership, organisational affiliations and inter organisational relations, administrative style and staffing, and meeting place;

4. organisation membership size, characteristics, eligibility, geographic pattern, length of stay in Australia and organisation's effectiveness in meeting members' needs;

5. the internal dynamics of organisation: scope and form of activities/services/programs and communication processes;

6. organisation resources: financial resources, budget, capital assets, subsidies and concessions, financial situation and funding history;

7. organisational constraints and

8. effects of Australian government immigration policies on operations of organisation.

In each case the interview guide was presented to an office-holder. Of the 18 interviewees, 15 (83.3 per cent) were presidents or chairpersons while the remaining three (16.7 per cent) were other office-holders, 2 vice-chairpersons and one secretary). During the interview an attempt was made to elicit information on the background characteristics of these leaders,
although this did not originally form part of the interview guide. Interesting revelations regarding the background characteristics of African leaders emerged from this interview.

7.1 BACKGROUND CHARACTERISTICS OF COMMUNITY ORGANISATION LEADERS

The question of leadership within the African community cannot be understood unless the divisions within the African population are grasped. The degree of interaction among Africans in their organisations reflects ethnic divisions, although the situation in Australia is making new demands for co-operation beyond these divisions.

A group of kinsmen and friends who come from one area in Africa may decide to form an organisation and then articulate their aims. These organisations are usually led by educated professionals. The leaders may have come from a rural area in Africa but because of their education and the nature of their occupation, they had mostly lived in urban areas of Africa before coming to Australia. Their knowledge and contacts give them more of an opportunity to lead other Africans in Western situations. They usually act as spokespersons to the outside world. The reason for this (as I found out for myself) is because of language problems and other settlement issues confronted by refugees and newly arrived immigrants. This would have been the case in Africa. This situation presents a changing nature of leadership as compared to the African environment where language is not an issue. By adopting the host language, a form of passive assimilation is occurring within the African communities.

As already noted, 18 leaders of organisations were interviewed. Most respondents were under 45 years of age; only two (11.1 per cent) were over 50. In other words, the majority of African community organisations were being run by young and middle-aged people (see Table 7.1)
Table 7.1 Age Categories of Organisation Leaders

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age Category</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Under 40</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>33.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40-49</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>55.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Over 50</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>11.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The management and leadership of the organisations were in the hands of professionals, white-collar workers and individuals involved in blue-collar occupations. Of those responding, four were university lecturers, two were social welfare workers, six were white-collar workers and four held blue-collar job. The next section describes the nature of organisations managed by these leaders.

7.1.1 The Nature of Organisation

Since organisations vary in certain ways, they can be classified into types or kinds. Such typologies prepare the ground for more complex organisational analysis. Different typologies have been created based on organisational elements which are summarised by Scott (1981, p.29). Organisations are bodies seeking to meet particular goals and purposes (Ford, 1988; Etzioni, 1964; Blau and Scott, 1962). The typology created for this study is based on the main goals and objectives as were stated in the constitutions of the organisations under study.

Table 7.2 Typology of Goals of Organisations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>No. of Organisations</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cultural</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>94.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Welfare</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>94.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>94.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Advocacy</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The field survey identified 18 African community organisations which fit the definition of ethnic association provided in Chapter 2 and the description of African voluntary associations presented in chapter 4 of this thesis. Table 7.2 gives the typology of goals of the organisations surveyed. The majority (94.4 per cent) may be described as communal organisations. As their names suggest (see Table 7.3), they are based on ethnic or regional (country) ties. There is one umbrella organisation - African Communities Council of Victoria (ACCOV). This umbrella organisation claimed to have a membership of 16 African ethnic community organisations. An account of this umbrella organisation and other key organisations will be given in later sections.

As Table 7.2 indicates, all but one organisation (94.4 per cent) declared cultural, welfare and social concerns to be their most important goals and objectives. Interestingly, no association mentioned that religious and political activities were part of their goals, although a close look at the aims and objectives of the African Communities Council would suggest that political activity formed part of its objectives (see Appendix C). The role of the latter organisation as an umbrella for other more ethnically specific organisations, as well as the recent date of formation, may explain their difference. This is the most recently formed African organisation in Melbourne; which leads to an examination of the historical background of the organisations.

Table 7.3 indicates the year of establishment of each association. Two (11.11 per cent) of the organisations started as a student association in the late 1970s. The 16 others (88.9%) were formed in response to the welfare and settlement needs of their members. All the later community organisations were established between 1984 and 1993. As noted earlier, it was in 1984 that Australia started to take a regular quota of black African refugees. Prior to that date, some African student associations had been formed. These associations included the Ghana Student Association (1975) and the Nigerian Student Association (1982). Only after 1984 did the number of African community organisations established by black Africans in Melbourne increase. The Afro-Australian Association (AAA), the Ethiopian Community
Association, the Eritrean Community in Australia and the Somali Association were all established in the mid 80s when their numbers increased as a result of refugee intake by Australia from these countries.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Organisation</th>
<th>Year of Establishment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ghana Association of Victoria</td>
<td>1975</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nigerian Society in Victoria</td>
<td>1982</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Afro-Australian Association</td>
<td>1985</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eritrean Community in Australia</td>
<td>1986</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ethiopian Community Association</td>
<td>1985</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Australian Oromo Community</td>
<td>1986</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Victorian Oromo Community Association</td>
<td>1987</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South African Social Club</td>
<td>1990</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Somali Women's Group</td>
<td>1989</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eritrean Women's Group</td>
<td>1989</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zairean Association</td>
<td>1994</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sudanese Community Association</td>
<td>1990</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East African Community Association</td>
<td>1993</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oromo Women's Association in Victoria</td>
<td>1990</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Somaliland Committee of Australia</td>
<td>1989</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Somali Relief Association</td>
<td>1989</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liberian Association of Victoria</td>
<td>1992</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>African Communities Council of Victoria</td>
<td>1993</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
None of the associations was given any funds to establish themselves either by state or federal governments; leaders or members were not aware that they could apply for funding to set up their associations. However, since their establishment there have been significant changes in the way some of these organisations operate. Five of the 18 organisations have received funding from state and/or federal government or private philanthropists; these five are the biggest associations: Eritrean Community in Australia, Somalia Association, Oromo Community Association, African Communities Council of Victoria and the Afro-Australian Association. Ten associations (55.6%) have never received funding from any sources. The leaders of three of these 10 associations stated that professional workers had assisted them to solve welfare problems in their communities. The African Women's Group was the most fortunate African community organisation as it was set up with the assistance of a Grant-in-Aid Worker. The group also had been receiving grants from the state and the federal governments. I shall describe the activities of this and other organisations later in this chapter.

As stated by my informants, none of the organisations had fundamentally changed their goals and objectives since they were set up. This factor had a bearing on the structure and operations of the organisations which the next section deals with.

7.1.2 Structure and Operations of the Organisations

Almost all the 18 African community organisations surveyed could not be considered as complex. Apart from the African Communities Council of Victoria, all the associations were described by their leaders as single-issue organisations. They were mainly concerned with the social/cultural welfare of their members. Only the African Communities Council of Victoria could be described as a semi complex organisation.

Sixteen (88.9 per cent) organisations were legally incorporated. Only one organisation had other associations represented formally in it. This was the only African umbrella organisation in Victoria - the African Communities Council of Victoria. Sixteen organisations are represented on the Council. The African Communities Council also has membership in
other organisations such as the Ethnic Communities Council of Victoria, Refugee Council, National Council of Churches in Australia and Federation of Ethnic Communities’ Councils of Australia Inc.

Although most African community organisations had no affiliation with any external organisations, the leaders agreed that it was important that their associations had these links. They stated that to obtain access to information and other vital contacts it was important that each organisation had representation in other organisations and vice versa. The absence of professional guidance was clearly identified as the cause of this lack of organisational network. Despite the fact that only one organisation had formal representation in other organisations and vice versa, all the associations surveyed had other contacts with government and non-government agencies such as Migrant Resource Centres, Community Health Centres, Refugee Council and the Salvation Army. These contacts were necessary for the service delivery aspect of the associations.

Since services in most of the associations were performed on a voluntary and part-time basis, a numerical increase of officers would assume that duties and tasks had a greater chance of being fulfilled. This was the strategy adopted by four of the organisations. The African Communities Council of Victoria, for example, had established specific task portfolios. Members were encouraged to nominate themselves to any of the portfolios where they had special skills and expertise. At the time of the survey this strategy was working very well with 85 per cent member participation in the Council management and activities. Thus the ownership of the organisations appeared to be in the hands of the members. This is the subject matter of the next section.

7.1.3 Organisational control and Governing Bodies

As alluded to above, a majority of the associations surveyed formed one or more committees to assist in organisational management and activities. According to the leaders of these associations, committees were formed to create a division of labour intended to deal with association affairs in an effective way. Eight (44.4%) associations maintained permanent
committees. The most common committees were financial, public relations, welfare and cultural. Some of these committees were more active than others, depending on the activity of the association. The committees, in most cases, served as aids to executive officers of each association. The day-to-day running of the organisations was in the hands of elected executive committees. Normally these committees were made up of a President or a Chairperson, a Vice President/Chairperson, a Secretary, a Treasurer, a Welfare Officer and a Public Relations Officer. The involvement of members in the running of the associations made it easy for meetings to be held in members' houses when other convenient locations were hard to obtain.

There were no permanent meeting places and offices for most (66.7 per cent) of the associations. Only six (33.3 per cent) organisation leaders stated that they had regular meeting places outside homes and flats mostly operating from local Migrant Resource Centres and Community Health Centres or community houses. Four organisations shared office space with other organisations. For example, the Somali Association shared office space in Ross House with other ethnic organisations. This sort of arrangement suited only organisations whose membership was big enough to be able to pay rent which some of these houses demand. Normally, annual rent of above $1000 was charged by Ross House management. The Somali Association had its office in Ross House because the Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs paid the rent and employed a Grant-in-Aid worker for the group. At the time of writing (August 1995), I was informed that this position had been abolished. The worker informed me that this situation would have serious implications for the Somali refugees.

7.1.4 Organisational Membership

On the whole, organisational membership was low. Two-thirds (66.7%) of the 18 organisations had a membership of between 5 and 46. Only five (27.8%) associations had a membership of 50 and above with the Ethiopian, Eritrean and Somali associations each having a membership of 100 and above. The membership of each association was a reflection of the immigrant population of the various African communities in Melbourne. Ethiopia had, by
far, the largest African refugee population in Victoria. This was followed by Somalia. The Liberian immigrant population in Victoria numbered less than five.

All organisation leaders remarked that the membership of their associations was not as high as they expected. They attributed the small size of their organisations to the government immigration policies toward African immigrants. Apart from this factor the leaders felt that some sections of the African community are not interested in joining the organisations because of personal reasons. They informed me that those who stayed away from these organisations were the "well-to-do" immigrants and those who did not want to mix with the other 'tribe'. Most of the well educated who were in good jobs preferred to have fun rather than involve themselves in group activities. Those with fewer financial resources must work hard in order to survive and consequently, they had little time to devote to joining and building up associations. Furthermore, since being members of associations meant paying membership dues, many could not afford this expenditure. Others would not join an association because of political conflicts back at home. Some sections of the community tended not to trust each other, and were suspicious toward collective work. Some had not joined because they failed to gain leadership positions at elections.

An overwhelming majority of the organisations had a young membership in terms of age. The average age of members of 14 (77.8%) members associations was said to be about 35. All these associations had membership of both genders. The majority of the members of the female-only associations were middle-aged and most members were either mothers or grandmothers; these came mostly from the Horn of Africa.

There were four female-only associations and 14 associations of mixed gender. Men predominated in all the organisations which were open to men and women. This finding could be interpreted in several ways. The African immigrant population in Victoria has more men than women. The lower proportion of female members in these associations also tends to reflect the situation in Africa and other parts of the world where male-dominated societies are the norm.
It is, however noteworthy that there were as many as four female-only associations in Melbourne. The African Women’s Group was, by far, the largest African women’s organisation, having more than 50 members from different African countries and was open to African women from any part of the continent. At the time of the interview, a program (female circumcision), administered by the Ecumenical Migration Centre to deal with women’s issues, was being utilised by the African Women’s Group. The program enjoyed a fair degree of success.

With regard to education, the leaders stated that most of their members were college-educated. Unlike the general refugee population, many of the male immigrant population possessed professional qualifications in accounting, engineering, social work, law, agriculture, business management and medicine. According to the leaders, less than 30 per cent of these professionals were engaged in their own professional fields or related occupations. The reason given was that their qualifications had not been recognised in Australia. Thus, some of the members work in factories and in semi-skilled jobs. Most association members had achieved their economic self-sufficiency at the personal and social cost of underemployment.

Asked what, in their opinion, could be done to help members enter their previous occupations, the leaders suggested, for instance, that additional training and retraining be given in fields for which refugees and immigrants were qualified; that their skills and qualifications be evaluated when they arrive and that the requirement of “Australian” experience be waived and work experience in other countries be accepted.

Another reason given for the low rate of organisational members’ participation in the labour force was racism. The leaders reiterated that Africans were affected by racism more than other minorities.

A majority (95%) of organisation leaders lived in cities or urban centres in Africa and Europe before they migrated to Australia. This finding corresponds with what the individual members stated about where they lived prior to their arrival in Australia.
7.1.5 Location of organisation members in Melbourne and length of Stay in Australia

As already noted most Africans started coming to Australia in the mid 80s, coinciding with the beginning of acceptance of African refugees into Australia. The leaders described their members as recent arrivals, mostly arriving between 1988 and 1990.

One of the features of minority community settlement that is consistently alluded to in the literature is that of "ethnic" clustering in particular localities, culminating in the emergence of 'ghettos'. Anwar (1979: 11), in describing the Pakistani community in Britain emphasises this thus;

Extensive research shows that individuals with similar cultural origins tend to cluster together and thus become residentially segregated from the rest of society. During the first stages of settling in a new society residential proximity enhances interaction and helps to ease culture shock. It allows people with similar values to maintain their group norms to preserve a sense of ethnic identity and to feel secure in a familiar social network.

This pattern does not apply to the African population in Melbourne.

All the organisation leaders stated that their members were widely spread throughout the Melbourne Metropolitan area. They gave a list of 57 suburbs. However, the list revealed a geographical pattern as to how membership of the various organisations was spread over the territory of Melbourne and Victoria. Although there are some areas where Africans have concentrated, they are, in fact, to be found in most Melbourne suburbs. The following suburbs had, overall, the most members of the associations.

Footscray, Ascot Vale, Brunswick, Maribyrnong, Springvale, Dandenong, Clayton, Werribee, Hoppers Crossing, Mitcham, Ringwood and Thornbury.

The suburbs with the greatest concentrations of organisation members were Springvale, Footscray and Maribyrnong, reflecting the location of migrant centres where refugees were initially housed.
7.1.6 Recruitment Strategies

Only one organisation - the African Communities Council of Victoria - had a formal recruitment strategy. The leaders interviewed stated that they obtained their members through personal contacts and by word-of-mouth. A number of reasons were given for the lack of formal recruitment strategies. A majority (72%) of respondents stated that there were not many Africans in their communities to warrant elaborate recruitment strategies. Others stated that African community organisations were based on ethnic and regional lines and so there was no need to attract ‘other Africans, who do not share our culture and customs, to our organisations’.

Unlike the other organisations, the African Communities Council of Victoria, being an umbrella organisation, cut across ethnic and tribal lines. Community organisations wanting to join it must apply by completing an application form (see Appendix D).

Despite the differences in recruitment strategies the various organisations were plagued with common needs and pursued almost identical interests for their members.

7.1.7 Major needs and interests of organisation members as perceived by organisation leaders

Organisation leaders were almost unanimous in the articulation of needs and interests of association members. Seventeen (94.4%) respondents listed the following as the major needs and interests of their members: These needs were discussed in detail with the leaders as follows.

- effective and adequate information on services and programs;
- recognition and utilisation of work skills and qualifications and access to the labour market and training programs;
- public housing and accommodation, especially for new arrivals and refugees;
- child care facilities for mothers;
- recreational facilities;
- the capacity to maintain language and culture as a necessary psychological support and
family reunion issues.

In the following section I will present a summary of the views of the leaders on these issues.

Effective and adequate information on services and programs was a major need of the refugee population according to all leaders interviewed. Leaders were aware of the fact that information is a pervasive issue which touches on all of the needs and problems of immigrants and refugees. It is even critical to the smooth integration of those who are not literate in the host language.

African organisation leaders recognised that literacy demands in Australia, as in all industrialised societies, were far greater than in African societies where oral traditions play a more important role and where much of the information a person needed came from face to face interaction. Thus, refugees who had low literacy skills were far more handicapped in Australia than they were in their own country. Leaders of all the community organisations stated that most of their members had difficulty having their overseas qualifications and work experience recognised in Australia. This also contributed to their training and employment needs.

**Accommodation and public housing** was identified as a need of organisation members by 17 leaders. Refugees, specially had problems in obtaining transit accommodation in the first few months in Australia which compounded their other settlement problems. Many (14) leaders spoke of long waits, promises and disappointments in gaining access to Ministry of Housing accommodation. They stated that these delays or failure to obtain public housing forced members to resort to private rental which members found very expensive.

A leader commented thus

It is not easy for our members to get a house and if they get one, the rent is either too exorbitant or the house is in extreme bad taste. The obvious choice is to go for a good one of which the rent is inflated. And most Africans go through lots of problems before getting a house because some estate agents have misguided impressions about Africans.
Child care facilities were seen as a need of organisation members by 15 leaders. Respondents stated that there was an inadequate number of subsidised child care places. This resulted in delays in obtaining affordable child care places for children. Since many members were on Social Security benefits they could not afford to pay unsubsidised private child care. They pointed out that this need made it impossible for women to seek paid employment.

The leaders recognised the fact that the problems of availability and expensive child care were common to many immigrant and refugee groups. They stated however, that these problems were particularly serious for Africans in Melbourne because they generally did not have parents or other elderly relatives who could assist working parents through baby-sitting, preparing meals and thus indirectly contributing to the family's income and well-being.

All the leaders clearly identified the absence of members of the extended family in Australia as a major need of their associations' members. They singled out family reunion and the size of the immigrant and refugee intake as a "pressing problem". They stated that if African settlement in Australia was to make any meaningful impact in this country "then the Australian government ought to do something about this immigration issue".

The paramount obstacle was seen by all the leaders to be the Australian government's policy and procedures concerning family reunion which had the effect of virtually closing of this means of reuniting families. Organisation leaders stated that members needed elderly family members to assist young families in the education and training of African children in their own cultures. This need led organisation leaders to emphasise the importance of culture maintenance among their members.

The chairperson for the African Women's Group informed me that members of her organisation found that the reality of life in Australia did not match their expectations. She explained that separation from families back home in Africa had meant that they could no longer count on their support and companionship in time of need. The leader reiterated that loneliness was a big problem for many of her members who were left at home to take care of children while their husbands were out to work.
All the 18 leaders interviewed emphasised that maintenance of culture was a special need of association members. They stated that without teaching African children their language and culture, "these children will remain ignorant of their African heritage". The leaders pointed out that every person was a product of culture and to ignore African culture was tantamount to "ignoring the water in which a fish swims or the air that a person breathes".

As culture has something to do with the way people spend their leisure time, recreational facilities were seen to be lacking in the various communities. All but one organisation leader stated that their members lacked adequate recreational facilities such as clubs for various social activities. The organisations depended on hired premises and venues for all their social and recreational activities. Recreational facilities were deemed to be an important need because they served to provide an opportunity to make new friends and engage in various cultural activities.

7.1.8 Differences in membership needs and interests

Major differences emerged between those associations whose members were mainly from refugee background and those whose members were mostly voluntary immigrants. Somalian, Sudanese, Eritrean and Ethiopian community organisation members formed part of the former category. Nigerian, Ghanaian and Kenyan community association members mostly arrived as voluntary immigrants.

The voluntary immigrant community organisation members had fewer needs than the refugee community organisation members. The former had difficulty in the validation of qualifications and the gaining of suitable employment, the latter had difficulty in gaining any employment at all.

The leaders of both categories stated that what was disturbing was that the experienced, young and well qualified members of their associations, had a very high level of unemployment, with about 30 per cent of the refugee population unemployed and seeking work.
According to the leaders, women refugees were especially vulnerable. They had greater needs than their male counterparts. The women’s greatest need was socialisation and child care as most of the women were confined to their homes, virtually isolated from the outside world.

The perceived needs of and requested help for newly arrived refugees and immigrants are by no means materialistic. All the organisation leaders interviewed were very insistent on the need to preserve their culture, even while they received no financial support for doing so. It is interesting to note that external assistance with personal and family problems did not seem important.

7.1.9 Factors influencing organisation members needs and interests

When asked: What do you perceive as factors which influence the needs and interests of your organisation members?, all the leaders mentioned cultural factors as a leading influence. A leader of the Nigerian Association stated that ‘our people are not being served properly because providers do not understand our culture’. This entails a statement that summarises the African situation in Australia.

Africans are a newly arrived minority group with different cultures. In some ways the African group has special needs because of its unique situation. Being both black and small in size it is obviously not easy for the white social worker or service provider to enter into this community very easily. Leaders interviewed stated that social workers and other service providers found it hard to pick up communication cues and could not understand precisely what was happening or what was being said, nor could they easily establish the type of relationship required for intervention when dealing with the African community.

The nature of the migration process was also cited by 16 leaders as another important factor influencing the needs and interests of their members. The case of African refugees was highlighted. Here I want to remind readers that the majority (over 80 per cent) of the sample population arrived in Australia as refugees.
The leaders interviewed confirmed that African refugees were often forced to live in countries of first asylum for long periods of time, before being accepted for resettlement in Australia. When they finally arrived in Australia, they bore the largely invisible scars of persecution, endured hardships and the trauma of escape. They arrived in Australia with very few possessions and little if any knowledge of the life they could expect and of what was expected of them. A significant number of the refugees frequently did not speak English and their difficulties in coping with the demands of everyday life were therefore compounded. They had come from countries in which professional or occupational qualifications were either not formally certified or even accepted in Australia. They also lacked “Australian experience”, the requisite for many technical and professional jobs.

The leaders raised the point that by enabling African refugees to live without fear of persecution, Australians seemed to think that the major problems of these refugees had been overcome and they could then resume a normal life. That was not the situation with the African refugees. The leaders maintained that African refugees were in need of special attention and the African community organisations had been established to meet these special needs. The effectiveness of these organisations in meeting these needs and interests was the next subject discussed with the African communities leaders.

7.1.10 Organisations’ effectiveness in meeting members’ settlement needs

Asked whether they saw their organisations as effective in meeting the needs and representing the interests of their members, only four (22.2%) organisation leaders stated that their association was effective in assisting their members in settling down in Australia, however, most qualified their statement. Other leaders gave several reasons why they felt that their organisations were not effective in meeting members’ settlement needs.

Typical responses to this question are tabulated in Table 7.21. Some Horn of Africa association leaders saw their organisation as effective in meeting the needs and representing the interests of their members. These associations are the Eritrean Community in Australia, the Ethiopian Community Association in Victoria, the Somaliland Committee and the Somali
Relief Association. They represent the largest African associations in Victoria and they were supported financially by the Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs. Each one of them had received grants from the government for their members. However, most (77.8%) organisation leaders maintained that they lacked the resources which would enable them to be effective in meeting the needs and interests of their members.

Table 7.4 The Effectiveness of Organisations in meeting Members' Settlement Needs

(Typical answers to the question: Do you see your organisation as effective in meeting the needs and representing the interests of its members: are as tabulated below)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Answer</th>
<th>No of Respondents</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No, not to the extent we would like. One of the ways to meet members' needs is to provide sporting and cultural activities. We need some funding for this.</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>55.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes, we have been able to assist most of our members to settle in Australia</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>33.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes, but to a limit. We do not have enough facilities. However, we are doing very well generally.</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>27.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>We are not able to say yes or no now. We are trying to</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>16.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

However, all the leaders felt that some progress had been made to meet the interests and needs of their members since the associations were set up. In terms of meeting the interests of their members, all the 18 organisation leaders interviewed appraised their associations as having had at least some success. The Ghanaian organisation representative remarked that

Our association has been relatively successful in terms of unifying our community and also in terms of providing a common forum for exchange and sharing cultural celebrations.

The chairperson of the Eritrean association said,

With our very limited resources we have been extremely successful in meeting the sporting and cultural interests of our members.
And a leader of one of the women's group maintained that,

Our activities (art and craft) are the most practical and the best way for the preservation of our culture and for keeping our women busy and occupied. These group activities reduce the incidence of isolation among our women.

The leader of the African Women’s Group stated that the group focussed on issues such as education and re-settlement programs for newcomers in the area of housing, domestic violence, daycare and health issues. The leader stated that a significant majority of African-Australian women arrived in Australia from refugee camps. She explained that upon their arrival in Australia, the Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs provided them with orientation to life in Australia, in areas such as public transport, employment, health care and other services. She pointed out that the Department assumed that the more cultural-sensitive issues concerning orientation to a new cultural environment would be dealt with by the various ethnic-based community centres. The chairperson said that this did not happen to her members. According to her, what really happened was that her group provided culturally-sensitive services to these women.

She stated that her group was very successful in delivering such services to its members. The leader attributed much of her group’s success in dealing with her members’ resettlement problems and needs to the fact that her group leaders were Africans themselves and therefore understood the deeper cultural values that came into conflict in a new society and the leaders were able to communicate with people in their own language. While many community-based mainstream agencies existed in Melbourne to deal with similar issues, most did not provide adequate language facilities to deal with the cross-cultural mix of African women living in Australia. The chairperson believed that African women came to her group rather than approach mainstream service providers because the women perceived these agencies as being outside of their community.

The following section describes the activities/services and programs of the 18 organisations under study.
7.1.11 **Organisation activities/services/programs**

The following different categories of activities and services were performed or provided by the organisations:

a) Service to new arrivals

b) Assistance in job seeking activities

c) Assistance in finding accommodation for members

d) Lobbying federal and state governments for appropriate policies affecting the welfare of Africans in Australia

e) Assisting African immigrants to have their overseas qualifications recognised

f) Organising traditional cultural activities such as traditional music, cultural discussions and art and craft exhibitions and teaching African children African languages

g) Celebration of National (Independence) Days and

h) Organising social activities

These services and activities were not provided to organisation members only. The leaders maintained that while members' welfare needs were their first priority, the needs of non-members were also catered for.

These categories of functions performed by African community organisations show a similarity to the diversified activities, services and programs provided by other ethnic community organisations either in the process of adaptation or in the preservation and transmission of culture (Lopata, 1964, McLemore, 1983).

The following sections briefly describe the activities, services and programs of African community organisations.
7.1.12 Service to new arrivals

All the community organisation representatives interviewed stated that their associations provided information, advice and assistance to the new arrivals from Africa. Assistance was given in the form of finding temporary accommodation and provision of information about mainstream services and programs.

All organisations claimed that they served new African immigrants and refugees with information, advice, and at times, aid. The leaders explained that they were ready and willing to meet the various needs of new immigrants as far as resources at their disposal could permit.

Most interviewees said that the provision of information or advice was not structurally organised, in that there were no specific committees or individuals designated to deal with providing these services. The available resources in the form of information on job openings, accommodation for rent and similar areas of service were not clearly defined. It was generally accepted that any organisational officer could deal with any request, drawing on the resources available from his or her organisation, or else refer those seeking the service to other more resourceful or appropriate mainstream service providers.

The African Women's Group dealt with social problems, particularly health services and assistance with intra-familial and personal problems of its members. The group also provided information and advice on housing, employment and other settlement problems such as isolation and family reunion.

7.1.13 Social/cultural/religious/activities

All interviewed leaders maintained that they provided welfare services in which the personal relationship formed an important aspect. This was manifested in the social activities which the various organisations provided for their members.

Interviewed leaders stated that their organisations provided organised social and cultural activities such as dances and celebration of national and religious holidays for their members.
Social dances and get-togethers were among the most popular activities undertaken by all the organisations. The leaders maintained that the dances were well attended and that they were open to the wider Australian community. They served to provide recreation and an opportunity to make new friends and enjoy traditional African foods and music. On the other hand, these social occasions served as important means of generating funds for the sponsoring associations.

All but one organisation engaged in sporting activities. Soccer was the most popular sporting activity organised by the various associations for their members.

The leaders explained that these sporting activities were designed to assist members meet other Africans and non Africans, thus promoting members' social integration into mainstream Australian society.

Religious celebration was not a popular activity for 17 organisations. Only one association - the Ethiopian Community Association - celebrated an annual religious festival. This was described by the chairperson of the association as "a big and important event on the Ethiopian community calendar". The celebration of this religious festival served to preserve traditional customs and practices, reaffirmed members' identity with other fellow Ethiopians and strengthened social ties among the participants. The celebration was open to the general public and it provided a convenient avenue for the social integration of association members.

Since its establishment in 1992, the Ethiopian Orthodox Church has been the centre of activities for all Ethiopians regardless of their religious persuasion or ethnic background.

Celebration of National Independence Days was an important activity for all the African community organisations. Leaders maintained that like other social and religious activities, Independence Day festivities brought organisation members and the Australian community together. They saw these events as important social integration factors.

Other cultural services provided include the provision of African language teaching. Three organisations were actively engaged in, or supported various activities related to African
language maintenance. Teaching of Swahili and Amharic languages by the African Information Network, the Ethiopian Association and the Somali Relief Association to both Africans and non-Africans was seen to be an effective way of integrating the African community into the Australian community. The African Communities Council of Victoria generally supported this activity.

Other important services provided by all the organisations were the provision of information relating to the recognition of overseas qualifications and writing letters and submissions to state and federal governments regarding immigration and employment policies affecting Africans in Australia. Interviewed leaders explained that their organisations also wrote letters to support members’ application for family reunion.

The leaders stated that they began providing these services and activities when the associations were first established. As already noted, most of the African community organisations were set up between 1986 and 1993. This was the period when most Africans arrived in Australia as refugees or immigrants.

The many factors influenced organisation activities, services and programs. A large number of the membership of most associations had a refugee background. This factor coupled with the recency of arrival of African immigrants in Australia ensured that needs and problems associated with immigration were of great importance. The leaders maintained that many of the refugees arrived in Australia with very few possessions. Many of them were left with only what they had been able to carry on the plane that brought them to Australia. One interviewee remarked, “These refugees needed all sorts of assistance from our organisation”.

7.1.14 Changed social needs of new immigrants

This factor was identified by all the leaders as a factor which influenced the activities/services/programs provided by African community organisations to their members. The leaders noted that the Australian environment into which African immigrants had moved provided both opportunities for and constraints to their economic, political and social activities. The multiplicity of roles the Africans played in the African environment - roles
such as brothers and sisters, husbands and wives, employers, employees, friends, affiliate of various secondary groups, etc. - had been suddenly reduced to a minimum. Because all roles are defined in relationship to other roles, the very movement away from a homeland necessarily results in a reduction in role activities. Furthermore, this same contraction had also occurred in terms of the organisation members’ statices, that is, their social positions when moving to Australia. Hierarchies are the expression of persons being ranked in relation to others and the positions held by organisational members in Africa had disappeared with their migration. The organisations had therefore also been established to assist such members to cope with their changed circumstances.

7.1.15 Government funding and Publicity

The level of government funding affected the services and programs the associations provided to their members.

This factor was seen by 13 organisation leaders as a major issue which adversely affected the implementation of all their activities. Organisations had not been able to provide their members with the required services because of lack of funding from the government. It is a fact that in a submission-based and competitive system in Australia, with very limited resources, newly organised small communities such as the African group are likely to be pushed aside. The leaders stated that they did not believe that government funding was based on the needs of the community but was based on communities which were vocal in political circles. They maintained that they could provide more services/programs/activities if funds would be available.

The following programs/services/activities would be provided by the organisations if funds were made available to them:

a) Cultural troupes to promote African culture in Australia

b) Sporting activities

c) Child care services

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d) Health awareness programs

e) African language classes

f) African Resource Centre

g) Newsletter for members

At the time of the interview only one African community organisation, the African Communities Council of Victoria was producing a newsletter - ACCOV VOICE - This newsletter was produced for African communities to represent their views, needs and news of cultural affairs. It was also an avenue for the Council to inform members of mainstream services, opportunities and current events in Australian society.

The other 17 organisation leaders stated that they could not afford the expense and expertise involved in the publication of newsletters. They publicised their programs/services' activities, through personal contacts, word-of-mouth, leaflets, letters and occasional advertisements in local newspapers and local radio stations. My survey suggests that word-of-mouth information was, by far, the major channel of publicity about organisational activities and services. Inadequate and pure lack of resources plagued almost all the organisations under study.

7.1.16 Resources of the organisations: Financial and Capital Assets

The avenues open to newly-forming community organisations for support, include a grant-in-aid from the Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs or another public agency; donation of public land; private donations and subscriptions; co-operative saving societies; liquor or gambling licences; support from overseas; profit-making social or sporting activity; other business activity; voluntary labour, or combinations of these. Ethnic newspapers rely heavily on advertising but all the African community organisations under review were too small to generate funds in this way, while virtually all of them did not have regular publications at all.

Interview data revealed that between 1990 and 1992 the organisations' income derived from a variety of sources. Members' dues and fund raising activities formed the largest source of
income for the majority (16 out of 18) of the organisations. Table 7.5 gives a full picture of
the various sources of income for the associations. It can be seen from the table that only
three (16.7 %) out of the 18 organisations derived their main source of income from
government grants. Four organisations received their main source of income from fund
raising activities and one association was mainly funded by private donations.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Main Source of Income</th>
<th>No. of Organisations</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Members' Dues</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>55.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fundraising Activities</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>22.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government Grants</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>16.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private Donations</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It can clearly be seen that government grants played no part in funding the majority (77.8 %)
of the African organisations. This lack of financial support from both state and federal
governments for these associations was seen by the leaders as a discouraging factor in the
establishment of a viable community organisation.

All the leaders described their organisations' financial position as "very weak" and
"unsatisfactory". Some comments made by two of the leaders were

We need more funds to run the associations effectively. We don't have the money to
employ professional workers to provide referral, counselling and support to our
members and to assist in the development of equality of access to mainstream
services. We need professionals to provide emotional and practical support to our
people, especially our women who face problems at home, such as isolation and
domestic violence.

When asked: Since its establishment has your organisation received funding specifically to
provide services for its members four leaders stated that they had received funding from state
and federal governments and private sources. The funding was used to provide health
information and cultural activities for their members.
Twelve organisations had applied for funding and not received it. Two leaders stated that they applied for funds to publish newsletters for their members but did not receive “anything”. They were therefore not able to publish the newsletters. Four organisations applied for funds to set up a cultural centre for members. One leader told me, “We were knocked back and so we were unable to carry out the project.” The five big organisations applied for funds to engage a professional welfare worker to manage their welfare services but “we did not receive any funds for this purpose”.

Although most of the African community organisations were not funded by state or federal governments eight (44.4%) organisations received indirect subsidies or concessions for some of their running expenses. Where organisation offices were located within the premises of a mainstream organisation such as a migrant resource centre, they were allowed to use telephone, stationery and at times the services of personnel free of charge. Rents were also not paid for by these organisations. The type of concession received by these organisations are listed in Table 7.5a.

**Table 7.5a Subsidy/Concessions received by Organisations**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>No. of Organisations</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Telephone</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>16.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Office Space</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>38.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stationery</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>27.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Use of Personnel</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>16.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The average budget for the 18 organisations for a two year period was below $5,000 (see Table 7.5b)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ORGANISATION</th>
<th>AVERAGE BUDGET</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ghana Association of Victoria</td>
<td>$3,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nigerian Society in Victoria</td>
<td>$4,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Afro-Australian Association</td>
<td>$1,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eritrean Community in Australia</td>
<td>$5,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ethiopian Community Association</td>
<td>$6,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Australian Oromo Community</td>
<td>$3,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Victorian Oromo Community Association</td>
<td>$2,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South African Social Club</td>
<td>$3,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Somali Women's Group</td>
<td>$2,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eritrean Women's Group</td>
<td>$2,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zairean Association</td>
<td>Nil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sudanese Community Association</td>
<td>$2,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East African Community Association</td>
<td>Nil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oromo Women's Association in Victoria</td>
<td>$500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Somaliland Committee of Australia</td>
<td>$5,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Somali Relief Association</td>
<td>$4,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liberian Association of Victoria</td>
<td>Nil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>African Communities Council of Victoria¹</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹ The African Communities Council was formed in 1993.
All the organisation representatives interviewed stated that none of their organisations had any physical facilities and assets of their own. They informed me that their associations used halls or buildings of other organisations on a regular basis for social and cultural activities such as dances, cultural shows and association annual general meetings.

The only tangible assets owned by two organisations were musical instruments, cultural artefacts and catering equipment. All the other 16 organisations had no physical assets of their own.

7.1.17 Organisations’ most pressing needs

There were a number of pressing needs which the leaders identified. The funding and consolidation of community organisations was of considerable concern to all the leaders interviewed. One organisation leader stated:

We have been ignored for far too long so far as government grants are concerned. This has made it impossible for us to provide services to our members.

Thirteen leaders (72.2%) explained that submissions for funding were always ignored by both state and federal governments. The leaders informed me that in the 1994/95 round of grant application not a single African community organisation was funded. No association applying for Grant-in-aid workers was successful with its application and no reasons were given by the Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs for rejecting the applications.

Apart from funds, lack of club facilities for socialising by organisation members was seen as a pressing need by 14 (77.8%) association leaders.

The immigration issue was a major problem for all organisation leaders. The main problem was seen to be the government’s policy and procedures regarding family reunion which had the effect of preventing reuniting of families and thus perpetuating the small size of the African community organisation members in Victoria. The leaders’ concern was the inadequate refugee quota for Africa of less than 1000 persons for all of Australia. They stated that this had resulted in very low organisational membership. This, in turn, had created financial problems for the various organisations, especially those representing a very small immigrant
population. Most African community organisations are too small to generate income either through membership dues or through the sale of ethnic newspapers.

Lack of resources was seen by all leaders as a pressing need. They defined resources as also including leadership, ability and willingness of members to contribute money and time commitment. Those interviewed explained that a significant number of their members were refugees and largely unskilled and inexperienced people. Their members worked in low paid jobs and they had to spend a lot of money on settlement issues. This factor made it difficult for the members to spare their time or to donate financially to the organisations. Members were busy settling in and had growing family commitments. The leaders complained that most of the well educated members of the African community were unwilling to become members of the organisations. This group of well educated Africans had secure employment and were not prepared to devote their time to the organisations. Under such circumstances the leaders interviewed felt strongly that Grant-in-aid workers would provide timely professional services to their members.

7.1.18 Effect of government policy on the operation of the organisations

Answers to the question: *In what ways do the Australian government immigration policies affect the operation of your organisation, if any?* tended to be negative. This is what one community leader had to say:

Application for sponsorship of older people are not considered. This makes the composition of the membership mostly young people. There are no older people to support the youth. In Africa the older people have a special place in society. (7).

Others stated that their members found it very difficult to sponsor their relatives 'who would increase our membership.' They pointed out to me that even those who were assessed to be eligible under the Points System to Australia had to wait for a very long time before visas were issued to them. Particular concerns related to problems of gaining access to the few Australian embassies in Africa. As noted earlier there are only three Australian embassies in Africa which process migration applications. This factor made it hard for would-be African immigrants to Australia to obtain visas.
Australian settlement policies were seen by all African leaders to favour the already established ethnic groups in Australia and not African communities. They maintained that the Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs had refused to support and encourage African ethnic organisations to manage their own affairs. Most of the time white workers with no experience in African affairs were appointed to manage issues affecting the welfare of African refugees. The leaders saw this as another method of 'colonising' the African in Australia. The leaders maintained that there were enough qualified African social welfare workers who would be able to work with their own people but the Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs would not give grants to African community organisations to employ these African professionals to work within their own communities. They remarked that African immigrants, particularly refugees in Australia face many complex problems. Many refugees have fled wars and famine and have lost family and friends as a result of these factors before they finally arrived in Australia. In some cases, news from home brought further grief, adding to re-settlement and integration difficulties. Australia is usually the second or third country of asylum. Problems such as unemployment, long delays in obtaining affordable housing and social isolation or alienation, beset those who come to Australia to start new lives.

The leaders maintained that the settlement process for most African refugees is long and hard, requiring cultural and practical support, recognition of individual worth, provision of mainstream information, assisted access and advocacy and a supported environment for socialisation. They said that since African people began arriving in the mid-80s, there have been persistent misunderstandings about African cultures and values on the part of mainstream organisations and that the Australian Government has not "done very much about these things".

SECTION TWO: CASE STUDY OF THREE AFRICAN COMMUNITY ORGANISATIONS

Complementing the previous survey, a case study of three African community organisations was undertaken (see Chapter 6 Introduction for rationale). These organisations are:
The Ghana Association of Victoria

The Afro-Australian Association (an umbrella organisation)

The African Communities Council of Victoria (ACCOV) (an umbrella organisation).

7.2.1 Case Studies

7.2.1.1 The Ghana Association in Victoria

The Ghana Association in Victoria was one of the first African ethnic organisations to be formed in the State. The following account of the Ghana Association was given to me by the President, Mr Nat Dzadey.

The Ghana Association in Victoria (GAV) was formed in 1985 by ex-students who wanted to come together to find solutions to problems of isolation and discrimination in employment, housing and accommodation which were being faced by members of their community.

The Ghanaians who arrived came with very little or no assets, however, most Ghanaians are well educated with tertiary qualifications. Many of them had their qualifications not recognised by the Australian Government, making it difficult for them to obtain employment in areas where they had experience and expertise.

Of particular concern in the Ghanaian community was the presence of a high number of single male and female members in their early 30s. These people had few social networks and isolation was a major issue for them. In Ghana, support is provided by communities as a part of the people's culture which contains an "ethos of looking after each other". Support takes the form of talking with people, assessing their situation and feelings, providing information, visiting at their homes and practical welfare assistance as appropriate. The main facility for engaging community members and offering support, is through associational activities.

To counteract their social integration problems in Victoria, some members of the small Ghanaian community came together and formed a social and cultural association. The aims and objectives of the Association were as follows:

• to foster a strong bond of friendship between Ghanaians and their partners in Victoria;
• to assist new Ghanaian immigrants to settle in Victoria;
• to offer support and assistance to Ghanaian community members;
• to organise activities with a view to promoting the Ghanaian culture and serve as a reference point on issues relating to Ghana and
• assist members in their settlement process through assistance with job search, housing and accommodation.

The Association is managed by the following officers: President, Vice President; Secretary, Treasurer, Welfare Officer and a Publicity Officer.

The Ghana Association encountered a number of difficulties including limited resources, small membership and lacking of funding. Lack of resources made it hard to organise enough social and cultural events which would satisfy the support needs of the members. In order to address these needs, funding was sought from many sources. The latest funding application went to the Australian Council for the Arts. The funding was sought for the organisation of "regular cultural activities" with the following objectives:

• “Promotion of social integration of members into mainstream society “ and
• “Provision of consistent support for members”

According to the President, none of the Association's applications for funding was successful and this made it impossible for the Association to effectively address the settlement needs of its members. The reasons normally given for rejecting the Association's funding applications included the small size of the organisation. This reason compelled the Association to join forces with an umbrella organisation to seek for funds to cater for the settlement needs of its members.
7.2.1.2 The Afro-Australian Association

The account of the Afro-Australian Association given below was dictated to me by the chairperson of that organisation.

The Afro-Australian Association was founded in August, 1985 by a group of African refugees who had just arrived in Victoria from different parts of the African continent.

The Enterprise Migrant Centre in Springvale became a mini-United Nations. It accommodated people from Eastern and Western Europe, Asia, Latin America, Africa and other parts of the world. The leader of AAA stated that, ‘We lived under one roof, cared for by settled migrants and/or refugees and a few Australians’. He went on to say that ‘Almost all other ethnic groups were being welcomed to the “new found land” by people from their own countries of origin except the Africans’. This brought about the idea of forming an African ethnic community organisation. The idea was originally conceived by two African refugees - Nabiha from Ethiopia and Patrice from Angola - who lived at the centre. The two had experienced “extreme loneliness and boredom”. There were few Africans at the centre until August 1985 when the number increased.

About sixty-six Africans from many parts of Africa attended the first meeting held at the Springvale Neighbourhood offices. The name Afro-Australian Association was proposed and agreed upon as the most appropriate one. An interim leadership was elected for a period of six months. The task of the interim leadership was to draft a constitution and to organise not only the newly arrived African refugees but also those who had been here longer. The foundation leadership were inspired by the way other ethnic groups were organised. They were convinced that a body embracing all Africans could be the right vehicle for unity among the Africans.

Among the first to lead the Association were Yussef Bakar Gole from Ethiopia, Edward Sello from South Africa, Nabiha from Ethiopia, Olivia from Namibia, Patrice from Angola, Hans Claasen from Namibia, Adballah Sheikh from Ethiopia, Absamed from Ethiopia, Clement Kapote from Malawi, Adishi from Ethiopia, Mohammed Adam from Somalia, Mamley Nartey
from Ghana, Aly Limo from Tanzania, Bright Nyondo from Malawi and Rose Shigange from South Africa. This clearly shows that the Afro-Australian Association membership cuts across all ethnic lines in Africa.

The Association was incorporated on the 10th of December 1986 under the Associations Incorporation Act of 1981 but it was not until 10th of January, 1987 that it was officially launched at Monash University’s Sports and Recreation Centre.

The leader interviewed maintained that they encountered numerous hardships in the process of building up the organisation. He mentioned 'many man-hours spent, denial of family and personal time-offs and monies spent from personal pockets. He went on to say that

We had to use personal cars to get from place to place organising the community. We never claimed allowance nor mileage expenses. We met telephone bills from our own pockets. Postage stamps and many other items were at times provided by individual members of the executive committee. We all worked on voluntary basis.

By December 1988 the Association had its membership spread among many African communities. Prior to 1988 many Africans were unfamiliar with its intentions. As refugees, most Africans were suspicious of the Association’s intentions. However, when the leaders publicised the aims of the Association, many Africans joined it. The main aims of organisation were:

1. To cater for the social welfare needs of African immigrants and refugees;
2. To organise cultural and social activities for Africans in Victoria;
3. To organise seminars to project African image and counter unwarranted negative perceptions of Africa.

The leader listed a number of reasons why the association could not function properly in the initial stages. The main reasons put forward were lack of financial, human and material resources. He explained that in three years “we were unable to generate funds for the association because the government would not give us a grant” and because “our own people were so few and most of them were unemployed”. Those who were fortunate to be employed worked day and night, long hours in order to feed and shelter their families. For
these people the question of survival was more pressing than participation in the functions of the Association. The Association did not have an office. This made it extremely difficult to arrange meetings from one house to another. Members lived far apart from one another and most of them did not own their transport. The association had no typewriter, no photocopier and no telephone facilities.

Issues which pre-occupied the Association's attention when it was formed were 'primarily social and welfare in character. The aim was to bring newly arrived Africans together and assist them in their settlement process. The executive committee was convinced that by way of social interaction, African immigrants and refugees could get to know and support one another better and build a line of communication between them and mainstream society.

As community interest in the Association grew, its activities and plans for the future had to be diversified. On 7th of October 1987 the initiators of Association took part in a protest meeting against the closure of the Springvale Migrant Centre. The argument was that the centre was the most ideal place for newly arrived migrants and refugees because many Africans lived in the Springvale area at that time.

Together with Mr. Louis Kent, Federal Member of Parliament for Hotham, the Afro-Australian Association along with three other community groups signed a petition against the closure of the centre. The Federal government ignored the petition and the hostel was finally closed at the end of 1987. This was due to a thrust from the federal government for economic rationalisation of services and in line with the DIEA shift of re-settlement responsibility, leaving the newly arrived to find their own accommodation in the private rental market. However, this proved very difficult for families who were confronted with many barriers such as language, culture shock and racism. Closure having caused much hardship, the hostel was eventually re-opened in 1988.

The activities of the AAA continued in the form of various seminars, and workshops arranged at Universities around Melbourne, as well as continued attention to lobbying for funding support. On March, the 28th, 1987 the Association organised the first African
Children’s Day at Monash University. On the same day the first issue of the association’s news letter - the *African News* - was also launched. The initial circulation was 600 copies.

In March the same year, the Afro-Australian Association became the first African ethnic community organisation to participate in Melbourne’s Moomba Festival. Following the successful participation in the festival, the Association organised its first cultural and dinner dance at Monash University’s Dinner Hall. An African dance band and traditional cultural group entertained the people who attended the function.

The Association also made provision for the welfare of African women and youth. The interviewee stated that through the Association, African women came to know each other better and were able to ‘improve their lot’ by coming together.

Regarding the welfare of African youth this is what the leader had to say:

> The Association noted with great concern the increasing number of our youth. To this end we had to create a youth wing within the Association to cater for their needs. We put in place special programs preparing our youth for the future. Because the African community had very few old people the Association concentrated much attention on the youth who are our hope and pride.

In 1987 the Association devoted part of its attention to national matters affecting Africans in Australia. From March 21st to 22nd, 1987 the AAA took part for the first time in the 22nd national convention of the All African Student Union in Australia (AASUA), held at Melbourne University. The Association participated in several other activities. In August 1987, the AAA’s Public Officer, Aly Lyimo and the AAA’s Secretary for Education and Culture, Abdallah Sheikh, attended a *Sixty-Minutes* Television program regarding some Australians’ racial attitude towards black Africans in Australia. The program participants included members of an African organisation in New South Wales and Bruce Ruxton, the man opposed to the intake of African refugees into Australia. The debate centred on black African immigration to Australia.

In October 1987 the AAA participated in a concert organised by the United Nations International Children’s Educational Fund’s Mozambique Appeal Committee of which the
AAA chairman was a secretary. The chairman stated that it was the wish of AAA to take 'active part in matters that affect Africans here in Australia and in Africa'.

In September 1987 the AAA issued a press release expressing its concern over the low intake of African refugees and migrants. The association urged the Australian government to increase the intake in a bid to boost the African migrant population in Australia. The Association's other reason for urging the government to increase the intake of African refugees was to 'reduce the pressure felt by African governments in coping with large numbers of refugees from South Africa, Namibia, Ethiopia, Sudan and other African countries'. Prior to this media release, the AAA executive had participated in consultation meetings with officials from the Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs, aimed at enabling the African community representatives to raise settlement issues affecting members of the African communities in Melbourne.

In November, 1987, the AAA organised a one-day conference at Melbourne University. The theme of the conference was: *African Migrants: Resettlement, Present and Future Needs.* Among the official guests were the Federal Member for Carwell and chairperson of Government Immigration and Ethnic Affairs Committee, Dr. Andrew Theophanous and the chairman of the Victorian State Ethnic Affairs Commission, Dr George Papadopoulous. Among the resolutions passed were:

a) An increase in the intake of African refugees

b) The Australian government to eradicate discrimination at work places

c) Education, employment and housing opportunities to be made accessible to African migrants

The leader lamented that despite the presence of government officials at the conference, none of the resolutions passed was taken up by the government. African refugees and immigrants continued to suffer discrimination and inequality. It was the aim of AAA to assist its members to gain access to employment and housing but without government support, 'there was nothing we could do for our members'.
In order to reach its people scattered all over Melbourne, the AAA on 19 October, 1987 applied for an African language program on the ethnic radio 3EA network. The association’s request was turned down by the radio authorities, saying that the station was unable to offer the African community a spot on 3EA Radio ‘because the authorities were restructuring and rescheduling programs’.

Despite this setback, the Association struggled to assist its members in their settlement process. In 1988, the executive campaigned extensively to win the support of many Africans who still remained uncertain of their life and future in Australia. For the first time since its inception, Africans from all walks of life showed signs of genuine interest in the Association. Even those who at first had no time because of family and other commitments came forward to express their interest.

In its efforts to assist its members in their process of social integration into mainstream society, the Afro-Australian Association organised inter organisational activities which brought Africans and non-Africans together. One such event was the *Into Africa* project. In November, 1988 AAA was invited by Community Aid Abroad to officially open its *Into Africa* project at Brunswick. This project was designed to give an insight into the life in an African village. Many Africans were given the opportunity to explain African village life to non-African Australians. The association leadership called on all African communities to make good use of the village, saying that it ‘should be an educational centre where Australians would learn more about Africa and its people through Africans themselves’.

The association was also invited by the Victorian Police Aeroclub to participate in their annual multicultural festival at Essendon Airport in December 1988. A bus-load of Africans attended the function. These events assisted association members to get to better know other Australians. However, by the end of December 1988, the Association had started to decline as a result of a number of factors which the next section describes.
Problems Encountered by the Afro-Australian Association

The major problem faced by the Association from 1989 onwards was financial and human resources and the lack thereof. The association’s financial position during this period was described by the interviewee as ‘not very healthy because the association has been spending monies on community-related activities without the government making any contribution towards making a financially viable association’. At the same time very little financial support came from the African community because of the small size of the African immigrant population at that time. He went on to say that ‘for any organisation to grow financially, it needs members to support it’.

This lack of financial resources affected the Association’s general welfare and educational programs for its members. The Association applied for a grant from the Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs in 1990 to assist it to provide social welfare services and activities to its members. The application was not successful. This lack of funding made it impossible for the Association to continue to respond to the needs of its community. This weakened considerably its position in the eyes of its members. The leader reiterated that ‘multiculturalism has failed us. It has made us remain “powerless”’. By 1991 members of the Afro-Australian Association felt that their organisation had been marginalised in the sense that the ‘government does not give us any budget allocation and our numbers are down as a result of low intake of African refugees and immigrants to Australia’. By mid June 1991 the Afro-Australian Association had become almost defunct. To revive the Association, the President Hassan Bulhan invited old members to a meeting to discuss ways and means the organisation could be revived. He stated in the letter of invitation that ‘the Afro-Australian Association has been inactive for quite sometime due to a number of factors’.

I attended this meeting on 23 June, 1991. At that meeting the President of the Association explained that the organisation was passing through a very difficult time in its history. He complained of lack of support from the government to develop infrastructure for the Association. He explained that since its establishment in 1985, six years ago, the Association had received only one $5000 grant from the Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs.
The President stated that the Association's application in 1990 for a Grant-in-Aid worker to the Department was rejected on no explicable grounds. The absence of a community development worker to draw African ethnic group members together made it impossible for the Association to function viably. The President further explained that the executive members of the Association were caught up with working for the survival of themselves and their families. In addition to the Association management, they were working 'extremely hard in their own specific ethnic communities'. They, therefore, had little time, money or other resources for reasonable organisation and work within their own community let alone for working jointly with other African groups. The President felt strongly that Africans being new arrivals deserved special encouragement from the government. He explained that such an encouragement should come from the government making funds available for the development of the organisation, especially during the early settlement phase of the Association members.

Another meeting was called on 1 September, 1991. This time the main concern was a need for a strong cohesive African body to act as a forum for tackling issues which confront the African community in Victoria. As stated earlier, owing to the lack of financial, material and human resources, the Afro-Australian Association had disintegrated into fragments of ethnic organisations by this time. Frantic efforts were being made to bring the organisation together in its original form. The invitation that went out on 22 July, 1991 asked each of these organisations to 'be represented by at least two members who will be designated as official members from that organisation ...'

At the September 1991 meeting, representatives were urged to bury their differences and come together to form one strong umbrella organisation. One representative said, 'One voice, spoken in the name of thousands or millions, is better than several million voices that will make no point but only noise'. Another delegate stated

This generation of Africans must find solutions to some of the problems Africans have been facing for centuries. Let us endeavour to create a better and strong base for the future. Let our children, our grand children and great grand children find a stable and progressive society, let them come to live and work in dignity as equal partners in building a multicultural Australia. Let our children and their children never experience the same problems we have gone through. We can achieve great
things under the banner of one strong umbrella organisation. We have good reason
to be socially united, to share the little that we have, to bring our children and fellow
Africans together and to support one another. It’s our conviction that through unity
of purpose we can defeat racism and discrimination of any kind. We can use it as a
weapon and our voice will be heard by the government. (Mohammed Hassan,
September 1991)

This was the beginning of the formation of a new African umbrella organisation in Victoria -
African Communities Council of Victoria

7.2.1.3 The Establishment of the African Communities Council of Victoria
(ACCOV)

The situation of African refugees and immigrants in Australia disadvantaged by their socio-
economic position and the migration process prompted leaders of a number of African ethnic
organisations to come together to form an umbrella organisation. Most Africans felt that their
existing ethnic organisations were not being ‘heard’ by the government and so felt that a viable
umbrella organisation comprising all African ethnic associations in Melbourne might be able to
assist African refugees and immigrants in the settlement process. In March 1991,
representatives of thirteen ethnic organisations came together and discussed the possibility of
setting up a new umbrella organisation. The organisations participating in the establishment
of ACCOV included the Ghana Association in Victoria, the Ethiopian Community
Association, the Australian Oromo Association, the Liberian Community Association, the
Nigerian Society in Victoria, the Somali Relief Association and the Sudanese Community
Association. A working group of 13 members representing each association was formed to
work on the role and structure of this future body.

The representatives unanimously adopted the name - African Communities Council of Victoria
(ACCOV) - for the new umbrella organisation. After two years of consultations with various
African ethnic organisations, the African Communities Council of Victoria was formally
established on 3 October, 1993. The ACCOV Information Sheet (March 1994) states that the
establishment of the Council:

is in recognition of the modest but steady increase in the migration of Africans and
people of African origin into Australia. It is also in recognition of the need for all
present and future Africans in Australia to find affirmation, dignity and identity in their
cultural heritage and in the traditions and values of their new home.

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The Council is described in the information sheet as essentially an umbrella organisation which aims to lobby on behalf of these ethnic communities and to act as a mouthpiece for the African community in Victoria. In this regard, the Council can be described as a co-ordinating body of the African community in Victoria.

The main aims and objectives of the Council are described in the Information Sheet as:

- To foster unity among Africans and African organisations in Victoria.

- To promote African arts and culture in Australia.

- To establish effective communication between service providers, including relevant government departments and the newly arrived African immigrants and refugees and African community organisations.

- To lobby Australian governments for appropriate policies affecting the welfare of African refugees and immigrants in Australia.

- To advocate, advise and inform relevant communities and agencies about settlement issues affecting the African migrant population.

- To identify and document needs of the African migrant population.

- To assist and work with the relevant organisations and government departments to improve their services and information provision for the newly-arrived African refugees and immigrants (e.g. in areas of health, housing, education, training and employment, information distribution, participation in community consultation and immigration issues) and

- To undertake development education projects which contribute to a better understanding in Australia of the factors affecting economic and social development in Africa.

The Council performs other significant functions including assisting in meeting feelings of isolation and alienation and providing African immigrants and refugees with information about mainstream services.

The African Communities Council of Victoria (ACCOV) is primarily devoted to addressing the community needs of African migrants and refugees. As an umbrella organisation, it was
formed to advocate and lobby on behalf of Africans, embracing all cultural and ethnic backgrounds, to provide a clear voice in communication with Government and non-Government agencies and with the media.

The Council, being an Incorporated body, conforms with all standard legal requirements and procedures and is managed by an Executive Committee. Executive meetings are held frequently, no less than monthly. Observers are welcome and meetings are open to members for participation and contribution of views. General meetings are also held regularly throughout the year when all Africans are invited to attend and express their individual and/or Association opinions and votes.

Council members believe that effective community relationships can only be developed and maintained if there are ways in which information, knowledge and understandings can be exchanged between mainstream organisations and their personnel and the African communities themselves. As an umbrella body, the African Communities Council of Victoria is well placed as a co-ordinating body for all African communities in Victoria, to act as a central facility for collecting and documenting data, and sharing this information as a service provided to Government and non-Government mainstream agencies. Similarly, the Council is also well placed to act as a conduit and central facility for disseminating information on mainstream services and their access, as a service provided to Africans, African community organisations, particularly refugees and newly arrived groups who may have few family supports.

**The Structure of ACCOV**

The constitution of the organisation states that ‘admission to the Council is open to all incorporated African ethnic associations in Victoria’. It is also open to ‘any African association of people whether incorporated or not who accept the aims and objectives of the Council’.

The Council’s day to day affairs are managed by seven elected executive committee members and three co-opted members. The elected officers are the President, Vice President, General Secretary, Treasurer, Assistant Secretary, Public Officer and Welfare Officer.
At the time of the study the Council was in the process of establishing specific task portfolios/groups which were described as ‘an integral and vital mechanism for the operations of the Council’. These specific task groups would be made up of community representatives who would donate their time on a voluntary basis. The following portfolios were envisaged: youth affairs; women’s affairs; public relations; employment and industrial relations; housing/accommodation issues; financial affairs; education and training and immigration, refugees and family reunion and aged care issues. Each of these portfolios would have a specific task to undertake.

These Task Groups were seen by the executive members as setting a very significant work program for 1995 and beyond. Obviously, the list did not exclude additional task groups being established as a consequence of relevant issues arising either from within the membership or from external sources, for example, government policy, program or legislative amendments or additions as well as requests for consultations with both the government and non-government sectors.

In addition all affiliates were asked to nominate individuals with professional expertise or relevant experience in the various State and Federal Government Departmental areas in order to establish a data base of experts within each area.

The Council’s regular media for the dissemination of information to its affiliates and other interested individuals and organisations were primarily a newsletter, ‘ACCOV VOICE’ which is produced on a quarterly basis as of 1994 as well as ACCOV Council Meetings and Forums and occasional letters. At the time of the study, ACCOV VOICE was not in regular circulation due to lack of both human and financial resources to produce it.

The African Communities Council of Victoria is now established as an incorporated body with full constitutional structure, an Executive-Management Committee and a growing organisational membership base. At the time of the study, establishment was secure, but financial, material and staff resources were severely limited. These were the main problems
with which the Council was contending. A brief description of the Council's financial, material and human resource problems is the subject matter of the following sections.

Problems Encountered by the African Communities Council of Victoria

There are three significant problems which are threatening the continued existence of this new African ethnic organisation. These relate to financial, material and human resources. Without doubt financial resources play a key role in maintaining a viable organisation. The Council has not succeeded in receiving any grant from the Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs. Federal grants are allocated annually through the Department to various ethnic organisations to provide services to migrant communities in Australia. In the words of Gerry Hand the former Minister for Immigration and Ethnic Affairs

The grants will assist community organisations in meeting settlement needs and will facilitate migrant and refugee access to mainstream services (DIEA Media Release, February 1993)

According to the Minister, the 'grants recognise the priority the Government gives to ensuring that recent arrivals have easy access to settlement services'. In the case of the African Communities of Victoria, this recognition is yet to come.

At time of writing, the Council has had no physical assets whatsoever. It operated temporarily from the Ecumenical Migration Centre (EMC) in Collingwood. The Council had to pay (EMC) for whatever material it used at the Centre, including photocopying. Mostly, the Executive Members have done their own word processing at home and taken the finished product to EMC for photocopying to members. The Council has lacked a secure home base or office. The EMC has been the Council's usual meeting place, with occasional meetings at members' work offices during the weekend. With an increasing demand for its services, ACCOV has long needed to establish major activity portfolios, which require co-ordination by a full-time paid worker. An additional full-time paid worker has also been needed to co-ordinate the Council's daily activities. There has been a clear lack of human resources for essential networking with mainstream services and personnel, and for the viability of the African Communities Council in its full capacity for enacting its objectives for the welfare of members.

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In 1990, the Department of Immigration funded a full-time Community Development position, specifically for targeting African communities in Victoria. This position was established to liaise with African community associations, communicate with their members, research and document the re-settlement needs of these groups, and make recommendations to the Department, State and Federal Governments and social service agencies working with African peoples. A major feature of this program was to facilitate and assist with the establishment of a peak body organisation, whose aim was to provide an effective and unified voice for the culturally diverse African communities. This position was located at the Ecumenical Migration Centre which supervised and managed the program. Unfortunately, this position was beset by structural problems and it was terminated in August, 1994. As stated above lack of a permanent staff member to co-ordinate the Council’s activities does not augur well for ACCOV’s future. If the Department of Immigration does not provide a Grant-in-Aid worker to support the voluntary workers presently working for the Council, the future of ACCOV will follow the same path as previously the Afro-Australian Association.

The Council is functioning now because there are two professional social workers and one community development worker who work for ACCOV on a voluntary basis. It is not very likely that these professionals will work for the Council in this voluntary capacity for long owing to burn-out and increasing demands on the Council’s services. Some of these demands are related to women’s issues and needs but women’s participation in Council affairs has to date been extremely low.

The low level of women’s participation in the running of the African Communities Council of Victoria required special attention. It was therefore decided to positively encourage the active involvement of women, not only to reflect the nature of the workings of the Council, but also for the much needed gender balance and for the invaluable contributions of women to the Council. The Council resolved that

- women representation was needed and essential for the existence of the Council;
- the present male dominated organisation was not a true representation and reflection of what the Council stands for;
it was necessary to ascertain from African women organisation leaders their views and perceptions of the Council.

To make the task easier for the Council, a high profile woman of standing amongst the African immigrant population was employed by the Council to undertake the project of ascertaining African women’s views and the perceptions of the African Communities Council of Victoria.

There are about seven African Women's groups meeting regularly in Melbourne. For example, the Eritrean Women's organisation was formed in 1988. The aim was for women to come together to discuss their settlement problems and to interact with fellow Australian women and men. The Group engages in handicraft to demonstrate the cultural heritage and traditional artefacts from their homeland. This project started through the modest contributions by members. At every opportunity, they display their traditional culture and food. This type of activity brings them together quite often, thus breaking the isolation which most African women face in Australia.

The Somali Women's Group was established in 1990. The main reason for starting this group was to support Somali women refugees already in Australia and to preserve Somali cultural heritage in Australia. It was also conceived as a support group for settlement of new arrivals in Victoria. The group is made up of about 60 members and they meet monthly. They invite speakers from different agencies and organisations such as the Commonwealth Employment Service, Department of Social Security, Child Protection Agency, Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs, Legal Aids Commission and Asthma Foundation to give them information about their services and programs. They also assist in finding English language learning centres for those of their members who need it. They are not funded in any of these activities. She believed that coming together under one umbrella organisation is a good starting point.

On the whole, the project worker held discussions with 28 women from different African organisations as well as individuals. The project worker was of the opinion that it was necessary to get African women involved in the Council’s management to be able to address
problems that were particularly relevant to them. However, she thought that many African women were not participating fully in the Council because they were unaware of the Council's existence. She also emphasised making meetings more effective and easier for women to attend. The project worker urged the Council to improve its publicity machinery and to look into the issue of why African groups were no longer funded by the Department of Immigration.

Other African women expressed interest in the Council's aims and objectives. However, it became clear that most of the women contacted had very little knowledge about the activities of the Council. This finding appears to fall in line with the way and manner women are treated in society. Women are more often than not either left out completely in many organisations or relegated to the margins (Pascall, 1986).

7.3 SUMMARY

This chapter has been structured into two main sections: the first section was devoted to the general character and dynamics of African community associations established in the Melbourne Metropolitan area and the role of these organisations in the social integration of their members. The final section included a quasi case study of three African community organisations (see Chapter 6.1 for the rationale behind this strategy).

This chapter has attempted to explore and interpret the role played by African community organisations in the adaptive process of their members in Australia. It has also attempted to determine the factors/conditions perceived by respondents to be a hindrance to the effective mobilisation of the African group into a cohesive, strong and active body capable of influencing government policies for the welfare of African immigrants and refugees in Australia.
African Community Organisations assisted their members in the settlement process in several ways. They provided information about mainstream services. They also organised social and cultural activities and functions for their members.

Institutional factors such as low intake of African immigrants and lack of human and financial resources affected the smooth delivery of services of the African Community Organisations.

Endnotes

1. It needs to be understood that the AAA operated internally through informal networks. Its activities were enabled by informal communications amongst Africans and motivated by its few dedicated and constantly active Executive members. As a voluntary ethnic organisation, such energy can only be maintained with an input of resources. Given the lack of resource support as described, the AAA did well to achieve its profile, based as this was on personal efforts and personal costs.
CHAPTER 8

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION OF FINDINGS

8.0 AFRICAN MIGRATION AND INTEGRATION IN AUSTRALIA: A SUMMARY

The primary aim of the thesis was to explore and interpret the role of African ethnic community organisations in the adaptive process of their members in Australia. Another purpose of the study was to determine the factors/conditions perceived by both members and leaders of these organisations to be a hindrance to the effective mobilisation of African refugees and immigrants into a cohesive, strong and active body capable of influencing government policies for the welfare of their members.

An "applied" theoretical approach was utilised in the study to explain the role of African ethnic community organisations in the social integration of their members. The value of this "applied" approach lies in the fact that ethnic organisations are to be understood for a purpose 'other than just that of pure academic exercise' (Jackson, 1991). The policy context identified in this study is constituted by the Australian immigration and settlement policies and the multicultural policy as they affect the immigration and settlement of African immigrants and refugees in Australia. The political economy approach adopted in the analysis of the study made it possible to identify the structural causes of social problems in which the African ethnic community organisations were entangled.

In relation to the main theme, the study focussed on the following aspects:

a) the process of immigrant integration into a new society;

b) the nature of ethnic organisations;

c) the role of voluntary organisations;

d) the impact of host society immigration and settlement policies on ethnic organisations and
e) the nature and characteristics of African ethnic community organisations.

A review of the literature on the process of immigrant integration into a new society disclosed the untenability of assimilation and adaptation concepts in the analysis of the process of immigrant settlement. Assimilation was considered inappropriate because it is a process which ignores a group's diverse beliefs and behavioural patterns. Thus the end product of assimilation is the eradication of the group as a distinct cultural entity. The unsuitability of the term 'adaptation' for this study lies in the fact that it suggests capitulation to a superior body. Adapting seems to be a passive process.

Integration was found to be a more suitable and appropriate term because it takes the beliefs and other cultural aspects of a group into consideration. It was viewed as a situation in which a group continues to be an 'integer or unit on its own, but one which, as part of a greater whole, is accepted by the majority'.

It was pointed out in Chapter Two that the social integration of an immigrant group into a new society connotes the existence of a 'boundary' to be crossed by the incoming group. This 'boundary' stood for the presence of other groups in the new environment. The concepts of race, culture and ethnicity as they impact on social integration were therefore examined. It was noted that Wallman (1986) argued that the structure of the community can influence the "hardening" or "softening" of ethnic boundaries. The literature review on ethnic voluntary organisations examined the role which these organisations play in the softening or hardening of these boundaries.

The average age of organisation members was 34.9 years. Most of the members arrived as single migrants. A significant number of organisation members had tertiary and professional qualifications. Despite this factor, respondents had not necessarily occupied high-level jobs. On the contrary, most of them were engaged in semi- or unskilled industrial work. The emphasis on the working class and also 'underclass' nature of migrants (Rex and Tomlinson, 1979: 275) is relevant to most African immigrants and refugees in Australia.
The majority of male respondents were not married, reflecting a higher proportion of single male African immigrants than women, the majority of whom were married with children. More than 77 per cent of respondents lived in cities and urban centres prior to their migration to Australia. This lends support to the fact that international migration in Africa is an urban phenomenon. The majority (more than 83%) of respondents had either taken up Australian citizenship or were permanent residents.

The main needs of respondents were associated with the public domain - getting appropriate jobs which matched their qualifications; finding public housing; looking for ways and means of bringing family members to Australia to ease problems of isolation and finding avenues to redress racial discrimination. Although these needs are not peculiar to the African group, they are intensified within the refugee section of the population. The African communities as a whole have no well-established communities as can be said of the major ethnic communities such as the Greeks and Italians. It is little wonder, therefore, that respondents experienced such needs as identity-related issues, family viability, social support, community support and identity support. Unlike these major ethnic communities, the African communities have limited access to existing institutions or to a large pool of similar background. The African group consists of individuals who are just as able to make their way as others and just as much in need of support as others. These individuals are younger than the overseas-born average and many are well educated, reflecting current Australian immigration recruiting priorities. What is lacking in the communities is completed family networks (including a locally-born adult generation).

It emerged from the literature review that while the potential was there for ethnic community organisations to contribute to the softening of cultural boundaries, factors in the broader social and economic environment rather reinforce cultural barriers for minority immigrant groups. The study findings confirmed this view. The majority of respondents (both individual organisation members and leaders of organisations) stated that structural barriers such as the way and manner immigration and settlement policies of the Australian government are practised, disadvantage the effectiveness of their organisations. It was clear from the
literature that networks, including family and friends of the same background play an important part at the level of primary groups. It was noted that family reunion is important for new immigrants, especially for refugees. The point was made that in African societies, families not only provide support but are also sources of economic security and mutual aid. This was confirmed by respondents in the study.

It was evident that it is generally held that ethnic organisations best perform the function of mediation between their communities and state institutions, in addition to broad-ranging welfare assistance offered to their community population. Kuo's phases for the growth of ethnic organisations (1977) bears relevance over time to Breton's (1964) "institutional completeness" (see also Perry, 1976) Minority ethnic groups may well require considerable encouragement to develop, especially during the early settlement phase. It was noted that in order to facilitate the consolidation or development of the degree of organisational services in meeting community needs, government can play a crucial supportive role through funding provision of material and human resources.

Despite these problems, African organisation leaders and members maintained that African community organisations provided protection and vital assistance in the form of companionship, blunted the severity of culture shock and attenuated adjustment to the new Australian society. Through a variety of activities catering to the distinct ethnocultural background, African organisations continued to meet and satisfy the special needs, interests, values and attitudes of over half of the African immigrant population in Victoria.

There is consensus in the literature (eg. Cox, 1987; and Scott and Scott, 1990) that social cohesion of an immigrant group depends upon a number of intersecting factors, such as size, function and scope for development, and to the extent to which these factors are facilitated or supported by government policy and strategy implementation.

It was noted that African ethnic community organisations in Victoria are recent phenomena. Most organisations were established between 1984 and 1992 when Australia started accepting refugees from sub-Saharan Africa. The range of organisations maintained by the African
population in Melbourne performed almost identical functions. Their goals and objectives were similar and most of them had been established to meet the needs of particular ethnic groups. Organisations were formed on the basis of national, regional, common ethnicity and other aspects of shared cultural heritage, factors providing a bond of identity and accentuating members' cultural distinctiveness. The only umbrella organisation that admitted other African ethnic community organisations was the African Communities Council of Victoria which was formed in 1993 whilst the Afro-Australian Association addressed all Africans irrespective of ethnic origins.

Altogether 22 African associations were active in the State of Victoria in 1991-1995, of which 18 were included in this study. A typology of these organisations was based on association goals and functions. Almost all the organisations pursued social welfare and cultural activities and characterised themselves mostly as independent, self-help, voluntary, service delivery and community-based organisations. All but one organisation were secular associations. Many more men than women were involved in organisational activities. There were four women-only organisations whilst the others were open to both men and women.

Leaders of the African community organisations interviewed complained that owing to the small size of the African immigrant population in Australia and Victoria, their organisations were not able to attract sufficient members to enable them to function effectively in delivering social welfare services to their members. Many African community associations have less than 100 members and only one or two have over 100. Even if all members paid their dues (and this is seldom the case), there is usually a shortage of funds to provide activities/services and cover rent on office premises. Thus, size does not favour effective community organisation. Apart from the containment of numbers towards black Africa, institutional/structural barriers have also affected the viability of African community organisations.

The literature indicated that although immigrant organisations may play an important role in facilitating initial adjustment, actual membership and participation is typical of only a small minority of immigrants. Its also indicated that active participation, and particularly the
assumption of leadership roles, is generally confined to the better-educated, longer-term residents (Radecki, 1979). My findings confirm this observation.

Activities, services and programs provided by these organisations were mainly social, cultural and information dissemination. Some of the organisations also performed welfare services such as assisting members to find accommodation and jobs. Factors such as migration pattern of Africans, level of government funding and changed social needs of new migrants influenced the activities, services and programs provided by these organisations.

Lack of resources: personnel, offices, building and funds were seen by all the organisation leaders as a stumbling block for the organisations' effectiveness in the delivery and provision of activities and services.

Ethnic community organisations clearly play a pivotal role in immigrant social integration into mainstream society as it was pointed out in Chapter Two. In order to meet the varied needs of their members, community organisations must be effective; to be effective, they must meet certain criteria (Perlman, 1979). Perlman describes effective organisations as those which employ full-time paid professional staff, have well-developed fundraising capacity, deal with important issues at neighbourhood and national levels, and are a part of a larger support network of umbrella groups with developed coalitions.

African community organisations in the study had no financial resources to employ full-time paid professional staff. In terms of fundraising capabilities, none had developed any well-articulated plan. Apart from the African Communities Council of Victoria, none of the organisations had succeeded in forming ongoing coalitions with other similar organisations. Each organisation had, however, a clearly defined structure including rules and operating procedures. From this, respondents stated that they had gained a greater sense of community.

The history of the Afro-Australian Association illustrates more eight years of dedicated attempts to redress the deficit between policy and implementation of support in practice. Despite a commitment to ethnic organisations, no substantial assistance was provided by
government to the A.A.A. in its efforts to support the social integration and social welfare needs of African people in Victoria. Considering the use of voluntary work, time and personal expenses, over eight years, the A.A.A. became a significant milestone in the recognition of the need for a united political advocacy and welfare association.

The birth of the African Communities Council of Victoria represents continued efforts to support African refugees and immigrants in their social integration into mainstream Australian society. The formation of ACCOV was a response to the need for a peak body organisation larger in scope than the A.A.A, and as a consequence of the lack of 'being heard' by government. It was observed that as an incorporated body with full legal structure and a growing membership base, ACCOV's establishment was secure but material and staff resources were seen to be very limited. Recognition by DIEA was yet to be made manifest in terms of financial support.

One of the important objectives of Australian social policy is to foster the development of ethnic groups because of their significant contribution to the process of social integration. The extent of ethnic group development and therefore the degree of its significance, relies partially on the willingness and ability of the host society and minority group members, to cooperate in the one network of social organisations which, in turn, reflect the prevailing views on integration (Cox, 1989).

The study has shown how inadequate resources and lack of institutional support for ethnic community organisations can affect the viability of these organisations' role in the settlement process of their members.

While African ethnic groups had formed themselves into community organisations, these were often weaker than those of 'old' groups. They lacked institutional loyalty and resources; they could not draw on collective experience; they needed to attract members who were still settling in and had growing family commitments; they were not part of existing networks of funding and the numbers they could call on were small and newly arrived. Most of the organisations had not created a media outlet and lacked communication intrastate or even
within a metropolis. While family networks, undoubtedly, substitute for formal groups, they were not available to most Africans. Moreover, most existing family networks of the newly arrived did not have access to wider services nor knew how to access them without the intermediary role offered by their community organisations. Settlement may not be as traumatic for a new arrival if the loneliness and disorientation are reduced by an existing ethnic community which can act as a buffer between the immigrants or refugees and the host society.

8.1 THE IMMIGRATION POLICY CONTEXT

In its annual report of 1994, DIEA claimed that 32 per cent of its grants-in-aid went to emerging groups, 39 per cent to established groups and 29 per cent to general services for all migrants. There is no indication of how this figure was calculated. In the 1994/95 allocation, no grants were given specifically to any of the African community organisations in Victoria. Grants for African groups were directed to mainstream service providers such as Community Health Centres and Migrant Resource Centres. Most of these have been half-grants, for part-time workers.

Although multiculturalism makes promises of equality of access, there are insufficient resources available to the majority (over 90%) of African community organisations. These organisations are constantly struggling for lack of funds and are caught on a treadmill, or a 'catch-22' situation, where because of lack of funds, they cannot mount the activities to get the sort of strength in the community that they would like; and because they are not sufficiently strong in the community, they can be denied funds because they are not sufficiently representative. In addition, because funds are so limited, the African community organisations can be played off against each other and sometimes bought off, too. One of them could be offered a small amount for a cultural project, which they are tempted to take, but with which they can only achieve very limited results. Thus, communities such as the African groups that have arrived more recently, that are more disadvantaged, that face more pressures in the day-to-day survival, will tend again to fall to the bottom of the ladder.
Since politicians are always conscious of the ethnic vote, they keep this in mind when making grant disbursements. For example, in 1993 the Victorian Liberal Government accused the former Labour Government of politicising the Ethnic Affairs Commission and the Office of Ethnic Affairs. The premier, Jeff Kennett, stated that Labour had been divisive in supporting some ethnic groups it "saw as being worthy, and not others" (The Age, Saturday, 15 May, 1993, p.7). In the same article, the Liberal Parliamentary Secretary for Ethnic Affairs, Mr Phil Honeywood, alleged that "excessive funding" of $207,000 was given by Labour to the Australian Yugoslav Welfare Society while some newly arrived communities had received no grants in ten years. Meanwhile, the Premier, Mr Jeff Kennett supports the Greek Community in an openly political manner.

As grants are given after competitive tendering, they have never closely corresponded to measured need. There is no doubt, however, that grants-in-aid are a useful form of assistance to ethnic groups, sustaining their efforts in meeting the needs of their members.

An important question in any community organisation is: Whose decision is it to pursue development along particular lines? In the multicultural context, for example, one obvious choice is between development at: (1) community level, emphasising the multicultural nature of the community; (2) at ethnic level, emphasising the characteristics and potential of each group and (3) at a pan-ethnic group level, seeking to develop federations of existing ethnic groups. These developments occur in countries of immigration and all three are important, however, a government (in terms of grants-in-aid, etc.) may decide where the emphasis should lie. But it would be consistent with principles of self-determination and participation if this type of decision was made by the ethnic groups most directly affected. This was not the situation in which most African community organisations found themselves at the time of the study. The fate of the two umbrella organisations in the study is a case in point. These organisations tried to increase their numbers and power in the community but institutional obstacles made it hard for them to achieve their goals. Through this impediment, the African community has been denied opportunities for self-determination and self-actualisation.
A close scrutiny of the Australian immigration policy towards black Africa reveals racial undertones. As explained in Chapter Two of this thesis, Gobineau distinguished three types of the human species based on "physiological" grounds. He placed the white race on top of his hierarchy, followed by the yellow race and the negroid variety was relegated to the bottom rung of the ladder.

Australian Department of Immigration figures suggest that a similar hierarchical arrangement applies to who are admitted to Australia. Table 3.1 listed settler arrivals to Australia from ten top source countries of birth in 1994. It is not surprising to observe that there is no single black African country represented in the list although, as stated earlier, Africa has more refugees than any other continent in the world. African migration to Australia is quite different from other groups such as the Vietnamese and the Cambodians or from the early waves of European migration to Australia where labour force conditions were taken into account. African migration to Australia is seen by the government primarily as a charitable and humanitarian act: "The program is non-discriminatory and assists people in need from all parts of the world". (DIMA FACT Sheet, 1995). This, however, is because 95% of African immigrants are refugees who have entered Australia under one of the Humanitarian program categories. The intake quota for people from African countries is a token to show to the world that Australia does not discriminate against any race or colour in her current immigration policy. Of the 4 million immigrants who arrived in Australia since 1947, 12 per cent came from Asia and only 4.2 per cent came from Africa (and this figure includes white immigrants from South Africa, Kenya and Zimbabwe). (Betrouney, 1991). Thus, while the changes to Australia's immigration policy have allowed Africans to enter and settle in Australia, the actual numbers of African immigrants and refugees in Australia remain totally insignificant to create any perceptible impact on African ethnic community organisation and the decision making process of Australian governments. The current policy is to keep it at about 4.5 per cent (communication from the Bureau of Immigration, Multicultural and Population Research, Canberra)
It has been pointed out in Chapters Three and Four that 'White' Australia was the bedrock principle on which the Federation was established. This policy placed a restriction on non-white immigration into Australia. It was not until 1973 that it was finally abolished, thus allowing different immigrants including black Africans to enter Australia for residence.

But despite the abolition of the 'White' Australia policy in 1975, people from the African continent were "allowed" into Australia in "substantial" numbers only in the mid-80s. DIEA statistics show that black Africans were and are the least favoured immigrant group in Australia: until 1990 the annual intake of African refugees into Australia was less than 200. This small number of African refugees prompted the Afro-Australian Association in 1987 to urge the Australian Government to increase the intake of African refugees and immigrants in order to ease the prohibitive pressure on family reunion and to help create a viable African community in Australia.

The shift from assimilationist to integrationist policies did not become formalised until 1973, culminating in the Galbally Report which enunciated some guiding principles for settlement policy. Notable among these was an ethos of collective self-help which should then be subsidised by the State via ethno-specific organisations. Ethnic organisations were accorded significance for their consultative and information roles and for the maintenance of racial and cultural identity. Subsequent reviews of importance led to the FitzGerald Report (1988) which recommended a shift in priority to new arrivals (i.e., less than two years since migration). This is significant for "emerging community groups" and for the argument that the DIEA could not stretch its resources because of the heavy influx of refugees after 1975. The National Council of Population Settlement Strategy examined the role and resources of the DIEA. It endorsed a "planned social investment approach" by utilising a needs-based and cost-benefit framework, with identified priorities of pre- and post-arrival information services and community-based funding. "Emerging ethnic and vulnerable groups" were selected as strategy foci. Envisaged DIEA functions were to focus on these groups whilst containing the immediate and long-term social and economic costs for general and social welfare community programs, through community-based interventions. In practical terms, we note here a
recommended rationalisation of DIEA services to "the socially vulnerable", such as refugees, with community-based programs through migrant resource centres, and a consequent reliance upon the community sector for service delivery.

Overlaying these strategies is the targeting of an "initial settlement" period (up to two years only) for services such as English teaching, interpretation, translation and provision of information. Settlement was therefore re-defined as a very short term process that limits the responsibility of the DIEA.

More recently, the 1993 Humanitarian Program Settlement Task Force, in looking at the settlement needs of potential immigrants, pre-arrival, recommended group "settlement profiles", improved co-ordination between overseas posts and offices in Australia, improved staff training and implementation of specific provisions to match settlement profile requirements.

Although exploratory and working with a small sample the research has provided strong evidence that social integration of minority immigrant groups is related to the support and services which ethnic community organisations provide to their members in the host country.

8.2 IMPLICATIONS FOR PUBLIC POLICY AND FURTHER RESEARCH

In the light of the structural problems discussed in the study, serious questions about what measures can be taken to promote the smooth integration of minority immigrants into the host society are being raised. It appears that only little can be achieved by sweeping advocacy of cultural pluralism or multiculturalism (Taylor et al, 1992). There needs to be a distinction between those areas which are critically important to the institutional order and those areas which are not as important because they relate to personal and private activities. An appreciation of the migration process generally suggests a list of welfare needs that will require being met regardless of who the immigrant is. For some individuals or categories of immigrants they will be easily met, but for others not: for all immigrants, meeting these needs depends to a large extent on what provisions are made by the host society for them and the organisations they create.
A number of approaches have to be adopted if minority group community organisations are to effectively assist their members in the settlement process. From most perspectives, it would seem important to adequately resource these community organisations. This will mean a greater focus towards emergent communities which have comparatively smaller numbers with high levels of members arriving under refugee and special humanitarian programs.

Creation of a special category of provision for these groups may help to highlight their settlement and welfare function requirements. An Emergent Groups Program would need to include components such as the following:

i) A shift away from the "older" more established communities in terms of resource priorities.

ii) Funding of GIA workers, attached to emergent ethnic community organisations or three-year terms, specifically for community development, empowerment and self-determination. GIA workers should be specifically engaged for community development support - their positions should not be tangled up with (and therefore subsumed by) casework.

iii) The DIEA could assume a greater responsibility for enacting its (so-called) priority to emergent communities, by way of including regular consultation, monitoring and evaluation of the effects on immigrants, of DIEA policy strategies. (Settlement Officers could spend more time out in the field for these purposes).

iv) DIEA funding could be made more accessible to emergent groups with monitored triennial program funding available. Funding should be made available directly to the emergent community groups themselves - not through ad hoc, duplicated or inadequate programs (which stretch GIA workers beyond their limits, dis-allow co-ordination and co-operation between program workers and other groups. If funding must be channelled through MRCs for service delivery, then every effort should be made to employ a person belonging to the respective community. This validates the knowledge of community members about their own affairs and potentially makes for more effective outcomes.

Implementing some practical measures such as these, would enhance congruency with DIEA's priority for emergent communities and help to augment "institutional completeness" (Breton, 1964 - see Chapter Two) for the effectiveness of the extensive responsibilities carried by ethnic community organisations such as those of African communities.

Government bodies in general tend to be structured with set agendas which are often formal, inflexible and impersonal. Government organisational culture thus necessarily has its effects upon service users. Access and equity are frequently affected by rigid structures of large bureaucracies. There is need for more flexibility at the policy and service delivery levels, taking into account the broad diversity of cultural needs as these intersect with settlement
experiences. Examples of better flexibility would be appropriate recognition of overseas qualifications under the NOOSR Program, an increase of the national intake of Africans from sub-Saharan countries, with a substantial recognition of the importance of family reunion, from which new arrivals derive an essential source of support.

The fact that emerging communities need both financial and human support to establish themselves in a new society has long been recognised by scholars of migration and welfare studies. For example, Pebaque (1988) in her study of Latin Americans in New South Wales offered some very useful thoughts on the need of emerging communities. She points out that migrants' problems arise from factors related to experiences in their own countries as well as the problems they encounter in the host country. Here is a clear message for a greater contribution of social work practice in the realm of social and settlement assessment and casework.

Social workers have a responsibility to learn more about the context of the lives of new arrivals, by addressing pre-migration experiences and losses, the flight experience and motivation for migration, as well as settlement experiences in the host country. From this we see that the major reasons for the claims for resource supports made by emergent ethnic community organisations rest in the why and how their community members arrived here. With this responsibility for understanding, comes a responsibility for social action once this context is understood. Social action can take many forms: in policy development; in making known service gaps or deficits; by utilising the social work mandate to advocate, mediate and lobby with or on behalf of the client population; through publicity and use of media; through direct liaison with key stakeholders in government and service agencies and by arguing at the case level for flexibility, access and equity of opportunity.

The DIEA policy of promoting Access and Equity strategies in other government departments and workplaces is to be commended. Minority groups, especially those who differ in language, religion and cultural background from all others and are also small and newly arrived, may need special encouragement and support for the provision of institutional support (Pugliese, 1995). This does not, of course, imply that these groups are not just as
enterprising and capable of organisation as others who have come before them. They are simply lacking in numbers and accumulated assets. However, encouragement and promotion are insufficient for guaranteeing targeted implementation. Most respondents in my study stated that they had not experienced any benefit from this approach. It would appear that Access and Equity strategies need considerably more strength and incentive before they can approach effectiveness (Jupp, 1992; Report of the Advisory Committee on Multiculturalism, 1995). Minority groups must be involved in the programs that concern them. They must determine their own priorities, develop initiative and take responsibility for the decisions they make. Undertaking service development to minority groups requires more than just a philosophical commitment to the principles of social justice and access and equity (Jayasuriya, 1995b). It requires an ongoing commitment of resources, both financial and human.

This suggests a case for more DIEA employed ethnic social workers, whose professional expertise, coupled with insights into the life context of newly arrived people, would be able to deal with casework effectively. This would then free community development workers to concentrate on working with community representatives and members towards community development, empowerment and self-determination.

Peabque makes it clear that emerging communities need 'financial strength and independence, political clout and participation and the necessary infrastructure to address their needs' (p.15). This indeed, is one of the chief means for easing settlement problems, for which a planned social investment approach is needed (National Population Council Settlement Strategy, 1988). With increased staff levels and adequate positions as well as a greater social work input, social workers and community development workers could provide considerable support for those in emergent communities, such as ethnic African Australians, by combining their perspectives together in a dialectic of praxis. Fundamentally, this is first achieved by listening closely to, and working with (not "for") community representatives.

Social work practice has a key role to play in the welfare and the settlement process of immigrants and refugees. It is all too easy for societies at any level of development to reflect the needs and interests of the most dominant group, relegating minority groups, especially
new and emerging immigrant communities, to the margins of society. In a society composed of a great number of ethnicities, social workers can assist immigrants to establish self-help groups to help them cope with the settlement problems. Given their awareness of social difficulties, social workers are able to suggest policies likely to assist group development. As a welfare profession, social work is expected to work for a positive, supportive and appropriate environment for all people, especially for ethnic and racial minority immigrant groups which are invariably relegated to deprivation, disadvantage and even oppression (see Cox, 1989).

In 1986, emerging communities were described as those whose members arrived in the past ten years (DIEA, Ethnic Affairs Branch, 1986, p.6). Yet soon afterwards, the FitzGerald report (1988) represented a priority shift in settlement services for those who have been here for two years or less. Immigrant social integration cannot be given a time restriction as recommended by the FitzGerald Report. Here again, Pebaque's suggestion to policy makers is timely and appropriate. 'The resolution of grief and loss', she suggests, 'the establishment of a support network, the acquisition of a new language... can but only in theory be given a time restriction' (p. 34). In reality, the settlement process of integration must take a generational perspective. Multiple losses and trauma experienced by many refugees may induce profound (and often hidden) grief which can naturally require years of support before some resolution can occur. Grief as a natural response to loss is individually unique in terms of time and is informed by complex individual and societal factors. Grief is however, culturally expressed. This requires the crucial support and understanding of others of the same cultural background (Fitzgerald and Wotherspoon, 1995).

Personal cultural and integration experiences are generational. For example, older migrants and refugees frequently suffer greatly from nostalgia or depression as a result of feeling torn from all that has been familiar for most of their lives. Younger people may suffer from the absence of their elders and connection with kinship networks (Vasta, 1994). Children growing up in Australia may be disadvantaged by severed or loosened ties with their own cultural heritage. Thus, it is clear that immigrant social integration is a generational
phenomenon, with each age and life-stage experiencing its effects (Lambert and Taylor, 1990). This only serves to further highlight the urgency for substantial resource investment into emergent ethnic community organisations, since they are the central focus and hope for social integration.

DIEA policy should reflect this generational perspective. Access and equity cannot work from the periphery of policy making, nor can it work until policy makers recognise that it is affected by all the same power imbalances which affect all other structures, such as ethnicity, gender and class. Policy must therefore be responsive to gender, class, ethnicity and cross-cultural issues. Policy must avoid the reification of a category of 'newly arrived small groups' which does not consider the social, cultural and economic vulnerability of such groups; the relegation of weak and poorly resourced communities to the periphery of the funding and support systems; undue and divisive allocation of constricted resources to new small groups at the expense of equally legitimate claims from others and the sentimental or ill-informed notions about the culture of groups on whom there is little local research.

Thus, for a multicultural policy to be successful in Australia, knowledge about ethnocultural minorities is vital (Castles, 1992). Australia can use the educational, economic, administrative and cultural capacity of these immigrants fully and properly to further enrich Australian society.

8.3 FURTHER RESEARCH

It is hoped that this study of the relationship of Africans and their organisations in the settlement process will assist the public as well as the Australian government in gaining a better understanding of a people whose cultural values are different from Australian ones.

Since sub-Saharan Africans are among the most recent immigrants and refugees to Australia, detailed and comprehensive research on their life here has yet to be done. A systematic study of the demographic and socio-economic conditions of Africans in Australia would be a good beginning toward an understanding of the capacities they bring and opportunities and constraints they face in Australia.
This study has been confined to Victoria and so Australia-wide study of how African community organisations assist their members in the settlement process may lead to a better understanding of these ethnic organisations in the process of social integration into mainstream society. A wider study could focus on the extent to which African community organisations are effective in mediating between the African communities and the mainstream society.

Endnotes

1. This fact has even been acknowledged by the current Australian Prime Minister. In his Forward note in *Osibi Rhythm of Africa*, he stated, ‘Africa's cultures are, perhaps, less well known in Australia than those brought here by various better-established (emphasis mine) communities from all over the world. . .' (Paul Keating, 1993).

2. The importance of extended family is culturally and economically significant for African people. Africans generally have no parents or relatives who can assist working mothers with child-care, thus contributing to the family's income and well-being. The costs involved in sponsorship and family reunion are very difficult to meet, effectively preventing this means of re-uniting families. This also adds considerably to social isolation and loneliness, especially for women or single young adults without family here. In the light of the fact that many refugees have already lost family or friends back home owing to being killed in conflict, torture or who are simply "missing", family reunion becomes a precious and pressing need.

3. In 1988 Andrew Theopbanous stated that the way to achieve multicultural harmony is not to reduce the number of people coming from a particular region, but to increase immigration in an internationally balanced system.
APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

THE UNIVERSITY OF MELBOURNE

School of Social Work

THE ROLE OF ETHNIC COMMUNITY ORGANISATIONS IN PROMOTING SOCIAL INTEGRATION OF AFRICAN IMMIGRANTS IN AUSTRALIA

Interview Guide

I am requesting your help with a research project concerned with African immigrants' welfare in Australia. This project is being undertaken for a Doctoral (Ph.D) thesis.

The purpose of the survey is to collect information regarding the role African ethnic community organisations play in promoting social integration of African immigrants in Australia. The study will provide a clear understanding of the place of these organisations in the social life of African immigrants in Australia. It will also provide information to assist Australian policy makers in formulating appropriate policies concerning African immigrants living in Australia.

The interview covers areas such as name and address of your organisation; the history of the organisation; the structure and operations of your organisation; membership of the organisation; the activities/services/programs of your organisation; the resources of the organisation and issues affecting your organisation.

I wish to assure you that this interview won't take more than an hour of your precious time.

In anticipation of your favourable response, thank you for agreeing to participate in this project.

Ben Okai
12/05/93
A. ORGANISATION IDENTIFICATION

1. Name of your organisation

2. Address

3. Position of person responding

4. Describe briefly your organisation's main goals and objectives (Can you give me a copy of your constitution?).

5. How would you characterise your organisation (underline the most appropriate words below).
   - Independent
   - Self-help
   - Philanthropic
   - Voluntary Organisation
   - Welfare rights
   - Service delivery
   - Other (Please specify)

B. ABOUT THE HISTORY OF YOUR ORGANISATION

6. When was your organisation established?

7. Tell me a bit about the circumstances which led to the establishment of the organisation.

8. Were any resources available when your organisation first started?
   - Yes ( )
   - No ( )
8b If yes, how did your organisation find them?

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9. Were you eligible for government funding when you first started?

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10. Did you apply for funding to help establish your organisation?

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11. Since its establishment have there been any significant changes in the way your organisation works (for example, change in personnel, more funding, less funding, change in goals of agency, professionalisation of staff, etc.)? Please explain briefly

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C. ABOUT THE STRUCTURE AND OPERATIONS OF YOUR ORGANISATION

12. What is your organisation's legal status (e.g., incorporated, unincorporated)?

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13. How is your organisation governed (e.g., committee of management)?

........................................................................................................................................
14. How are the governing bodies and the leadership of your organisation chosen?

_________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________

_________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________

15. Are other organisations represented formally in your organisation?
   YES ( )  NO ( )
   If yes, which are they?
   ________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________
   ________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________
   ________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________
   ________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________

16. Is your organisation represented formally in other organisations?
   YES ( )  NO ( )
   16b. If yes, why is it important for your organisation to have such representation?
   ________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________
   ________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________
   ________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________

16c. If no, do you think it is important for your organisation to have such representation?
   Please elaborate
   ________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________
   ________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________
   ________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________
17. Does your organisation have other contact with government and non-government agencies (e.g., Migrant Resource Centres, Salvation Army, Refugee Council, Ethnic Affairs Commission)?

If yes, please explain the nature of contact.

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18. How is your organisation staffed and are those people paid or do they work on a voluntary basis? (Please list the staff members and indicate whether they are paid or not).

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19. Does your organisation have a regular meeting place and/or an office?

YES ( )

NO ( )

If yes where is it?

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If no, where does your organisation operate from?

........................................................................................................

........................................................................................................

........................................................................................................

D. ABOUT THE MEMBERSHIP OF YOUR ORGANISATION

20. How many members do you have? (Only to be answered if the organisation has
21. How would you broadly describe the membership of your organisation (in terms of age, gender, occupation, rural/urban background, etc.)

22. Are there criteria/requirements for eligibility to membership of your organisation?
   YES ( )
   NO ( ).

   If yes what are they?

23. Is there any geographical pattern as to how the membership of your organisation is spread over the territory of Melbourne and Victoria?
   YES ( )
   NO ( )

   If yes, please explain

24. Which proportion of your membership has been in Australia

   less than 1 year ............ %
   from 1-2 years ............ %
   from 3-5 years ............ %
25. Do you have recruitment strategies for new members?

26. What do you see as the major needs and interests of the people you provide activities, programs and service to?

27. What do you perceive as factors which influence the needs and interests of your organisation members?

28. Do you see your organisation as effective in meeting the needs and representing the interests of its members?
E. ABOUT THE ACTIVITIES/SERVICES/PROGRAMS OF YOUR ORGANISATION

29. Could you characterise to me the activities/services/programs you run for your members on a regular basis?

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........................................................................................................................................
........................................................................................................................................

30. What are the various categories of people for whom you run these activities/services/programs (e.g. women, the unemployed, new arrivals, young people, refugees)?

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........................................................................................................................................

31. When did you start running these activities/services/programs?

........................................................................................................................................
........................................................................................................................................

32. What factors influence these activities/services/programs?

Examples are: Migration patterns
Level of government funding
Changed social needs of new migrants
Pressure from membership

33. What programs/services/activities would your organisation provide if funds were available?

........................................................................................................................................
........................................................................................................................................
34. Does your organisation produce any publication?

YES ( ) NO ( )

34b. If yes what are they?

34c. If no how do you publicise your programs/services/activities?

F. ABOUT RESOURCES OF YOUR ORGANISATION

35. What were the sources of income for your organisation (e.g. members dues, donations, government grant, etc) for the last two years (1990-1992)? Please list them.

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<th>Source of Income</th>
<th>Amount</th>
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36. What proportion of your organisation's total income came from each source?

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<th>Source of Income</th>
<th>Proportion</th>
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37. On average how big was your organisation's budget for the last two years

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<th>Budget Amount</th>
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38. Does your organisation have capital assets? If yes, what are they?

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39. Does your organisation receive any indirect subsidies or concessions for any of its running expenses (for eg. telephone, rental, stationery, etc.)?
   YES ( )          NO. ( )
   If yes please explain
   ........................................................................................................................................
   ........................................................................................................................................

40. How would you describe your organisation's financial position?
   ........................................................................................................................................
   ........................................................................................................................................
   ........................................................................................................................................
   ........................................................................................................................................

41. Since its establishment has your organisation received funding specifically to provide services for its members?
   YES ( )          NO ( )
   If yes, which services?
   ........................................................................................................................................
   ........................................................................................................................................

42. Where did and do these funds come from?
   ........................................................................................................................................
   ........................................................................................................................................
   ........................................................................................................................................

43. Has your organisation ever applied for funding and not received it?
   YES ( )          NO ( )
   If yes how often .................................................................................................................
   ........................................................................................................................................

44. What happened to the proposed activity/program/service when you missed out on funding?
   ........................................................................................................................................
   ........................................................................................................................................
G.

CONCLUSION

45. Please comment in detail on what you perceive as your organisation's most pressing problems at present.

46. In what ways do the Australian Government immigration policies affect the operation of your organisation, if any?

47. Are there any additional comments you would like to make about your organisation?

Thank you very much for your time and co-operation.
APPENDIX B

THE UNIVERSITY OF MELBOURNE

School of Social Work

THE ROLE OF ETHNIC COMMUNITY ORGANISATIONS IN PROMOTING SOCIAL INTEGRATION OF AFRICAN IMMIGRANTS IN AUSTRALIA

Questionnaire

I am requesting your help with a research project concerned with African immigrants' welfare in Australia. This project is being undertaken for a Doctoral (Ph.D) thesis.

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I wish to assure you that this interview won't take more than an hour of your precious time.

In anticipation of your favourable response, thank you for agreeing to participate in this project.

Ben Okai
12/05/93
Part A: Background Information

1. Are you Male ( ) Female ( )
2. Your age at your last birthday was ..............
3. What is your present marital status (a) Married ( ) 
   (b) De facto ( ) 
   (c) Separated ( ) 
   (d) Divorced ( ) 
   (e) Widowed ( ) 
   (f) Never married ( )
4. Which of the following best describes where you lived before your arrival in Australia?
   (a) Rural (eg. a settlement of less than 10 000 people) ( )
   (b) Urban (eg a town of less than 100 000 people) ( )
   (c) City (eg a town of more than 100 000 people) ( )
5. When did you first arrive in Australia? 19......
6. When you applied to come to Australia, under which scheme did you apply?
   (a) Family reunion/sponsorship(spouse, dependent children, parents etc). ( )
   (b) Nominated by employer ( )
   (c) Migrants Points System ( )
   (d) Refugee/Humanitarian Program ( )
   (e) Came as student/visitor ( )
7. What is your present immigration status?
   (a) Permanent Resident ( )
   (b) Citizen ( )
   (c) Temporary Resident ( )
   (d) Other(please specify) ........................................................................................................
8. With whom do you live?

..............................................................................................................................
..............................................................................................................................
..............................................................................................................................

8b. Have you tried to bring your immediate family members to Australia?

Yes ( ) No ( )

If you did try and you were unsuccessful, what is preventing you from bringing them to Australia?

(a) I am unable to contact them in Africa ( )

(b) Department of Immigration would not issue them visas ( )

(c) Family member is not interested to come ( )

(d) I cannot support them here in Australia ( )

(e) I do not want to stay ( )

(e) Other (please specify) ( )

Part B: Information about the purpose of the African Organisation in your Social Life in Australia

9. To which African community organisation/s do you belong?

..............................................................................................................................
..............................................................................................................................

10. Did you get in contact with this organisation as a new comer to Australia?

Yes ( ) No ( )

11. If yes, how did you get in contact with this organisation?

(a) A fellow countryman introduced me to it ( )

(b) I looked in the papers ( )

(c) I heard about it in the T.V./Radio ( )

(d) The Department of Immigration officers told me about it ( )

(e) Other (please specify) ..............................................................

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12. Since your arrival in Australia have you experienced any of the following problems? (You may tick more than one boxes)

(a) Isolation from spouse/children ( )
(b) Lack of friends ( )
(c) Difficulty in getting a job ( )
(d) Finding somewhere to live ( )
(e) Racial discrimination ( )
(f) Other (please specify)

13. How did you cope with the following circumstances, if they applied to you when you first arrived in Australia?

(i) Isolation from family members/friends
(a) Applied for family reunion without any assistance from any African organisation ( )
(b) Sought assistance from an African organisation ( )
(c) Sought companionship from an African community organisation ( )
(d) Accepted it: nothing could be done ( )
(e) This circumstance did not apply to me ( )
(f) Other (please specify) ( )

(ii) Lack of accommodation
(a) Asked an African organisation/association for assistance ( )
(b) Applied to the Ministry of Housing ( )
(c) Approached an Australian agency for help ( )
(d) This circumstance did not apply to me ( )
(e) Other (please specify) ( )

(iii) Lack of employment

299
(a) Applied for unemployment benefit ( )
(b) Asked my African organisation for assistance to get a job ( )
(c) Approached an Australian agency for help ( )
(d) I looked for work by myself ( )
(e) This circumstance did not apply to me ( )
(f) Other (please specify) ( )

(iv) **Racial discrimination**
(a) I complained to the law enforcement agencies ( )
(b) I enlisted the help of my African organisation ( )
(c) I challenged the persons/agencies concerned ( )
(d) I ignored it ( )
(e) This circumstance did not apply to me ( )
(f) Other (please specify)

14. If you did not get in contact with the organisation when you first arrived in Australia, then when did you get in contact with it?
(a) A year after my arrival ( )
(b) Two years after my first arrival ( )
(c) 3-4 years after my first arrival ( )
(d) Five or more years after my first arrival ( )

14h. How did you get in contact with the organisation?
(a) A friend told me about it ( )
(b) I was contacted by one of the leaders of the organisation ( )
(c) I heard about it in the TV/Radio ( )
(d) I looked in the papers ( )
(e) Other (please specify) ..............................................

15. What role, if any, did your organisation play in your settlement process?
(a) It provided me with vital information about services in Australia
(b) It provided me with friendship and company for socialisation
(c) It served as a forum where I could express my feelings
(d) It enabled me to overcome feelings of nostalgia (homesickness)
(e) It did not play a role in my settlement process
(e) Other (please specify)

16 What, in your opinion, has been the influence of this organisation on your social life in Australia? (You may tick more than one box)
(a) It has reduced my feelings of nostalgia (homesickness)
(b) It has provided me with a sense of identity
(c) It has had no effect on my social life in Australia
(d) It has provided with the friendship and company to overcome isolation
(e) Other (please specify)

17 What have been your expectations of your organisation?
(a) To assist me to settle in Australia by providing me with vital information
(b) To assist me to settle in Australia by providing me with friendship and company for socialisation
(c) To assist me to sponsor my family members to Australia
(d) To assist me overcome problems of racial discrimination
(e) Other (please specify)

17b Has the organisation fulfilled what you expected it to do for you?
Yes ( )
No ( )

Please elaborate your answer
18. What, in your opinion, has been the influence of this organisation on your social life in Australia (you may tick more than one box)?

(a) It has reduced my feelings of nostalgia (homesickness)  
(b) It has provided me with a sense of identity  
(c) It has had no effect on my social life in Australia  
(d) It has provided me with the friendship and company needed to overcome isolation  
(e) Other (please specify) .................................................................

Part C: Issues Affecting your Organisation

19. What, in your opinion, are the problems, facing this organisation, if any?  
(a) Lack of sufficient numbers to form a cohesive organisation.  
(b) Lack of government support.  
(c) No paid staff  
(d) Lack of resources (e.g., funds to provide activities/programs/services)  
(e) Lack of members' commitment to the organisation  
(f) My organisation does not have any problems  
(g) Other (please specify)

20. What, in your view, are the main achievements of this organisation as you see it?  
(a) It has been able to bring ethnic community together  
(b) It has provided my ethnic community with a sense of identity  
(c) It has enabled newly African immigrants to settle smoothly in Australia  
(d) It has made it possible for members to get more information about services in Australia  
(e) My organisation has not achieved much  
(e) Other
21. In your opinion did and do the Australian Government immigration policies have any influence on your African organisation?

Yes ( )  No ( )

Please elaborate

22. Are there any additional comments that you would like to make about your organisation?

Thank you for your time and co-operation
### POINTS TEST

#### EMPLOYABILITY FACTOR

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SKILL</th>
<th>POINTS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Occupations requiring: Trade cert/degree (acceptable), with sound continuous relevant experience, on Priority Occupation List</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trade cert/degree (acceptable), with sound continuous relevant experience</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trade cert/degree (acceptable), with limited experience</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diploma (acceptable), with sound continuous relevant experience</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diploma (acceptable), with limited experience</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trade cert/degree/diploma (recognised overseas and requiring only minor upgrading, feasible in Australia), with sound, continuous relevant experience</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trade cert/degree/diploma (recognised overseas and requiring only minor upgrading, feasible in Australia), with limited experience</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other post secondary school qualifications or equivalent experience</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary school completion</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Four years secondary schooling</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Less than four years secondary schooling</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Recent graduates with trade cert/degree, diploma qualifications (acceptable) but without relevant work experience</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-recent graduates with trade cert/degree/diploma (acceptable) and with work experience in semi-skilled or unskilled occupations</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
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</table>

#### AGE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>POINTS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>18 to 29 years</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30 to 34 years</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35 to 39 years</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40 to 49 years</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50 years plus / less than 18 years</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### LANGUAGE SKILLS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Skill</th>
<th>POINTS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Proficient in English</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reasonably proficient English but minor training required</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bilingual in languages other than English; or only limited English ability</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Extensive English training required and not bilingual</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### FAMILY RELATIONSHIP FACTOR

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Relationship of applicant to sponsor:</th>
<th>POINTS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Parent</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brother, sister, non-dependent child</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nephew or niece</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### CITIZENSHIP FACTOR

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>If the sponsor has been an:</th>
<th>POINTS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Australian citizen for 5 years or more</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Australian citizen for less than 5 years</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### SETTLEMENT FACTOR

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>If the sponsor:</th>
<th>POINTS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Has had sound and continuous employment or equivalent over the last two years (no unemployment or special benefits for more than one month in total)</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### LOCATION FACTOR

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>If the sponsor:</th>
<th>POINTS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Has lived in a State/Territory designated area for the last two years</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Independent applicants are assessed against the Employability factor only. Concessional Family applicants are assessed against all factors except the Language Skills sub-factor.
African Communities Council Of Victoria (Inc.)
125 Leicester Street, Fitzroy
Postal Address: G.P.O. Box 4885, Melbourne, Victoria 3001
Telephone: (03) 416 0044

INFORMATION SHEET

What does African Communities Council stand for?

African Communities Council is primarily dedicated to the task of attending to the community needs of African immigrants and refugees in Australia.

Can you please give me any background information of the Council?

Yes, I can.

In October of 1993, the African Communities Council of Victoria was born in Melbourne. The establishment of the Council is in recognition of the modest but steady increase in the migration of Africans and people of African origin into Australia. It is also in recognition of the need for all present and future Africans in Australia to find affirmation, dignity and identity in their cultural heritage, and in the values traditions of their new home.

The African community in Victoria has many voluntary associations carrying out a variety of functions and roles for their members.

The African Communities Council is essentially an umbrella organisation which aims to lobby on behalf of these ethnic communities and to act as a mouthpiece for the African community in Victoria. In this regard the Council can be described as a co-ordinating body of the African community in Victoria.
The main aims and objectives of the Council can be briefly be summarised as follows:

1. To foster unity among Africans and African organisations in Australia.

2. To promote African Arts and Culture in Australia.

3. To lobby Australian Governments for appropriate policies affecting the welfare of Africans in Australia.

4. To represent Africans and African organisations in Australia when the need arises.

5. To provide advice and information to Africans and African communities in Australia.

6. To liaise and co-ordinate with African organisations and Government and non-Government bodies in Australia.

7. To provide advice and information to service providers about Africa and African communities in Australia.

8. To undertake development education projects which contribute a better understanding in Australia of the factors affecting economic and social development in Africa.

Other significant functions performed by the Council include the following:

* Assist in meeting feelings of isolation and alienation.

* Defend members' interests within the framework of the law.

* Assist unemployed African immigrants and refugees in finding jobs and shelter.
Who can be admitted to the Council?

This is simple.

Admission to the Council is open to all incorporated African ethnic associations in Victoria. This admission to the Council is also open to any African association of people whether incorporated or not who accept the aims and objectives of the Council.

Please tell me why it is important for all African ethnic associations to come together to form such an umbrella organisation?

The advantages to be gained by forming an umbrella African ethnic organisation are enormous.

As the saying goes, "there is strength in unity". It is always difficult for small minority groups to have any meaningful influence on government policies. The African immigrant population is at present the smallest of ethnic groups.

In these days of 'vote power', it is therefore important that Africans come together to form a cohesive umbrella organisation to be able to create a presence in government and other circles.
Do individual African ethnic associations such as the Eritrean community association lose their identity when they join the Council?

The answer to this question is a big NO.

Some few African ethnic associations fear that by joining the Council, they will automatically lose their identity. This is not the case at all. As stated elsewhere, there are a lot of benefits to be derived from such an umbrella organisation. Africans rather stand to lose when they depend solely on their small individual ethnic associations. For example, when the FitzGerald Report was tabled and adopted in the early 1980s, there was no African umbrella organisation to argue against the recommendations that marginalised Africans. In essence, the report urged Australia to concentrate foreign aid and interest on its neighbours - South-East Asia and the Pacific basin. In the lend, aid to Africa was drastically cut, student intakes from Africa dropped and some Australian diplomatic missions were closed but integration with SE Asia never eventuated.

Overseas Aid organisations fought relentless battle to no avail. Members of the academic body, the African Studies Association, collectively and individually criticised the report but it went largely unheeded because of poor and unorganised input from Africans themselves. That was the time when an African umbrella organisation was most needed.

And so where do we go from here?

All Africans are urged to come together to better our situation in Australia. We can get help from several quarters if we unite all our efforts and come together. We also entreat the entire Australian community to support us in this task.

For further information please contact the Public Officer or any other officer of the Council at the above address.

ACCOV.
ACCOV MEMBERSHIP APPLICATION FORM

(African Ethnic Associations who are not yet members of the African Communities Council - please note, you can apply for membership of the Council by completing this form.)

The General Secretary
ACCOV
G.P.O. Box 4885
Melbourne, Victoria, 3001

NAME __________________________________________________________

TITLE __________________________________________________________

MAILING ADDRESS _____________________________________________

_____________________________________________________________ POSTCODE ______________

TELEPHONE (work) ________________________________ home) ______________________

I enclose the Joining Fee of $25

Plus the Annual Membership rate of $50

SIGNED ........................................................................................................

Membership fees cover the period July 1 - June 30 each financial year.
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