

Geographies of Refugee settlement: Care, Citizenship, and the role of Non-state Organisations

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Submitted in total fulfilment of the requirements
of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

October 2019

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Abstract

This research examines the role and position of the diverse organisations who provide support to people from refugee backgrounds settling in Australia. Non-state organisations in similar contexts have been conceptualised in uneven ways, with previous work understanding them to be ‘filling the gaps’ left by the retraction of the state under neoliberalism, or as working as a shadows-state apparatus. This research challenges such restrictive framings. Engaging with a feminist ethic of care, the research extends geographic literatures that have shown the capacity for organisations to resist and rework repressive influences from the state. Drawing on interviews with a range of organisations across Melbourne, Australia, including community organisations, local governments, faith-based organisations, and generalist charities, the research argues that non-state organisations are indispensable within the settlement landscape in Australia. It highlights the ways in which these organisations both provide people from refugee communities with essential services and resources, and undertake bridging work that allows the state to maintain a restricted and inaccessible approach to social service delivery. It also argues that non-state organisations are active agents in the construction of an expanded citizenship for people from refugee backgrounds, that moves beyond normative and exclusionary imaginaries of Australian citizenship upheld by immigration and settlement policy. Importantly and more broadly, the research shows how a feminist ethic of care informs and shapes the practices of these organisations, offering care-full inclusion in the face of care-less approaches to migration and refugee resettlement in Australia and globally.

Declaration

This is to certify that

- i. the thesis comprises only my original work towards the PhD,
- ii. due acknowledgement has been made in the text to all other material used,
- iii. the thesis is less than 100,000 words in length, exclusive of tables, maps, bibliographies and appendices.

Thea Hewitt

Acknowledgements

There are many people who have helped this thesis come into existence

Thank you to Dr Nicole Cook for the intellectual, emotional, astrological and every other kind of support you have generously given me over the last few years. Put simply, this would not have happened without your unwavering care, encouragement, excitement, and understanding. Thank you for being there with me throughout.

Thank you, Dr Ilan Wiesel, for your supervisory support, especially your considered engagement with my work which I know has made it stronger. I have very much enjoyed the chance to work with you.

Thank you, Professor Ruth Fincher, for your guidance and support during my candidature. I am very grateful for your insight and input into my work and your patience and support throughout the project.

I feel lucky to have been surrounded by such supportive, generous and funny PhD colleagues over the last few years, so thank you to all inhabitants of room 2.04 (past and present) for adding an immeasurable amount of joy to what was sometimes a joyless experience. This project simply would not have happened without you. Thank you for being there and for being wonderful!

Thank you to all the participants and organisations involved in this project. Thank you for taking the time to talk to me, for sharing your stories, and for engaging with my work in the way you did.

Thank you to my friends and family who have cared for me throughout this process. Who have fed me, distracted me, or just let me rant. Your care has grounded me during this time.

Acknowledgement of country

This research took place on the lands of the Wurundjeri people of the Kulin Nation and I wish to acknowledge them as Traditional Owners. I pay my respects to their Elders, past, present, and emerging and recognise that this land was never ceded.

While I was not able to centre indigenous experiences in the scope of this thesis, I acknowledge that the narratives of settlement and the particular understandings of Australian citizenship that are discussed in this research are tied to the histories of dispossession and colonisation faced by Aboriginal and Torres strait islander Australians and continue to enact violence onto these communities. By engaging with Australia, and the city of Melbourne as colonial spaces, that continue to be shaped by settler colonial views and values I acknowledge and hope to show these notions as exclusionary, divisive, and violent, infused with colonial thinking about race, belonging, and place.

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List of abbreviations

AMEP	Adult Migrant English Program
AMES	Adult Migrant Education Services
BSL	Brotherhood of St Laurence
CALD	Culturally and Linguistically Diverse
DIBP	Department of Immigration and Border Protection
DHS	Department of Human Services
DP	Displaced persons
DSS	Department of Social Services
HCC	Hume City Council
HSP	Humanitarian Settlement Program
MCC	Maribyrnong City Council
SGP	Settlement Grants Program
SHEV	Safe Haven Enterprise Visa
TPV	Temporary Protection Visa
YCC	Yarra City Council
YSF	Yarra Settlement Forum

Chapter 1. Introduction

1.1 Introduction

On 13-14 February 2018, 450 attendees from across voluntary, research, and government sectors attended the second annual *Refugee Alternatives* conference in Melbourne, Australia. This conference, run by the Refugee Council of Australia, aims to bring together expertise nationally and internationally from across a range of sectors, to generate (as the name indicates) alternative approaches to the current situation regarding refugee issues within Australia, and globally. In 2018 a special theme or guiding question for the conference, was ‘*What can civil society do?*’. Civil society¹ here referred directly to the array of non-state organisations and actors involved in the migration and settlement of people from refugee backgrounds in Australia.

The settlement of humanitarian migrants in Australia occurs through a diverse network of organisations, both within and beyond the state. These organisations have close relationships with the state and the migrant communities they work with, and as such have mediated the interface of formal immigration and settlement law and policy, and the everyday lives of those settling in Australia for some decades. It is this network of diverse organisations that undertakes much of the labour of settlement, providing resources, advice, assistance and support for those newly arrived in the country on behalf of the state and through their own motivation, capacity, commitment and concern for the wellbeing and social connectivity of migrants to Australia.

The work of non-state organisations was therefore a central focus and consideration of the conference, which centred non-state organisations as essential actors in the politics and practices of refugee migration and settlement. This included their roles in assisting people from refugee backgrounds negotiate statelessness, citizenship, self-representation, wellbeing and education. Furthermore, the conference’s objective of creating ‘alternatives’ is indicative of the generative capacity and agency of

¹ Civil society more broadly refers to the un-coerced social relations outside of the state and the market, but which includes the non-state sector.

organisations and their position as active and influential actors in the broader politics and narratives that shape and construct the settlement of people from refugee backgrounds in Australia.

While the outcomes from the conference regarding the role and capacity of non-state organisations offered hopeful ‘alternative’ actions, they were constructed (as the whole conference was) in reference to the exclusionary and punitive approaches to refugee migration and settlement enacted through Australian state policy and present within political and public discourse. This dynamic highlights the position from which non-state organisations in the settlement sector work, delivering support in a context of exclusionary and punitive politics towards humanitarian migrants. While the *Refugee Alternatives* conference is a vivid example of support and care for people from refugee background that is present in Australia, it stands in stark contrast to the dominant narratives that circulate regarding the migration and settlement of people from refugee backgrounds.

Within Australia, as elsewhere, discussions of settlement, and humanitarian migration more broadly are dominated by debates over immigration levels and ‘illegal’ refugees. These discourses are entangled with and shaped by xenophobic race politics (Hage 2002). This may seem unexpected for a nation whose current population is the product of large-scale sustained immigration, and whose national identity has for the last half-century at least, included a claim to cultural diversity and pride in a national politics of multiculturalism. Discussion regarding migration brings to light entrenched attitudes towards cultural diversity and national identity that can be understood to stem from Australia’s history as a white settler colonial nation, controlled for many decades through an immigration policy based on race (Hage 2002, Mares 2001). Racial, ethnic, and cultural difference, while never truly receding from Australian politics, have once again become legitimised as points of concern, debate, and anxiety within Australian political discourse, with significant and concerning impacts on the lives of many people (Soutphommasane 2018). While these issues dominate discussion of the migration and settlement of people from refugee backgrounds, they also work to obscure and render invisible the central position and role of non-state organisations in this space. Indeed, in broader public and political discourses and narratives regarding people from refugee backgrounds, organisations are largely absent. Though events and initiatives

like the *Refugee Alternatives* conference highlight the capacity of organisations in this space, questions remain concerning the role and position of non-state organisations within the broader politics of migration, belonging, inclusion and citizenship for people from refugee backgrounds in Australia. It is these questions that form the main focus of this thesis.

1.2 Immigration anxiety

As in other settler colonial nations, Australia can be understood to be experiencing a resurgence of conservatism and far-right politics that engages with xenophobia, and a narrative of 'migration crisis' to create a climate of anxiety and fear, and further a conservative political agenda. As Dr Tim Soutphommasane, former Race Discrimination Commissioner observed in 2018 'there has never been a more exciting time to be a dog-whistling politician or race-baiting commentator in Australia'. Indeed, such dog-whistling and race-baiting regarding immigration, particularly humanitarian migration, seems to have reached a deafening pitch over the last decade within Australian politics and public discourse, exciting racial anxieties, and disseminating panic about migrants and ethnic and racial minorities. Events in 2018 alone illustrate the increasing normalisation of an overtly racialised politics in Australia. So-called 'African crime gangs' in Melbourne's suburbs have been headline news throughout 2018, a narrative legitimised by comments by federal politicians including the Prime Minister of the time Malcolm Turnbull, despite such claims being described as 'complete and utter garbage' by Chief Commissioner of Victoria Police, Graham Ashton (Bucci 2018).

The narrative of an immigration and diversity crisis continues from within parliament. Senator Fraser Anning's maiden speech to the senate in August 2018 provides a shocking example, in which he praised the White Australia Policy and called for a ban on immigration to Australia for Muslim people, evoking rhetoric used by the Third Reich during the Holocaust, in describing a popular vote on such a ban as the 'final solution' needed to 'fix' immigration (Conifer 2018). Senator Anning is but the latest in a long list of elected politicians to call for a reduction or ban on immigration. This discourse in the media and the comments of elected politicians contributes to the legitimisation

of fear and suspicion of those that are visibly culturally, ethnically or racially non-white² and justification for the securitisation of borders. Much of this discourse and the vitriol within it is directed at humanitarian migrants in particular.

Such sentiment exceeds simple shock tactics, with persistent attempts to change policy, legislation, and institutions that manage and govern immigration, diversity, and citizenship in Australia. At the same time as a chorus of politicians and political commentators were calling for the reduction of immigration, permanent migration to Australia dropped to its lowest in a decade in the 2016/17 financial year with 162,000 permanent visas granted, a substantial cut from 190,000 in the preceding four years (Doherty 2018). Proposed changes to the process and requirements for attaining citizenship including the introduction of a 'values test' and a more advanced English language test before formal Australian citizenship could be conferred, reflect a tightening of the borders and boundaries of Australia to migrants including people from refugee backgrounds. This is further evidenced by repeated attempts to change and water down the Racial Discrimination Act, a key piece of legislation which protects against discrimination on the basis of race and ethnicity, in the name of preserving 'free speech'. While many of these changes have been fought off or delayed (within parliament, and many through legal proceedings) smaller and more subtle changes in policy continue this trajectory of exclusion. An example of this is the recent decision to delay people granted humanitarian protection from accessing federally funded Job Search providers (Jobactive) for the first 26 weeks after arrival, resulting in delayed access to the workforce and to some income-based welfare payments (Refugee Council of Australia 2018, [RCOA]).

While changes like this can be read as small or trivial shifts within bureaucracy, they function to transform the way migrants engage with the Australian state, and with Australian society, as well as the ways in which they can find legitimacy and inclusion in this nation. These changes shape the experience of settlement in Australia and the work of diverse actors that are involved in this process. Indeed, the relationship between such politics, the shifts in policy it has brought about, and the myriad

² Race, ethnicity, and cultural background occupy a complex place in the perception of difference and politics in Australia which is further expanded upon in the review of literature presented in Chapter 3 of this thesis.

organisations that are involved with the everyday work of assisting humanitarian migrants settle in Australian society is not well known.

The counterpoint to this fearful and exclusionary politics has been the attention and emphasis placed on the narrative of the 'successful' refugee. Such narratives account for the social and economic contributions to Australia made by humanitarian migrants and often revolve around the narrative of enterprising refugee communities breathing life into struggling rural Australian towns (the Karen community in Nhill is a popular example of this). While this narrative can be understood as restrictive in its own right (explored in Chapter 3 of this thesis in a discussion of Australian multiculturalism) it does reflect a sentiment of support, compassion, and care regarding the settlement of humanitarian migrants that is present in Australian society. While supportive of the settlement of humanitarian migrants, this narrative also overlooks the organisations tasked with guiding the settlement of humanitarian migrants in Australia.

In the context of such politics at home and abroad, the way the Australian state is engaging with immigration, humanitarian settlement and multiculturalism has changed. While sympathetic state and political actors do retain a commitment to inclusive multicultural policy, the days of the state advancing multicultural values and institutions can be seen to have shifted, with indicators from diverse sources and contexts showing a shift to a more conservative response. While this thesis focusses specifically on the organisations working to enhance settlement experiences and outcomes for those recently arrived in Australia, it is this context of xenophobia, paranoid nationalism, and the narrative of prolonged instability and crisis that such organisations exist in and must navigate to continue their work.

The central philosophies of humanitarian resettlement and assistance, and the key tenets that are meant to inform settlement responses from the state are at distinct odds with, and under threat from, the fearful and anxious politics of immigration that vilifies the stranger and the outsider which circulate in the current political moment in Australia and other western liberalised democracies. What happens to, and within, the organisations that are tasked to undertake and guide this humanitarian resettlement in such a context is of essential importance. These politics, values and ethics are more important than ever, given the wider shift away from a politics of inclusion or a

commitment to providing assistance and supporting cultural difference. The history of many organisations as charities, faith-based organisations, and organisations engaged with the welfare state indicates very different ethical standpoints from those which current approaches to immigration and inclusion, and the structures through which these are practised, including the regulation and securitisation of immigration and the barriers to attaining Australian citizenship described above, may express.

1.3 Aims of the study

The aim of this study is to illuminate the role of non-state organisations in the refugee resettlement landscape in Australia, including their ethical capacities and how these relate to state structures, practices and conceptualisations of settlement and citizenship. In addition, the research aims to contribute to geographical literature surrounding a feminist ethic of care, by providing empirical work that will contribute to a geographically informed understanding of care ethics, and by situating organisations within the structures and practices of this ethic. In order to achieve these aims the research is guided by the following 3 research questions:

1.3.1 Research questions

1. What are the relationships between the Australian state, settlement sector organisations, and groups from refugee backgrounds in the contemporary geography of service delivery in Australia?
2. In what ways do organisations seek to shape the construction of citizenship for people from refugee backgrounds settling in Australia?
3. What are the ethical frameworks that organisations operate in whilst navigating the tensions involved in working in the geographies of refugee settlement in Australia?

1.4 Contextualising humanitarian settlement in Australia

1.4.1 Migration to Australia

Within Australia the regulation of migration through stringent entry criteria represents the continuation of a discriminatory, uneven, and contradictory approach to migration

that has shaped its history. Since its violent colonial beginnings, Australia has recognised the need for, and pursued high levels of immigration, primarily for economic reasons, whilst enforcing discriminatory and exclusionary criteria for migration as a means of societal engineering (Jupp 2002). Indeed, since its first national immigration act in 1901, more commonly referred to as the White Australia Policy, the management of those entering Australia has been based on discrimination and exclusion (Mares 2001). Despite mass migration over Australia's short history, strict social engineering has meant Australia's borders are governed by a 'conditional welcome'. With continuing reliance on immigration for economic growth and stability, immigration and related issues are a constant topic of discourse and debate. Issues surrounding immigration have now spread to all areas of public debate, with immigration levels linked to rising housing prices, road congestion, resource consumption, including water, and countless other topics of public concern. Implicit with such discussions is a fear of 'too many' and concerns of migrants not 'integrating'. The recent coupling of the federal portfolios of 'Population' and 'Infrastructure', and the appointment of Alan Tudge (previously minister for citizenship and multiculturalism) as minister in charge of this new joint portfolio seems to speak to such concerns about immigration's impact on Australia.

Since the mid 1990s Australia's migration program has included a major focus on skilled and temporary forms of migration to address reported labour shortages and economic needs, in addition to a focus on population growth which has been the primary driver for Australia's migration program through history (Klapdor, Coombs, and Bohm 2009). The migration program is divided into a number of different streams or types of visa categories of which 'Skilled Migration' accounted for over half of the migrants granted visas in 2016-2017 (67.3%) (Department of Immigration and Border Protection 2017, [DIBP]). Individuals can be accepted under the Skilled Migration stream if they possess skills identified as being in shortage in the current population, or skilled business people who plan to create business opportunities in Australia. This kind of migration is directly tied to employment, with the majority of individuals in this stream sponsored by an employer in Australia to migrate. Other streams include 'Family' (30.6%), and 'Special Eligibility' (0.2%) (DIBP 2017).

Seeking humanitarian protection in Australia

The other main component of Australia's migration intake is the Refugee and Humanitarian Program. This intake is tied to Australia's humanitarian commitment, and though the figures are tightly controlled, discrimination on the basis of personal assets, employment, or industry skills cannot be implemented in this program in the same way that these requirements shape the rest of Australia's migration program. Australia's first official refugee program was established in 1977 by the Fraser government, a response to crises in South East Asia and Lebanon, and the recognition of the need for formal and well-established structures to manage humanitarian migration in the future (Mares 2001). Since this time, the regulation of humanitarian migration has only intensified.

Australia's Refugee and Humanitarian Program accounts for a small fraction of the annual migration intake, and is capped at a figure determined by the government annually (Taylor 2004). A breakdown of the 2016-17 program is presented in Figure 1 (DIBP 2017). Multiple categories of humanitarian migrant and visa types constitute this program. Most broadly and divisively, these are grouped as 'onshore' and 'offshore' arrivals (RCOA 2014). Offshore arrivals are individuals who apply for protection whilst overseas, and includes those whose claims have been processed and found to be Refugees by the UNHCR and referred to Australia for resettlement, and those granted protection under the Australian government's *Special Humanitarian Program*, who are understood to be subject to substantial discrimination in their home country amounting to a gross violation of their human rights (ROAC 2014). The claims for protection made by these groups are granted prior to their arrival in Australia. Alternatively, onshore arrivals are individuals who enter Australia and then make claims for humanitarian protection. This includes those seeking Asylum who enter Australian territory by boat and those with valid visas who overstay or enter Australia and then invoke humanitarian protection.

Component	Stream	Total
Offshore	Refugee	6,642
	Special Humanitarian Program	5407
	Additional Syria and Iraq intake (12,000)	8,209

Total offshore			20,258
Onshore			1,711
Total onshore			1,711
Total	Humanitarian	Program	21,969
16/17			

Figure 1: 2016-17 Refugee and Humanitarian Program intake (DIBP 2017)

Border securitisation

Since the 1990s Australia's humanitarian migration policy has moved away from a focus on protection towards securitisation (Dickson 2015; Hyndman and Mountz 2008; McMaster 2001). The increased threat from outside the border, recognised in the international terrorist attacks of 9/11 and later the bombings in Bali and London, gave impetus to what Hage (2003) identifies as Australia's inherited paranoia and anxiousness of those at our borders (Pietsch 2013). While Hage (2003) identifies the uniqueness of an Australian fear of the outsider based in the nation's history as a settler colonial state, this also reflects the fear of the outsider that Sandercock (2003) identifies across many Western cities (and nations) in the 21st century, and which is entangled with a cosmopolitan and progressive identity more broadly (Iveson 2006).

In 2001 a collection of immigration policy changes titled the 'Pacific Solution' was introduced, initiating the mandatory offshore detention of unauthorised arrivals and excising hundreds of Australia's territories from the official migration zone (Dickson 2015). This effectively restricted the geographic space in which Australia's humanitarian protection can be invoked. This was followed by the introduction of 'Operation Sovereign Borders' in 2013, under which all unauthorised ships within Australian waters are intercepted and all migrants detained, and the mainland of Australia removed from the migration zone completely. Such legislative practices intensify this process of securitisation (Dickson 2015). Importantly, Mountz (2015) argues, this securitisation involves both material and discursive practice. Indeed, an essential part of the securitisation of Australia's asylum policy has been the securitisation of discourse surrounding unauthorised arrivals (Mountz 2015). This is evident in the persistent reference to asylum seekers as 'illegal' migrants, attaching a

'spectre of criminality to a process that is not illegal' (Mountz 2015 p.187). The seemingly endless renaming and restructuring of the government department that oversees immigration also illustrate this narrative. Changing from the 'Department of Immigration and Citizenship' to the 'Department of Immigration and Border Protection' and the introduction of the militarised 'Border Force' continue this securitisation process. The latest in this discursive signalling has been the creation of the 'Ministry of Home Affairs' in 2017, a 'super-ministry' which brings together all security, intelligence, and border agencies including the Australian Security Intelligence Organisation (ASIO), the Australian Federal Police (AFP), and Border Force under one minister, furthering the association of 'immigration' with threats to Australian border, sovereignty, and indeed security. These discursive and material securitisation practices effectively 'shrink the space available for migrants' (Mountz 2015, p.187) not only geographically but also within Australian society.

Perhaps the most extreme example of the securitisation and vilification of people seeking refuge in Australia and the material outcomes of narratives of the 'threat' to Australia posed by such migration has been the ongoing policy of mandatory offshore detention of those seeking asylum in Australia. While mandatory detention has been part of Australia's approach to irregular migration since 1992 under the Keating Labor government, Operation Sovereign Borders launched in 2013 saw a new and harrowing phase of this practice. Agreements were made with Both Nauru and Papua New Guinea to open detention facilities at which all 'unauthorised maritime arrivals' to Australia's territory are detained.

The practice of mandatory detention, the conditions of the centres, the often indefinite length of detention, and the physical, psychological and sexual abuse occurring within these centres have been condemned by groups including the Australian Human Rights Commission (2014), the UNHCR (Méndez 2017), and Human Rights Watch (2017). Numerous reports and publications from such organisations have shown the traumatic psychological impact that detention is having on the adults and children held in these centres, often for indefinite periods in direct contravention to the UNHCR convention on the rights of refugees. Despite international condemnation the policy of offshore detention has been continued and reinforced by consecutive governments who have justified such brutality with a rhetoric of stopping people smugglers, saving

lives at sea, and protecting Australian borders. The issue of offshore detention is evidently a very different situation from humanitarian migrants granted protection and settling in Australia. While I do not wish to equate or conflate these situations, throughout this work I recognise they are part of the broader approach and indeed attitude toward migration in Australia and informed and shaped by the same narratives of fear of the outsider that can be identified in the policies that structure settlement in Australia. The experiences and treatment of both groups are shaped by the ongoing debates regarding just who should be allowed to call Australia their home.

Australia in a global context

While Australia has a long and established history of discriminatory immigration policy, it is important to consider that this current iteration is occurring in a global context of fear and anxiety over immigration and an increasing global securitisation of immigration processes. While the current and unfolding global political context has been explained in numerous ways by political theorists and commentators, it may be understood for the purposes of this thesis, and at this point in time, as a turn towards conservatism, populism and anti-immigration sentiment in the face of a prolonged climate of uncertainty and crisis. Europe has been in the midst of what is described as a 'refugee crisis' for a number of years now with upwards of 4 million people entering Europe since 2014 (over 1 million of these in 2015 alone) (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees 2018, [UNHCR]) leaving many nations to reassess and redesign immigration and asylum policies and practices. This comes at the same time as changes and uncertainty around the future of the European Union (EU), continuing economic instability and debt crises in Greece and Spain, and the decision of Great Britain to leave the EU, all while Russia is testing its power and control over the region. Political gains for far-right and conservative parties across Europe over the last decade and the election of Trump in the US in 2016, all on the platform of anti-immigrant xenophobic nationalism, further exemplifies this prevalent global anxiety surrounding immigration.

With the prevalence of this sentiment and anxiety in other nations it is clear that Australia is not alone in this political moment, or with this return to anti-immigration sentiment and the securitisation and policing of borders. Furthermore, within this anti-

immigration backlash and global climate of crisis and fear Australia is considered a global leader in border protection and a model for immigration policy. As a nation that has been able to reduce unwanted immigration of those seeking refuge and asylum effectively to zero through strict border controls including offshore processing, Australia's approach to immigration is seen as an example to be emulated and reproduced by nations who understand themselves to be under siege or threat from those seeking refuge and asylum. Political figures from conservative right-wing parties across Europe including VVD in Holland, Front Nationals in France, and UKIP in the UK, have called for the implementation of the 'Australian model' of immigration and border protection, referring to the policies of boat turn-backs (which can be understood as a form of refoulment³) and offshore detention of those claiming asylum (both policies designed to act as punishment and deterrents for other people seeking asylum) as the 'Australian solution' (Polakow-Suransky 2017, n.p). Around the globe Australia's approach to immigration is being used as a template to deny humanitarian protection to those in desperate need.

1.4.2 The settlement of humanitarian migrants in Australian society

Individuals who are granted protection through Australia's humanitarian migration program are eligible for a number of federal government provided services according to the conditions of their visa and migration stream (Birrell and Jupp 2000). However, this time after arrival in Australia, broadly known as the period of 'settlement', is also a highly structured time in which migrants are expected to 'begin their life in Australia', seeking employment, learning English, and engaging with the broader community. Settlement is approached through policy as a distinct period or stage with limits on the times that individuals and families are entitled to access specialist settlement support services (Birrell and Jupp 2000). After this 'settlement' period, it is believed that the need of humanitarian migrants should be met by mainstream social and welfare services (Department of Social Services 2018b).

³ Refoulment refers to states expelling refugees back to territories in which they would likely face danger and persecution. The principal of non-refoulment is a cornerstone of the 1951 Convention on the Rights of the Refugee to which Australia is a signatory.

The federal government provides two main programs to support newly arrived humanitarian migrants: the Humanitarian Settlement Program (HSP) and the Settlement Grants Program (SGP). While these programs will be explored in greater detail in Chapters 5 and 6 of this thesis, it is important to acknowledge that the policy that structures and guides these programs assumes that settlement is a distinct and temporary stage through which migrants pass, to become successfully settled. This can be witnessed in the time periods for eligibility for such services, and the areas of focus that structure them. Discussion of the settlement of humanitarian migrants within Australia almost always circulates around 'settlement outcomes', and examples of 'successful settlement' with the metrics of such discussion including employment rates and economic contributions. Through such structures and expectations, the initial settlement period is presented as a period of learning through which individuals become more integrated within Australian society. However, as explored in the empirical chapters of this thesis, the everyday reality of the settlement period and settlement more generally in Australia nonetheless calls into questions the linear progression of this period.

Challenges and barriers

Humanitarian migrants face exclusion from Australian society in a multitude of ways, encountering barriers that may not be faced by the wider population or by skilled or other migrants to Australia (Colic-Peisker and Tilbury 2006; Taylor 2004). While the most extreme exclusion from society is faced by asylum seekers and those on temporary protection or bridging visas living in the community, others granted permanent protection still face many barriers to inclusion and full participation in Australian society (Colic-Peisker and Tilbury 2007, 2006). Indeed, those from refugee backgrounds, or what (Jupp 2003) terms 'disturbed situations', have consistently lower employment outcomes than any other migration entry category. While this may in part be due to low English proficiency and education levels, Colic-Peisker and Tilbury (2006) have shown that racism and discrimination against those from refugee backgrounds is a major barrier to accessing the labour market, severely impacting settlement outcomes. As Taylor (2004) highlights, humanitarian arrivals are particularly vulnerable to long term unemployment with rates much higher than the broader population and other entry streams even up to 18 months after arrival. The SEIFA Index of Relative Social Disadvantage shows that around 41.5% of

humanitarian visa entrants to Victoria between 2001-2011 lived, in 2011, in locations with the lowest decile of SEIFA status, with 21.5% residing in the second lowest SEIFA decile (Davern et al. 2016).

While, as Taylor (2004) reminds us, 'settlement policies are, in theory, about how to include refugees and migrants into Australian society', research over the last two decades has made it clear that these policies, including broader immigration policies, systematically exclude migrant, especially humanitarian migrant, participation in Australian society (Castles 1995; Colic-Peisker and Tilbury 2006; Dunn et al. 2004; Fleay and Hartley 2015; Fozdar and Hartley 2013b; Mares 2001; Sidhu and Taylor 2009). Though perpetuated through media coverage, this 'politics of exclusion and denial' as Steel (2003) identifies it, emerges and is driven by the state and bureaucracy through exclusionary policies and a sustained political rhetoric (by both major parties) that portrays and treats people seeking refuge and asylum as underserving, untrustworthy, queue jumpers, and welfare bludgers.

The settlement sector

At the same time as fearful and anxious narratives of immigration circulate and the borders of Australia become further securitised, a different sentiment of welcome and acceptance towards humanitarian migrants and people from refugee backgrounds can be identified within particular actors and organisations in broader Australian society. Such sentiment is visible within initiatives like 'refugee welcome zones' through which local governments commit to creating inclusive and welcoming environments for people from refugee backgrounds within the contested political landscape of migration and humanitarian migration, and a myriad of other initiatives and programs. Important actors within this welcoming narrative are a diverse range of non-state organisations involved in the day-to-day process of assisting and enabling settlement for people from refugee background in Australian society.

Structuring the settlement of people from refugee backgrounds into Australian society, is a range of organisations. This includes organisations that deliver particular settlement services and programs through federal contracts and funding, as well as a wealth of other organisations and programs that provide support and assistance to communities from refugee backgrounds. Such organisations are diverse and dynamic

in form and in their relationships with each other and with the state and state institutions. Recognising this diversity of organisations as the ‘settlement sector’, as this thesis does, shows how such organisations cannot be easily slotted into the conceptualisation of non-state organisations developed in geography and aligned disciplines.

Indeed, organisations involved in the provision of social and welfare services have been the subject of much focus in geography and related disciplines, especially regarding the changing relationship of the state with these services considering the welfare restructuring that has shaped western liberal democratic states including Australia, over the last three decades. Within this work such organisations have been conceptualised in uneven ways. Non-state organisations have largely been understood as simply filling the gaps left by the neoliberal retraction of the state, or as the rise of a shadow state apparatus (Wolch 1990). However, the landscape in which these actors exist is not fully encompassed by the political-economy of the welfare state, and the ways that organisations are situated and entangled with processes of immigration and settlement are not well understood. In order to capture the diversity, complexity, and dynamism of this somewhat overlooked sector, and with recognition of the connected or networked and complementary way in which these organisations function as a sector, this project engages with a diversity of organisational actors who provide a breadth of services that support people from refugee backgrounds ‘settling’ in Melbourne’s suburbs.

Work in Australia has looked at formal settlement services funded by government, non-government and volunteer work, challenges and barriers to settlement and accessing support (Colic-Peisker and Hlavac 2014; Colic-Peisker and Tilbury 2003, 2006; Fozdar and Hartley 2013b; Jupp 2002; Pietsch 2013; Sidhu and Taylor 2009; Spinks 2009). This project builds upon insight from this literature, and approaches this as an hybrid messy sector, engaging with organisations and actors which may not have been considered important in settlement support in other work regarding these issues. Indeed, the project seeks to reframe and illuminate the settlement infrastructure of Australia’s suburbs to show the way in which organisations conceptualise and approach their role in providing support to such communities. This previous work can also assume that a distinct suite of specialised organisations and

services are involved in immediate settlement needs after which service users exit the programs or join mainstream organisations. Through this work I aim to illustrate the messy and complex networks of organisations that work with refugee migrants at each stage, with involvement and time frames often exceeding those outlined in policy and program guidelines. As settlement cannot be neatly placed into a series of stages and boxes, similarly the involvement with different organisations is not neat or easily defined.

1.5 Significance of the study

This research has significance to a number of areas of geographic inquiry and more broadly outside the discipline of geography. Importantly, the research contributes to the expanding literature on a feminist ethic of care by providing rich grounded empirical examples of care ethics in practice. Specifically, it provides important contributions to geographic work that engages with care ethics. While most of this work engages with care at the scale of individuals, this thesis is important as it explores the ways in which care can act as a guiding moral ethic, that structures and informs the practices and ethos of established organisations. In exploring the role of care ethics within these organisations, and the sector more broadly, this thesis can be seen to follow from a key tenet of Tronto's (1993) work on care, which is to re-politicise care practices, and ethics, (which have largely been relegated to the sphere of the private and thus not political) and to understand those that undertake these roles as political subjects and entities.

In addition, as an academic contribution, this study advances knowledge regarding the role, position, and impact of non-state actors in the 'post-welfare' context, specifically in the context of humanitarian resettlement. Engaging with a diversity of organisations involved in providing support to communities with refugee backgrounds, not only those that hold contracts for one particular federally funded program, as well as programs run by organisations beside those provided through contracts, the research shows the breadth of support and assistance involved in supporting newly arrived humanitarian migrants and indeed the importance of other assistance in allowing these 'official' programs to function. In doing so the research provides further empirical contribution on the 'post-welfare' state and the messiness and dynamism of

the landscape of non-state actors involved in this context. The study is also significant in that it provides insight into the changing state/society relations especially around issues of responsibility for social welfare or social support.

Furthermore, the study contributes new knowledge to understandings of resistance and alternatives to oppressive regimes. It contributes to emerging work that explores how resistance to oppressive state practices and actions can occur alongside relationships and involvement with the state, in ways that are ‘quieter’ and ‘slower’ than ‘media-worthy protest’ (Olson 2017) or that are practised by actors wholly outside the state apparatus and institutions. Through its focus on care ethics it helps to understand the motivations and ethos driving the work of non-state organisations. The research follows Mitchell’s (1991, p. 93 emphasis original) call to look past and ‘question the traditional figure of resistance as a subject who stands *outside* the state’ and engages with the messiness of state-civil society relationships in the post welfare context. Indeed, it illuminates what can be thought of as new forms of care-full resistance from within and alongside the state.

1.6 Structure of the thesis

This thesis proceeds in 7 chapters following this introduction. Following the context presented in this introductory chapter, Chapters 2 and 3 provide a review of the relevant literature from Geography and related disciplines that inform this research. Through a discussion of key themes regarding migration and citizenship, Chapter 2 highlights how non-state organisations are important but largely overlooked and under-theorised as central actors within the space of refugee resettlement and in the construction of the boundaries of citizenship. This chapter identifies the persistent narratives that structure how organisations have previously been approached in the literature, primarily as actors ‘co-opted’ by the state through neoliberal ideologies or governance regimes. The review also engages with a more hopeful body of literature that sees organisations as having the potential to exceed these limited framings in particular ways. Following this, Chapter 3 identifies key frameworks that circulate within social and political discourse regarding refugee migrants and more broadly belonging in Australia, identifying these as forces that cannot be untangled from the work of non-state organisations within the refugee settlement sector in Australia.

Chapter 3 identifies care ethics as an important consideration within the settlement landscape in Australia.

Chapter 4 sets out a method that interleaves qualitative interviews with a close analysis of policy narratives and documents in order to better apprehend the ways that organisations co-construct the boundaries and structures of citizenship. The chapter provides an overview of the research context and location and offers information on the selection and recruitment of participating organisations, further contextualising the research in the Australian settlement landscape and in geographic literature. This chapter also discusses the construction of the interview schedule and the areas of focus that interview questions were concerned with. It also provides detail on the data analysis process.

The empirical chapters presented in this thesis follow and respond to the three guiding research questions providing empirical insights and analytic work in order to answer these questions. Chapter 5 of this thesis is the first empirical chapter and is concerned with the interaction and relationship between non-state organisations working within the refugee settlement sector, and the structures of the federal state which in many ways construct, define and shape the sector and the landscape of settlement in Australia more broadly. This chapter shows the ways in which organisations actively and by design, link individuals to mainstream social and welfare services, and the ways in which they make these services accessible. In detailing organisations' roles, this chapter adds new insights to the prominent conceptualisations of non-state organisations as filling gaps in service provision in the wake of neoliberal welfare restructuring. Instead, the chapter is able to show the complexities of this relationship, highlighting their essential role in linking to mainstream services, and doing the labour of making such services appropriate and accessible to the specific needs of newly arrived communities. This examination also troubles the claims of a universal service provision in the so-called 'mainstream', revealing the labour that is required to maintain such a configuration. The chapter argues that this configuration, in which the bulk of the work is undertaken by non-state organisations who link to and make accessible mainstream services, is a way in which the federal government is able to maintain a limited and restricted model of social and welfare service delivery.

Chapter 6 engages with this thesis' second research question regarding the role of organisations in the formation of citizenship in Australia. It shows that not only are organisations integral in the processes of settlement (as Chapter 5 establishes) but they are also involved in the regulation of the boundaries of citizenship. Moving away from the formal/substantive dichotomy which frames much work on citizenship, this chapter builds upon Staeheli et al.'s (2012) conceptualisation of 'Ordinary Citizenship' to explain the important ways in which these organisations are involved in the regulation of the boundaries of citizenship in Australia, well beyond their formal task of structuring the experiences of new migrants into Australian society. This chapter shows the ways in which imaginaries of citizenship that are sedimented and structured within the settlement policy in Australia (including multiculturalism, paranoid nationalism and neoliberal imaginaries) also influence the programs and practices of organisations in this sector. It focusses on two main target areas that are prominent in conceptualisations of citizenship and which are prioritised through federal government settlement programs. These are the focus on employment for the purpose of financial independence from the state, and on English language acquisition.

The chapter moves past the conceptualisation of organisations simply instilling state-imposed citizenship values in the communities they work with. It reveals the ways in which, at the same time as they engage with these limited and exclusionary imaginaries of citizenship in Australia, organisations are also able to expand these imaginaries in important ways. It discusses how practices and programs that align with more normative citizenship ideas disrupt these ideas in small but important ways. This finding challenges the positioning of organisations as passive actors in the politics and narratives of the state, showing their capacity to engage with resources, politics, and narratives in more creative and expansive ways that must be taken into account in understanding settlement and citizenship for people from refugee backgrounds in Australia.

While Chapters 5 and 6 underscore both the prevalence and malleability of 'neoliberal' and 'settler-colonial' values in settlement services provision, Chapter 7 turns to care ethics, to consider whether and how settlement services and citizenship in settler colonial societies like Australia might be more meaningfully structured by organisations through their engagement with care ethics. This chapter addresses

research question 3, identifying a feminist ethic of care as an essential ethical framework that informs the practices of non-state organisations in the settlement sector. This ethic is distinct from the ethical concerns present in the practices and approaches of the federal government that revolve around the settler colonial values, multiculturalism and neoliberalism, and in many ways challenges these ethical standpoints. The chapter identifies two conceptual tenets of care ethics and provides empirical accounts of practices of organisations that reflect these ethical elements. In identifying and exploring the role and position of feminist care ethics this chapter opens up non-state organisations as caring spaces, envisioning them not as the background to care practices, but as key actors in a care ethics in ways they have not been discussed or approached before this work. Following this, Chapter 8 concludes this thesis, providing a summary of the contributions from this study to geographic literature and beyond, and laying out potential for future research that builds upon the findings and contributions presented herein.

Chapter 2. Citizenship, migration and non-state organisations

2.1 Introduction

As established in the introductory chapter, this thesis is concerned with the role and position of non-state organisations in the structures and discourses of citizenship. The following two chapters review literature that is relevant to the focus of the research. This begins with a review of geographic literature and literature from related social sciences pertaining to migration and citizenship for people seeking asylum and refuge. This section presents the anxieties and attitudes that shape contemporary international migration to 'western' nations, and which characterise such nations' responses to this migration. Geographic and related academic work on these issues highlights the prevalence of punitive practices in governing borders and the increasing securitisation of national borders, often through racialised practices and assumptions. The chapter then discusses citizenship as a key lens through which migration, and the experiences of encountering securitised national borders and boundaries has been explored in academic work, and explores key themes within the expansive literatures that focus on citizenship. In this discussion, the chapter highlights the role that non-state organisations have played historically in the migration and settlement of migrants, specifically humanitarian migrants in Australia.

Considering their importance, the chapter then moves to discuss the ways in which non-state organisations have been conceptualised in this space. It highlights the concept of the shadow state as the dominant framework used to understand the role and capacity of these organisations. While discussing the important contributions from this literature, it also argues that this theorisation of non-state organisations has been limited, often only conceiving organisations in relation to the state, placing them on a spectrum which depicts them as either a shadow state apparatus, or working as progressive entities wholly outside a state structure. Missing from these accounts has been the role that organisations play in the discourses and processes of humanitarian settlement and citizenship.

Organisations are entangled with the boundaries and structures of citizenship which shape the experience of migration, settlement, and the forging of belonging in Australian society, however, as this chapter shows, previous literature has not included such aspects in its conceptualisations. This chapter argues that organisations cannot be untangled from the discourses that create and shape the boundaries and structures of citizenship. These discourses are expanded upon in Chapter 3, which sets out the dominant and most relevant structures that shape and contour citizenship in Australia.

2.2 Migration regimes in the 21st century

The increasing control of humanitarian migration in Australia reflects broader trends towards border protection internationally. The beginning of the 21st century has been characterised by the increasing regulation and restriction of international migration (Dauvergne 2008; Kofman 2005). While more people from more places may be on the move in what Castles and Miller (2009, p. 7) have heralded a 'new age of migration', this movement is not a free or unchecked flow. Rather, the movement of migrants around the globe is tightly controlled by state governments, especially those of prosperous western nations (Dauvergne 2005). Through state and international laws that dictate migration, we are witnessing what Dauvergne (2005, p. 2) identifies as the 'illegalisation of migration' in the beginning of the 21st century. Through the proliferation of specific migration streams and visa categories and the use of point systems in some western countries, migration is more than ever contingent upon fitting certain predetermined categories (Kofman 2005). These categories specify a desired type of migrant that nations seek to attract (Hugo 2006) and as Kofman (2005, p. 453) highlights, work as a form of 'civic stratification', through which nations can engineer their populations.

This regulation extends to those seeking asylum and refuge with the increasing stratification of humanitarian migration streams (Dauvergne 2008). In many countries humanitarian entrants are required to meet strict criteria before having their claims for protection recognised, a difficult if not impossible task for those fleeing conflict and persecution (Taylor 2004). These forms of stratification and regulation function to secure national borders against those deemed 'unwanted' (Mountz 2011, p. 100), a

group increasingly defined by their inability to meet desired measures of personal economic security and employability (Taylor 2004). Accounting for the smallest group of migrants in most western nations, those seeking humanitarian protection undoubtedly capture the most political and public attention (Dauvergne 2005). Indeed, the widespread 'moral panic' that surrounds irregular migration is a 'marker of the twenty first century' (Dauvergne 2008, p.2)

The moral panic, anxiety, and suspicion that surrounds irregular forms of migration, can be seen as part of an intensifying xenophobia that grips contemporary western societies (Amin 2012; Appadurai 2006; Hage 2003; Noble 2005). For Appadurai (2006), this fear and insecurity is the result of the increased interconnectivity and the free flow of ideas, identities and ideologies facilitated by globalisation. As Appadurai (2006, p. 7) argues, the diversity brought by globalisation has interrupted the classical form of nation (and identity) formation based on cultural and racial similarity, producing what he identifies as an 'anxiety of incompleteness' among majority groups around the world. The terrorist attacks on New York, London, and numerous other western targets over the last two decades have intensified this climate of fear. As Amin (2012, p. 88) explains, these events led to the proliferation and intensification of 'unashamedly punitive forms of state politics' that discipline the racialised stranger. Noble (2005, p. 119) describes this as the 'prevailing Western mood of insecurity'.

Work by Alison Mountz (2010, 2011, 2015) uncovers the ways in which the movement of national borders, boundaries, and sovereign spaces plays an essential role in facilitating the global securitisation of migration. Mountz (2010, p.121) shows how some states strategically relocate their borders and use 'extraterritorial [sites] that are neither entirely inside or outside of sovereign territory' to police migration. Such sites including migration detention facilities and 'stateless zones' associated with transit limit the access of migrants to sovereign territory and making asylum claims, and from national and international human rights laws (Mountz 2010), keeping them in a position of legal ambiguity. Australia's 'Pacific solution'⁴ exemplifies such tactics, using offshore detention facilities in neighbouring states who were contracted to undertake asylum processing, and through the retroactive exclusion of the coast of the Australian

⁴ a migration policy introduced in 2000 which introduced mandatory offshore detention.

mainland and numerous islands where migrant boats land from Australia's 'migration zone', to keep migrants at arm's length and to strategically deny asylum.

The use of such geographies of enforcement (Mountz 2010) functions both to 'hypervisualise' and to 'invisibilise' migration and asylum claims, a strategic action by states. Through the hypervisibilisation of the 'processes and infrastructure of securitization' (Mountz 2010, p. 65) by means of including the use and positioning of migrant boat interceptions, large detention facilities, and the use of the military for this border work, the attention and focus of international media and public discourse is captured. As Mountz (2010) explains, this limits discussion and knowledge of migration and asylum to conversations and depictions of a militarised and dangerous issue. This contributes to a narrative of threat or attack at the borders and, Mountz argues, creates a public fearful of migrants. The hypervisualisation of migration security, and certain aspects and action of the border and migration infrastructure at the same time allows for the invisibilisation of the lives of those turned back on boats or held in detention centres and the 'transnational communities, geopolitical relations, and colonial histories in which they are embedded and embroiled' (Mountz 2015, p.186). Importantly, this 'sleight of hand' (Mountz 2015, p.186) also obscures the violence of such border enforcement practices.

Such sleight of hand is at play in the context of Australia's contemporary migration regime. This regime is based around offshore detention of those seeking asylum and supported by the discourse of vilification and fear within Australia's public discourse. In Australia this fear and suspicion has accumulated around a number of overlapping groups in particular; people seeking asylum, the Islamic community (Dunn, Klocker, and Salabay 2007; Klocker and Dunn 2003; Noble 2005) and more recently African Australian communities (Kwansah-Aidoo and Mapedzahama 2018; MacDonald 2017). This climate of fear has led not only to the vilification of these groups within Australia, but fostered persistent racism and discrimination against refugees and asylum seekers (Colic-Peisker and Tilbury 2007; Fozdar and Hartley 2013a, 2013b; Hodge 2015; Klocker and Dunn 2003) with their claims to citizenship and to legitimately occupy national space constantly under threat (Hage 2003). As Hage (2003) argues, the roots of this fearful public can be understood to be a core part of the Australian national psyche and shape national identity. As Hage claims (2003), this national

anxiety, or paranoia, is rooted in Australia's history as a colonial outpost of the British Empire, born out of the decimation of the indigenous population. Precariously placed, Australia has been characterised by a fear that its prosperity and identity may, at any moment, be taken away by invaders at the borders (Hage 1998, 2002, 2003). This 'paranoid nationalism', as it can be understood, is explored further in the next chapter of this thesis.

The securitisation and regulation of migration that characterises the governance of borders in the 21st century, occurs through racialised processes and has racialised outcomes. The practices through which this regulation and securitisation happen impact some bodies more than others, with race ethnicity, language and nationality key categories which states use in governing borders both explicitly and implicitly. Furthermore, Mountz (2011, p. 151) reminds us that the increasing use of biometric data to police borders renders the body (or particular bodies) as a site through which the nation-state 'reasserts sovereignty through reterritorialization'. Bodies are a key space through which borders are constituted and state sovereignty plays out (Mountz 2011). Such practices, along with political and public discourses (including media) that continuously present and construct the image of the irregular, unruly, bogus and thus threatening migrant as the non-white migrant, work to racialise this group. This feeds into and bolsters the fear of the racialised other that characterises Australia's, and many other western settler colonial nations', approach to migration (Amin 2012; Hage 2003).

2.3 Citizenship

The lens of citizenship has been used extensively by geographers to explore the local and global impacts and lived experiences of an increasingly securitised, regulated, and fearful migration context. However, as Staeheli (2011, p. 393) identifies with the wealth of scholarship offering different explorations and interpretations of the concept, citizenship appears both an 'illusory and ubiquitous' category in geographic work. Within the literature the concept is used in a multitude of ways, as Staeheli et al. (2016, p. 3) argue:

Citizenship is freighted with many, sometimes contradictory, meanings. It is a status conferred by a nation-state. It is a marker of belonging and inclusion, even as it creates exclusions. It conveys expectations of how subjects should behave. It is a western category that is treated as though it is universal. It guarantees rights. It obligates subjects to serve the state. It is conditioned by local, everyday relationships and practices. It represents global, cosmopolitan ideals.

Two prominent understandings have shaped debates of citizenship in geography and related fields (Staeheli et al. 2012). One which sees citizenship primarily as a *legal status* that is conferred by a governing body such as a state, and another view which understands citizenship as pertaining to the *position of individuals in relation to the polity*. In its broadest sense, Staeheli et al. (2012) identify the major difference between these approaches to be whether citizenship is understood through its legal elements, or through its more substantive elements. Work that takes as its focus the rights and responsibilities of citizenship, citizenship as a birthright, and the protections and agency of those who are not citizens where they live, frame their understanding of citizenship in its legal elements (Isin 2008; Staeheli et al. 2012). The work of feminist, queer, and post-colonial scholars based in this conceptualisation has been essential in highlighting the unevenness of citizenship for different social groups, and challenging the taken for granted ideas of equality and universality within legal conceptualisations of citizenship (Isin and Turner 2002). Indeed, this work has shown that access to rights and protections under the laws are 'rarely realised without contestation' (Ehrkamp and Jacobsen 2015, p. 153).

Alternatively, work on the substantive issues of belonging, membership, exclusion and marginalisation are grounded in understanding citizenship as a relation or positioning to the polity (Staeheli et al. 2012). This work shows that, as Ehrkamp and Jacobsen (2015, p.155) put it, 'citizenship is not just a status that one holds', rather expanding the conceptualisation to understand it as *lived experience* and as a *social practice*. An example of such social practices can be found in public demonstrations that lay claim to space, and belonging (Veronis 2006, cited in Ehrkamp and Jacobsen 2015). Including social practices in understandings of citizenship 'shift[s] the focus from the state's influence on people's everyday lives to the ways in which people themselves become political and frequently challenge the state' (Ehrkamp and Jacobsen 2015, p. 155). Indeed, emerging from this conceptualisation has been a wealth of work that engages with 'routines, rituals, customs, norms, and habits of the everyday [as acts] through which subject become citizens' (Isin 2008, p. 17). Isin (2008, p. 17) describes these practices as citizenship acts; 'those moments, when regardless of status and substance, subjects constitute themselves as citizens – or, better still, as those whom the right to have rights is due'. The spectrum of practices and performances that have been explored in terms of their transformative potential and position as citizenship acts (regarding issues impacting migrants without formal citizenship status) is vast, and includes activist practices like public campaigns, marches, hunger strikes (Müller 2016; Nyers 2010), as well as through legal cases (Staehli et al. 2012) and through more everyday acts like voluntary and philanthropic work as well as caring labour (Trudeau 2012).

The debate regarding formal and substantive forms of citizenship has a long history within political theory and citizenship studies (Isin 2008; Isin and Turner 2002). While it is widely accepted that there constitutes a 'fundamental rift' (Staeheli et al. 2012) between approaches that see citizenship as legal status, and those that understand it through its substantive practices, there is also an increasing recognition that these conceptualisations are not mutually exclusive, and that both are important for understanding lived experiences of inclusion/exclusion (Ehrkamp and Jacobsen 2015; Isin 2008; Staeheli 2011; Staeheli et al. 2012). Indeed, work concerning individuals seeking refuge and asylum are entwined with both aspects of citizenship. Those seeking refuge are largely excluded from legal forms of citizenship in the countries they are residing or seek entry into, and may be marginalised from many, but not all,

substantial practices that can be understood to constitute or cultivate belonging and membership (Darling and Squire 2013). Understanding how these frames of citizenship exist alongside one another, and how they entwine, is important for citizenship studies (Staeheli et al. 2012).

2.3.1 Conceptualising citizenship relationally

Contemporary geographic literature concerned with irregular migration, the wellbeing of displaced persons, and belonging and inclusion for the stranger or outsider, can be seen to engage with this more substantive understanding of citizenship. This is especially visible in its exploration and focus on relational forms of refuge, asylum, and sanctuary. Much of this work draws on concepts of relationality, first developed by Massey (1994, 2005), to understand the positions and experience of such groups within society and the city. Indeed, Darling and Squire (2013) engage a relational framework to understand 'refuge', 'asylum', and 'sanctuary' to emerge and be constituted through everyday practices, activities, and interactions, rather than being determined and controlled by the state or indeed by international law (Darling and Squire 2013). As Darling and Squire (2013, p.191) argue, sanctuary or refuge is constituted by 'everyday enactments' that emerge through the interactions of diverse individuals and groups present in the urban context. These enactments unsettle the normative values and understandings that structure approaches to refuge and asylum which position humanitarian migrants and non-citizens as 'other' or different from mainstream society, present in many western nations including Australia. Such enactments articulate an alternative vision of refuge and asylum in which inclusion or membership in civil society is not reliant on immigration or citizenship status, but on a rightful presence (Squire and Darling 2013). This resonates with Ley's (2004) criticism of work on the global city, in which he highlights the need to incorporate the welfare state at an everyday scale in conceptualisation of the global city.

One important way in which these contingent forms of refuge take shape is through practices and interactions that articulate alternative visions of asylum to the dominant narrative articulated by the state. Darling (2011) identifies that one way in which this is achieved is through interactions that unsettle the normative values and understandings that underlie asylum politics in the UK. For Darling (2011) this includes

interactions that unsettle the 'guest-host' relationship through which asylum is understood. Darling's (2011) work at 'drop in' centres for asylum seekers within the UK exemplifies this. Within the drop-in space, moments in which asylum-seekers practice the role of the 'host', through simple acts including organising and running meetings and preparing tea, unsettled the strict 'guest-host' relationship which structures contemporary asylum politics in the UK (Darling 2011). Actions such as these are an example of the alternative articulation of asylum and refuge in which the entitlement of inclusion is not reliant on official or formal status conferred by the state. Indeed, these practices as well as practices of 'welcome, generosity, and care' (Darling 2011, p. 412), construct the drop-in space as a 'safe haven' for asylum seekers, a space that is distinct from the exclusionary articulations of asylum that structure space outside these moments (Darling 2010, 2011).

Another way in which alternative visions of asylum are articulated and everyday refuge and sanctuary for asylum seekers in the city achieved, is through practices and activities that claim entitlements and rights normally only afforded to citizens, or 'citizenship acts' (Darling 2014; Squire and Darling 2013). For Squire and Darling (2013) the presence and visibility within urban space of asylum-seekers who are normally excluded from it can be understood to be a claim for inclusion and an act of citizenship. This is achieved through 'minor' acts that disrupt the exclusion of refugees and asylum seekers in the city, and can include the act of sharing experiences and knowledge through, as Squire and Darling (2013, p.69) identify, 'speakers events, blogging workshops, and school visits' by asylum seekers and refugees who are normally excluded from the city. These acts and claims for inclusion articulate a form of refuge, asylum, and urban belonging that is vastly different from that articulated by punitive state politics. While everyday practices in the city can be space in which inclusion, belonging, and substantive aspects of citizenship can emerge and be fostered, it is important to also consider that everyday practices and experiences can be exclusionary and discriminatory towards the outsider. Indeed, Valentine (2008) highlights the importance of recognising the violent and traumatising potential of everyday encounters and interactions across difference, where racism and discrimination can play out. Such discriminatory micro-political everyday practices can continue to deny groups including those seeking asylum citizenship rights.

Through the articulation of alternative narratives of asylum and to a broader extent, belonging, these provisional and contingent moments 'challenge' and 'disrupt' and even 'overturn' the 'social hierarchies and relations of authority' (Squire 2011, p. 303) and exclusion which structure the experiences and lives of strangers, outsiders, and the non-citizen. As Darling (2011, p. 415) explains, these everyday enactments, and the spaces in which they occur, offer 'minor yet important opportunities' to change the way in which asylum is governed and experienced in the city. Indeed, as Amin (2006, p. 1012) suggests, everyday enactments, including everyday enactments of refuge, contribute to the emergence of a 'new habit of urban solidarity' in which the urban experience is not characterised by exclusion or violence but rather a 'politics of relatedness' (Amin 2006, p.1016) which is extended to the stranger and the local alike. For Amin (2006, p.1012), everyday situated practices and enactments are an essential medium through which an 'ever-widening habit of solidarity' can take shape. Similarly, Thrift (2005) suggests that everyday articulations of kindness and generosity (seen in everyday enactments of refuge) challenge the misanthropy that characterises and shapes the contemporary western city. While consensus surrounds the positive benefits of expanding urban solidarity and relatedness through provisional enactments that extend care and belonging to the otherwise excluded, there is ongoing debate and dialogue around how this might be achieved.

2.3.2 Urban citizenship

Much contemporary geographic work that embraces a more relational understanding of belonging, inclusion, and citizenship is based within a broader urban geographic literature that sees cities as spaces of potential, emancipation and inclusive politics. While cities can be conceived as spaces of discipline for the stranger, the outsider, or the non-citizen and thus undoubtedly play a role in a current global context of exclusion and regulation, cities are also seen as spaces of shelter, refuge, and indeed emancipation of the excluded and marginalised (Amin 2006, 2012; Amin and Thrift 2005; Isin 2000; Sassen 2013). The capacity of cities to provide refuge and belonging for those seeking asylum beyond the bounds of the state has been addressed by Derrida (2000). Following from Arendt's (1973) work which highlighted the impossibilities of ensuring the right to asylum in a world organised into nation-states as emerged from the second world war, Derrida (2001) calls for the development of

'new cities of refuge' that provide sanctuary and asylum where nation-states cannot or will not. As Darling (2013, p. 1786) explains, this call 'explicitly locates a renewed language and ethic of hospitality at the urban level' rather than at the level of the nation-state.

The capacity for cities to provide refuge and emancipation for excluded and marginalised groups is grounded in a conceptualisation of the city as a space of negotiation, contestation, and 'multiplicity' (Amin 2012). Certain forms of identity, belonging, and citizenship are understood to be constructed through the interactions and engagements between diverse inhabitants of the city in which groups position themselves in relation to one another through the negotiation of their differences (Amin 2006; Isin 2002, 2007; Staeheli 2003). It is through these engagements that claims for recognition and to a broader extent, political subjectivity, are made and through which the excluded and marginalised make claims for inclusion and legitimacy (Isin 2007). For Sassen (2013, p. 67), the complexity and diversity of contemporary global cities makes them the new 'strategic frontier zone for those who lack power, those who are disadvantaged, outsiders, [and] discriminated minorities'. For Amin (2006) the city is full of sites and spaces of negotiation and engagement, from the everyday encounters that occur in spaces like libraries, social clubs, and car-boot sales to more formal gatherings, urban life is constituted by these moments. For Isin (2007), the city is not only essential to these moments because it is the space *within* which these productive engagements occur, but rather the city itself is constituted *through* these engagements, making it inextricable from the production of identity, agency, and subjectivity.

While the involvement of migrant communities in cities is often drawn upon to understand claims to citizenship, the impact of migrant groups in urban areas is also used as a means to justify the exclusion of such groups or to further marginalise their claim to legitimately occupy urban (national) space. This is evident in the prominent narrative that exists around migration and the city, that of the consequences and impact of migration on experiences of urban life. With the settlement of migrants largely occurring in major cities and urban centres, migration becomes entangled in a range of urban issues, often depicted as the cause, at least in part, of a range of negative urban experiences or challenging aspects of urban life. Positioned as

occurring within only urban spaces, migrant communities are also thus positioned and imagined to be the cause or trigger for a range of urban problems. This relationship is only magnified in settler colonial countries like Australia, where the legitimacy of non-white migrant populations to take up space is continually under question (Hage 2003). Here, migration, and particularly the migration of refugees which is depicted as 'unwanted' and 'unchecked' migration (though the refugee intake process is the very opposite of unchecked) is continuously presented as the cause of urban issues relating to population growth including density, infrastructure, neighbourhood 'character' and sense of place, demand pressures on urban welfare systems, as well as security and safety. Importantly, academic research has identified how many of these narratives are constructed through political and media rhetoric and disseminated through a public primed to be fearful of a racialised other, rather than a reflection of accurate data or analysis of fact. Rogers et al. (2017) explore public perceptions of Chinese migrants and foreign investment in Sydney's housing market and the understanding of its impact on housing affordability, while Majavu (2018), Kwansah-Aidoo and Mapedzaham (2018), and MacDonald (2017) challenge the image of African-Australian youth terrorising urban and suburban space, highlighting conversely the impact of such tropes on the lives of African-Australian youth. Despite such work the link between migration and such urban liveability issues remains a cornerstone argument used by politicians who aim to reduce migration intake to Australia.

2.3.3 A macro-political architecture of citizenship

While much urban geographic work regarding citizenship sits within the broader micro-political or 'everyday' turn within human geography, the requisite for a macro-political structure or framework that can promote and preserve an urban solidarity and productive politics of relatedness has been touched on by scholars including Amin (2002, 2006, 2012) and Thrift (2005). This is an important call, as it highlights the need to consider the role and position of the state within everyday practices of citizenship further than understanding it as a body which grants legal or formal citizenship status. While work including that by Painter (2006) has established the minute and banal ways in which the state is present in everyday life, geographic work has been limited in examining the ways in which the institutions and influences of the state on everyday

practices and experiences play a role on the creation of citizenship forms outside that of legal or formal framings.

Amin (2012, p.168) highlights the need for an ‘architecture of responsibility and care’, a structure through which the politics of relatedness and solidarity can be effectively maintained. Essential to such an architecture is what Amin (2012, p.165) terms a ‘provisioning commons’ based on the principals of ‘distributed economic prosperity [...] and high-quality public and welfare services for all’ (Amin 2006, p.973). The need for an established structure or framework through which a politics of relatedness and solidarity could be expanded and maintained is also recognised by Thrift (2005, p.144) who highlights the need to ‘pursue a conventional macro-politics of urban care [...] in cities, the result of the often unsung work put in by the employees of various welfare systems, all manner of voluntary workers, and the strivings of an army of ‘carers’’. This macro-politics of urban care plays an essential role in combatting the invasive misanthropy that Thrift (2005) identifies in contemporary western cities. Askew’s (2009) work on the caring practices of human service workers in state institutions provides insights toward an understanding of such an architecture. In identifying care as being ‘at home’ within state institutions through the practices and working ethic of human service workers, Askew (2009) highlights the ways in which a caring architecture may be already existing in state and institutional spaces. Askew (2009) highlights the role and presence of care ethics and practices in these spaces even when forces antithetical to care, like neoliberalism can be seen to shape these spaces and the actions of such institutions. Chapter 3 of this thesis develops this theme further.

Despite such provocations, empirical work to date has tended to focus on the micro-political interpersonal enactments and practices of urban solidarity rather than the way in which such solidarity may be supported by or occur through a framework of institutions, organisations, legislation and policy that shape and structure urban life and citizenship. Indeed, geographic research has explored a myriad of everyday spaces in which everyday enactments of conviviality occur including public transport (Wilson 2011), Schools (Wilson 2013a, 2014), cafes (Laurier and Philo 2006), shops (Wise 2005), neighbourhood streets (Wise 2005), and local gatherings and celebrations (Noble 2009). While contributing immensely to geographic understanding

of everyday practices and enactments, especially through highlighting the importance of embodied, affective, and non-human forces in these moments (eg. Lobo 2014), this work has yet to engage with, or explore, the capacity of organisations as actors within this space. While organisations are present within the research in this area in the form of charities (Darling 2011), community groups (Askins 2016; Conradson 2003), schools (Wilson 2013a, 2013b), and other sites of 'everyday interaction', they remain largely anonymous and are broadly positioned as the backdrop to which the politics of interpersonal interactions and transformative encounters occur. Questions regarding the roll of organisations themselves as actors in the construction of a more relational belonging or citizenship for the outsider are largely unanswered. The next section of this literature review engages with geographic work that examines non-state organisations, their importance to the experience of migration and settlement in Australia, and the dominant way in which they have been conceptualised and understood through geographic work.

2.4 Non-state organisations and settlement

Organisations play an essential role in the processes of migration and settlement in Australia. Engaging with the concept of settlement can help us more clearly see the work and the importance of these organisations in narratives of migration in Australia. Settlement is a key concept in understanding the issues regarding migration, citizenship, and the building of belonging and membership in Australian society. Academic work, federal policy, as well as public and political discourse, draw upon and engage with this concept when regarding these issues. While a specific definition of settlement is not readily agreed upon or available (Ager and Strang 2008; Correa-Velez, Gifford, and Barnett 2010) the term is used to refer to both a distinct time period after arrival in Australia, as well as the linear process that migrants begin when they arrive in Australia (Colic-Peisker and Tilbury 2003; Valtonen 2004). As a process, settlement is structured (and constructed) by policy and services that entail particular kinds of practices from individuals. Key expectations in this process include: beginning English language lessons, finding accommodation through the private rental market, and securing employment or beginning education (Department of Education and Training 2018; Department of Immigration and Border Protection 2013; Department of Social Services 2017a). In this discourse, settlement is also positioned as a status that can be achieved and as a goal to be worked towards. In this way settlement can be understood as referring to the social, cultural, and economic aspects of integrating or living within a society, aspects that are often approached as part of more substantive understandings of citizenship.

The central role of non-state organisations in refugee settlement is visible in literature from a range of disciplines that looks at experiences of resettlement, with a majority of work taking place in, if not explicitly focussed on, non-state organisations' roles in this process. Looking at the work of organisations in contrast to the state, Zetter and Pearl (2000, pp. 682-3) show that 'Refugee community organisations' play a vital role in 'combat[ing] disempowerment and marginalisation' caused by 'restrictionist' asylum policy in the UK, many of which were established as a direct response to such policy (Zetter, Griffiths, and Sigona 2005). In their work developing a framework for understanding the concept of 'integration' (often use interchangeably with settlement), Ager and Strang (2008) recognise the role of non-state bodies, as well as the state, in

facilitating successful integration of refugee communities. Fozdar and Hartley (2013a) explore how engagement with settlement services can function as a space in which both civic and ethno belonging can be created. Miralles-Lonbardo et al. (2008), in their report on people from refugee backgrounds entering Vocational Education and Training (VET) courses and employment pathways, show how multicultural and community based organisations play an important role as spaces of learning, primarily regarding English language literacy but also as spaces for developing different social skills and connections. Indeed, the importance of educational settings like schools has also been identified as important to settlement outcomes for both individual students as well as families and communities more broadly (Block et al. 2014; Pugh, Every, and Hattam 2012; Wrench et al. 2018). Taking a different approach to organisations, Shidu and Taylor (2009) focussed their analysis on the partnerships between non-state organisations and governments in the creation of resources and policy regarding refugee students in Queensland.

The meta-analysis of Australian literature on refugees and migrants provided by Neuman et al. (2014) also illustrates or reflects the recognition from within this literature of the important role of non-state organisations to the settlement of these groups. Indeed, Neuman et al. (2014) identified a trend within this literature during the 1990s and onward, to focus on how social and welfare services (including non-state organisations) can better meet the needs of these groups. While literature emerging in this trend tended to focus on specific needs, and specific services (and not more broadly the role of the non-state organisation as actors in settlement in Australia), its emergence as a key focus of academic work and as a concern for policy reflected a settlement sector comprising a range of different non-state organisations and actors and highlighted their importance for settlement. Importantly, this literature positions organisational spaces as spaces of settlement. While the work on education and the actions of schools stands as an exception, this work has tended to approach organisations largely as the (benign) spaces in which settlement occurs, rather than focussing on organisations as actors within a wider settlement narrative.

It is important to recognise that these organisations are not state institutions or offices, and deliver more than state funded and structured services. Rather, these organisations exist alongside and outside of state structures. The importance of them

to settlement as a state project though, is made clear in when looking at the history of the delivery of settlement services to refugees, and more broadly, migrants in Australia. Indeed, the Australian state's approach to resettlement has always been structured around and relied on the presence and work of non-state, civil society organisations.

The 1978 *Galbally Report of the Review of Post Arrival Programs and Services for Migrants*⁵, issued by the Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs illustrates the central importance of these non-state organisations to the provision of services to migrant and refugee communities over Australia's post colonisation history, and indeed the formalisation of this central role. This report reviewed the services available to migrants settling in Australia, offering several important recommendations. The guiding principles of the report recognised that in order to establish a successful multicultural society, the needs of culturally diverse immigrants must be met by services accessible to the whole community, by centralised mainstream welfare service providers (Cox 1983). However, the recommendations of the report did not reflect this, rather emphasising the role of non-government 'ethno-specific' organisations in providing immigration and settlement services and arguing for a 'reduction in the Commonwealth's direct involvement in the delivery of welfare services to migrants' (Galbally 1978), a recommendation distinctly at odds with the multicultural principals of the report. While the report brought change to the provision of services to migrant communities, it did not bring structural change to the way in which the needs of migrants settling in Australia were met. This meant a continued focus on ethnic non-state organisations providing services, the importance of which continues today.

Literature on the settlement of migrants from refugee backgrounds has, through its topics of focus, identified non-state organisations as central to settlement. However, as this section has shown, it is yet to engage with organisations as actors within this space or conceptualise their capacity in the broader context of the formation of citizenship and belonging. However, the role of organisations has been the subject of

⁵ This report is widely understood as the first attempt by an Australian government to formalise migration and settlement services. Recommendations from the Galbally report have shaped Australia's approach to migration and settlement services since (Jupp 2002).

much work with respect to the decline of the welfare state. In this literature, the dominant conceptual framework used to understand the role and impact of organisations outside the state, similar to those within the settlement sector in Australia, is that of the shadow state. The next section of this chapter will discuss this important conceptualisation in detail.

2.5 Conceptualising non-state organisations

2.5.1 The shadow state

Responding to processes of deinstitutionalisation, the concept of the shadow state was developed by Geiger and Wolch in the 1980s to describe the restructuring of the government and voluntary sectors and the changing forms of welfare service delivery occurring throughout the US during this time (Geiger and Wolch 1986). This work documented and analysed the changes and shifts to the voluntary sectors in the US and UK during the 1980s through what was identified as the rise of the 'shadow state'. The shadow state refers to the network of non-state organisational and institutional actors that take on the responsibility for services that were formally administered by state governments, after restructuring processes (Wolch 1990). The shadow state has emerged through processes of decentralisation, devolution, and the transfer of responsibility from the public sector through partnerships, tenders, competitive contracts, and other financial arrangements, which continue to characterise the provision of social services and welfare in many liberal democracies. It is through these relationships and arrangements, that state bodies can retain control over these non-state actors, shaping and directing their practices and functions, the shadow state emerging as a 'para-state apparatus' (Wolch 1990).

While initially theorised as the 'voluntary' sector, the categorisation of organisations understood to constitute a shadow state has expanded as more organisations, including private organisations, have taken on service provision. Actors functioning as part of the shadow state include both private 'for-profit', and voluntary and 'non-profit' organisations, and an increasingly broad spectrum of organisations that fall somewhere between or across such categorisations (Trudeau 2008). Work concerning the contemporary shadow state, as well as the restructuring and

marketisation of social services in western liberal democracies, broadly refer to these organisations by their common feature of being 'not-for-profit' (Goodwin and Phillips 2015) or simply 'non-profits' (Trudeau 2008). This term is complicated however when looking at the multinational corporations (for example G4S, Blackwater, Sirco) who run prisons, detention centres, and carry out national security tasks for many states (Goodwin and Phillips 2015). While not explicitly welfare or social services, these corporations undoubtedly function as a shadow or para-state apparatus through their government funding and responsibilities. Importantly, while the recipients of state funding, and responsible for providing services to the civil society, organisations within the shadow state are not administered through traditional democratic means and as such are not accountable in the same ways that publicly funded, and publicly administered services may be (Wolch 1989). This includes both new organisations that emerge because of the opportunity to receive funding and to fill the gaps left by the retraction of the public sector, and established organisations, many of which undergo considerable changes in order to remain eligible and competitive for state funding (Wolch 1989).

While remaining independent from state governments, as Wolch argues, organisations within the shadows state are under the 'purview of state control' (1990, p.4), through the funding structures and contractual agreements that constitute state and non-profit relationships. As Trudeau (2008, p. 671) explains, while these organisations are responsible for service delivery, 'the state maintains control over who can receive services, how much they can receive, and for how long they can receive the services'. While this relationship between the state and non-profits is asymmetrical, this power balance can be negotiated in interesting ways (Fyfe and Milligan 2003a).

The emergence of a shadow state within western liberal democratic societies is neither the result of a single process nor a singular political ideology or agenda. Rather, it is the result of a range of processes pursued and implemented by governments at both ends of the political spectrum (Trudeau 2008; Wolch 1990). While all sides of politics may play a role in enabling the rise of the shadow state, the impetus behind these measures or changes is not everywhere the same (Wolch 1990). Broadly, on the right, non-government and voluntary organisations are positioned as embodying the liberal

notions of freedom and democracy, and are constructed as the 'antidote' to what is seen as a detached and 'unresponsive' state that is to blame for a range of perceived social problems (Wolch 1990). On the left, a move to increase the growth and involvement of voluntary and non-government organisations is positioned as an inclusive endeavour, allowing public participation, involvement of women and minority groups, and increasing self-determination and representation (Wolch 1990). Indeed, this logic is a central driver of 'Third Way' politics (Goodwin and Phillips 2015) present in its persistent and evocative rhetoric of localism, devolution, and 'big society' (Williams, Goodwin, and Cloke 2014) that has characterised social policy in the UK, and the economic rationalism that has guided policy development in Australia. What is seen to be the efficiency, cost effectiveness, and flexibility of the outsourcing of service provision to organisations outside the government has characterised the rhetoric surrounding restructuring of the welfare and service sectors by actors across the political spectrum (Fyfe and Milligan 2003a, 2003b; Trudeau 2008).

In order to capture the developments in the private and non-profit sectors and the changes to relationships between the state and non-state organisations that have occurred since the shadow state was first theorised, Trudeau (2008, 2012) presents a relational revision of the shadow state theory. Trudeau (2008 p.684) positions the shadow state as constituted through the relationships (and interactions) between the state and civil society that 'manifest in the institutional interactions between government agencies and non-profit organisations'. This relational revision allows us to better understand the complex and 'hybrid' state and civil society relations and configurations that characterise contemporary liberal democracies, which were unanticipated by earlier theorisations. In this relational view, for Trudeau (2008, p. 670), non-profits become the 'spaces in which the hybrid formation of state and civil society relationships takes place'.

From this relational re-visioning, three main conclusions or insights emerge (Trudeau 2008). Firstly, influence travels in multiple directions within the state and non-profit relationship. While due to the terms of relationship, the state often controls or even limits the practices and actions of non-state organisations, this control is not equally experienced across different organisations. Indeed, some organisations hold the capacity to negotiate this state influence and in turn, may even be able to exert

influence over the state. Trudeau (2008) describes a spectrum or continuum in state non-profit relationships from relations of strict state control to organisations that avoid interacting all together with the state. The second insight Trudeau (2008, p.685) identifies is that 'shadow state relationships are interactions across scale'. Shadow state organisations are positioned to register national or state level policy in the everyday lives of communities and civil society more broadly. These organisations work across multiple scales. It is within this shadow state space that the state policy enters the everyday lives of individuals. Thirdly, Trudeau (2008) explains that shadow state relationships are embedded in space and time. These relationships are the product of the social context in which they are positioned and are not everywhere the same. As such, state – non-profit relations are shaped by things like local traditions of voluntarism and charity and alternative relations between state and civil society which are uneven over space and time.

This approach sees non-state organisations as liminal spaces 'occupying an interstitial position between institutions that provide funding and the social groups that look to these organisations for assistance and/or public representation' (Trudeau 2008, p. 676). Within this interstitial space, through their everyday practices and negotiations of competing influence, non-state organisations 'weave together relationships of the state and civil society' (Trudeau 2008 p. 675). Work by DeVerteuil et al (2019) also discusses the importance of a relational understand to further alternative understandings of the voluntary sector and its position vis-à-vis the state.

A key instance in which this 'weaving together' of state and civil society could be argued to be witnessed is regarding citizenship and issues surrounding immigration and settlement. Undergoing many of the same restructuring processes as the broader welfare and social service sectors, organisations providing services and support to recently arrived migrants, both refugees and other migrants, configure an important part of a shadow state in many liberal democracies (Fyfe and Milligan 2003a). The restructuring of immigration and settlement services through processes of decentralisation, and the rise of contracts and partnerships between government agencies and non-state organisations has been observed across the UK (Fyfe 2005; Fyfe and Milligan 2003a, 2003b) and North America (Mitchell 2001; Trudeau 2008; Wolch 1990). In light of this 'weaving together' there remains questions regarding the

capacity for organisations within this liminal space between the state and civil society, to act in progressive ways and to resist the influence of state structures.

As discussed in the previous section of this literature review, citizenship is both a formal status 'framed by norms, constitutions, laws, and policies that delineate a bundle of rights and responsibilities' (Staeheli et al. 2012, p. 632) as well as a substantive everyday practice, experienced and achieved through individuals' daily lives. These legal and everyday forms of citizenship operate both simultaneously and as removed from one another, meaning that citizenship is unevenly experienced and performed by individuals (Staeheli et al. 2012). Entwined with both the state – which confers and prescribes legal citizenship – and the civil society – in which substantive citizenship acts take place – the shadow state plays an important role in both citizenship formations (Fyfe and Milligan 2003a). Indeed, non-profits are charged with bringing new immigrants into relationship with citizenship in both formal and substantive forms.

As Trudeau (2012) explains, the way in which non-state organisations bring individuals into relationships with citizenship is dependent on shadow state relationships (relations and interactions between the state and non-profits). These shadow state relations 'set limits, but do not determine the shape and scale of citizenship formation' (Trudeau 2012 p.450). Organisations which do not have the capacity to negotiate state influence can be seen to reinforce neoliberal conceptions of citizenship prioritised by the state, while organisations which are better positioned to negotiate this influence, are able to shape a view of citizenship that is 'subtly different' (Trudeau 2012 p.449) from what is prescribed by the state. Furthermore, non-profits which avoid interaction and regulation from the state are, through their practices, able to support alternative views of citizenship, however their ability to shape wider constructs of citizenship is severely limited by their relationship with the state. While the 'generative capacity' of non-profits to shape views of citizenship is determined by their ability to negotiate state influence, as Trudeau (2012) argues, it is important to recognise that non-profits can produce new understandings of citizenship in the context of the shadow state.

2.5.2 Neoliberalism and the shadow state

Much research regarding the shadow state has been geographic work that engages with the neoliberal restructuring of the welfare state and thus its influence shaping social service and welfare provision. Such work is part of a wealth of geographic scholarship that focusses on and explores the global expansion of neoliberal logics of independence, competitiveness, and free market logic, across all parts of economic, social, and cultural life (Peck 2001; Peck and Tickell 2002). As DeVerteuil (2014, p.5) summarises 'neoliberalism involves the active critique, repudiation and dismantlement of the public domain more generally, and previous welfare state arrangements more specifically'. Since the 1980s this has been achieved through the combined processes of *Roll-back* and *Roll-out* neoliberalism. Roll-back neoliberalism includes (amongst other processes), the 'hollowing out' or the dismantling of the (Keynesian) welfare state through the removal or scaling back of state involvement in social service and welfare provision, while roll-out includes the introduction of policy interventions that regulate, discipline, and shape the subjectivities of citizens in accordance with neoliberal ideas including individualism, economic participation, and particular constructions of citizenship (Haylett 2003; Katz 2005; Shaver 2015). The shift of social and welfare services from the state to non-state actors that can be identified within Australia and other western liberalised democracies, has been a key part of this process and, it is argued, represents an essential process of neoliberal governmentality (Brown 2003; Mitchell 2001). Through processes of partnership, privatisation, competitive contracts and more generally the marketisation of social and welfare services, the responsibility for these services is shifted from the state to the non-state actors. Importantly, as Peck (2001) points out, the retraction of the state or the 'hollowing out' is not necessarily a reduction in the power or influence of the state in these areas but rather is a reorganisation of the state apparatus.

Within work that identifies the neoliberalisation of the welfare sector, the non-state actors involved are understood to possess little, if any, meaningful capacity or agency to resist what is presented as the totalising tide of neoliberalism. Indeed, non-state actors are positioned and understood as 'little platoons' (Peck and Tickell 2002) or 'handmaidens' in the service of neoliberalism, translating neoliberal ideologies and subjectivities into the communities and social groups with which they work. In this construction the aims, practices, and philosophies of these organisations are overwritten within the larger neoliberal project.

While neoliberal rationalities are undoubtedly present and influential in the restructuring of welfare systems and public sectors around the globe, including in Australia (Meagher and Goodwin 2015), the extent to which the term neoliberalism accurately explains these changes and the actors involved requires interrogation. Indeed, there is a seam of geographic work that questions the neo-Marxist conceptualisation of neoliberalism as a 'self-evident totality' (Barnett et al. 2008; DeVerteuil 2016). This work rejects an all-encompassing narrative of neoliberalism (Larner 2003), rather reconceptualising it as an 'incomplete and uneven' process (Williams, Goodwin, and Cloke 2014, p. 2805). As Williams et al. (2014) argue, there are cracks and fissures in neoliberalism's coverage. As DeVerteuil (2015, p.6) suggests, neoliberalism might more accurately be thought of as 'fundamentally incoherent' with no overarching or hegemonic agenda. Furthermore, other geographic work questions the limits of neoliberalism's reach, 'insisting on phenomena that [exist] in response but also beyond neoliberalism' (DeVerteuil 2015, p. 6) (eg. Gibson-Graham 2006; McGuirk and Dowling 2009). Indeed, Ong (2006, 2007) highlights the importance of local context to articulations of a neoliberal logic, exploring the different ways in which it has been employed and rescripted across Asia.

For Williams et al. (2014) the 'cracks and fissures' in neoliberalism's uneven coverage are opportunities for resistance. The devolution of state responsibility for social service provision (and importantly the devolution of risk and blame that comes with this) that has occurred in the UK with the rise of 'localism' has created what they call 'ethical and political openings' for resistance. Williams et al. (2014) challenge the understanding that institutions and organisations within this situation are completely co-opted to serve neoliberal goals, rather, they argue, the Local governments and the third-sector, who now bear the weight and responsibility of service provision are 'potential incubators of resistance capable of mitigating, reworking, and resisting... neoliberal governmentalities' (Williams et al. 2014, p. 2805). Through their everyday actions and practices which include subverting neoliberal policies and structures, reprioritising or rechannelling funding to those most needy, and going 'above and beyond' what neoliberal policies prescribe, these spaces 'challenge dominant imaginaries of welfare' (Williams et al. 2014, p.2806) to a more progressive end. Similarly, Barnes and Prior (2009, p. 3) have explored the capacity for front line staff

and service users to 'modify, disrupt, or negate the intended processes and outcomes of public policy' through their own actions and practices. This form of resistance occurring within and through state apparatus, challenges existing work regarding hegemonic neoliberal structures which argue that 'resistance equals non-involvement with the state' (Williams et al. 2014, p.2804).

Importantly, the capacity of organisations functioning within the context of the dismantling of the welfare state and the incomplete and uneven 'roll out' of neoliberal ideologies, to resist such forces has been explored in the work of DeVerteuil (2016, 2017). DeVerteuil (2016) engages with organisations in what he usefully conceptualises as the 'post-welfare' city, exploring the resilience of these organisations in the face of the displacing forces of gentrification. A key underpinning feature of their capacity to resist such forces, is what DeVerteuil (2016) identifies as their position as residual features of the welfare state, specifically their configuration in service hubs. Speaking more broadly to the capacity of organisations to bring about progressive change, DeVerteuil (2016, p. 232) offers that the production of resilience as shown by these organisations, and the services hubs they exist through, 'is essential as a platform for survival and thus subsequent resistance, remaking, reworking, and transformation'. Through work focussing on the 'immigrant servicing sector' DeVerteuil (2017) also provides important theorisation of the relationship between organisations and the state, identifying their mediating capacity and role in this context. This work provides a pivotal and important step to understanding more fully the role and capacities for change offered and perhaps practiced by non-state organisations in this 'messy' space.

As this section has illustrated, the shadow state has been the dominant way in which non-state organisations have been conceptualised regarding their provision of welfare and social services. Shadow state theorisations have begun to expand understanding of the work of non-state organisations, revealing their relationship with the state and state structures as not simply one in which they only serve the state but one of more complexity. Nevertheless, the state remains a central figure in these conceptualisations, whether this be the neoliberal state, or more recently in relation to a progressive leftist state apparatus. Considering the primary role of non-state organisations in the settlement of refugee migrants to Australia and many other

western liberal democratic nations, organisations cannot be removed from the structures and discourses of citizenship, including but not limited to multiculturalism, assimilation, racialisation. Indeed, while work that has focussed on organisations, including that which draws on the concept of the shadow state, has begun to engage with the role of non-state organisations in relation to the politics and structures of citizenship (the work of Trudeau and DeVerteuil are key examples of this), more work is required to fully conceptualise the ways in which organisations are co-constitutive of these politics and structures of citizenship, and the ways in which they may have capacity to contest or resist such structures.

2.6 Conclusion

This chapter has presented an overview of the dominant ways of understanding migration, resettlement, and citizenship for people from refugee backgrounds that circulate in many western nations. It has had a specific focus on those that characterise the context of Australia. It began by exploring the punitive and security focussed landscape of international migration that characterises the movement of people, specifically those seeking humanitarian protection, in the 21st century. It highlighted the prevalence of punitive practices in the governing of borders as well as a growing securitisation of the national border which works through and reinforces racialised assumptions and practices. This chapter also discussed citizenship as a key lens through which migration and settlement of people from refugee backgrounds is explored within geographic and related literatures.

In these discussions, the chapter highlighted the importance of non-state organisations to the experiences and narratives of migration, settlement, and the construction of citizenship, as well as the failure of cultural and urban geographic work to focus upon these organisations as important actors. Non-state organisations structure the period and process of 'settlement' in Australia; their presence and importance in this sector is not a new phenomenon but central throughout Australia's history of migration. Despite the constant presence of non-state organisations in these processes and narratives, their nature and role has not been fully theorised. Indeed, this chapter explored the dominant way in which such organisations have been understood, through the concept of the shadow state. Shadow state literature has

provided important insights into the relationship between non-state organisations and the state itself and contributed to new theorisations regarding the role of organisations in governance. While providing an essential foundation, this literature has only begun to understand organisations as central constituents of the political, legal, and social frameworks and structures that shape and define citizenship which this thesis is concerned with. Before examining these intersections through the main empirical chapters, the next chapter sets out two key frameworks that structure approaches to and discourses regarding immigration and humanitarian settlement in Australia. It contrasts these two dominant discourses in relation to humanitarian settlement with emerging discussion regarding service provision and care ethics.

Chapter 3. Frameworks of diversity, difference, and citizenship in Australia

3.1 Introduction

The questions of who can settle in Australia and how this should be achieved are shaped by political, legal, and public discourses surrounding cultural diversity and difference. This chapter examines key shifts in the discourses that shape the migration and refugee resettlement landscape. It presents two dominant frameworks that shape and construct the boundaries of the citizen and the stranger within Australia. It begins with a discussion of multiculturalism, the official approach of the Australian state towards cultural diversity, exploring how the ideas that inform this approach also inform what it means to belong in Australia. While multiculturalism professes the ideal of inclusion, this section reveals how within Australia, multiculturalism can perpetuate exclusive ideas about national belonging and identity. It does so through a discussion of the paranoid nationalism at play in the Australian psyche. Following this, the chapter sets out how neoliberal ideas structure the migration and settlement of humanitarian migrants to Australia, and the ways in which these ideals and attributes shape understandings of belonging and citizenship practised in Australian society. These frameworks are not introduced as competing or contradictory, rather this thesis acknowledges that they are in many instances complementary, and not mutually exclusive in their influence of the boundaries of citizenship.

Lastly, in contrast to the two dominant frameworks, this chapter identifies care ethics as an important discourse circulating in broader discussions of diversity and inclusion in Australian, and more specific discussions of refugee resettlement and citizenship. While it has not been institutionalised or formalised so clearly as multiculturalism, or indeed neoliberal logics, care remains an important discourse within Australia that is essential to understand when discussing refugee resettlement and inclusion in the Australian society, especially when considering the organisations that populate this landscape. This section on care outlines important definitions of care and presents key conceptual themes from literature on care ethics that I argue are important to understanding the role of care in the politics of diversity and inclusion in Australian society, and to understanding the role and position of the organisation that are involved

in providing settlement services and support. Indeed, care ethics is an important framework that shapes and informs the practices of organisations and individuals involved in humanitarian settlement and is part of their broader ethos of inclusivity and commitment to welfare.

3.2 Managing diversity in settler colonial Australia through Multiculturalism

Multiculturalism has been an influential idea and policy framework in Australian politics for a number of decades and has guided the ways in which cultural diversity and difference have been approached through policy and practice. As an approach to managing cultural diversity, multiculturalism within the Australian context can be understood as the official recognition of the legitimacy of multiple and diverse cultures within Australia's cultural landscape, and the right of individuals to practice and share their culture without discrimination (Department of Social Services 2013). Multiculturalism has come under criticism from all sections of the political spectrum, through it remains an important consideration in understanding how diversity and difference are understood and how they are managed in Australian politics and society.

3.2.1 Politics of multiculturalism

Multiculturalism in Australia does not take a singular policy or legal form but is an approach, ethos, or value implemented through a range of policies and laws, and through public and political discourse. Multiculturalism in Australia was first established in the 1970s under the Whitlam government and saw the dismantling of the 'White Australia Policy' which had guided Australia's approach to migration and cultural diversity until this time (Jupp 1995).

Multiculturalism sought the recognition, acceptance, and even celebration of the cultural diversity of Australian society where the White Australia Policy had prioritised and pursued a monocultural vision of Australia (Jupp 2002). Indeed, this important shift in the way in which the Australian government saw and approached cultural diversity also challenged the image of Australia as a primarily white European nation

(Ang 2001). Multiculturalism replaced assimilationist and exclusionary ideas about the position of culturally diverse migrants within Australia which had guided approaches to migration and diversity for much of its history post colonisation, installing in their place a politics of tolerance and diversity (Castles, Hugo, and Vasta 2013). The implementation of multiculturalism in this manner (through policy and legal means) has been described by Ang (2001, p. 59) as a 'top-bottom' approach, through which it is understood that acceptance and appreciation of diverse cultures and their place within Australia will 'trickle down' to all sectors of society from state offices and institutions. Since the 1970s, multiculturalism has received bi-partisan support, with governments from both sides of Australian politics (both major parties) reproducing a commitment to multiculturalism as a guiding framework. Indeed, multiculturalism is widely discussed as a core value of contemporary Australian society, with images of successful multiculturalism used to brand Australia internationally. While multiculturalism is still a prominent and important political framework within Australia, the outcome of such policy approaches remains a contested issue. Literature that engage with critiques of the politics of multiculturalism provide important insight into the complexity of outcomes of such an approach to difference.

Critiques of multiculturalism

An important critique of multiculturalism is that instead of providing a way in which the inclusion of diverse cultures can be facilitated and achieved as it is branded, it can actually work to essentialise the differences between cultures (Ang 2001; Mitchell 2004). Fincher and Iveson (2008) argue that this is the result of the 'affirmative' model of recognition that Australian multiculturalism employs, which sees the differences between cultures and cultural groups to emanate from pre-existing, essential, and fixed differences. With a focus on the expression of diverse cultures, multiculturalism is argued to erect boundaries around cultures in attempts to protect them from structures and institutions that may not allow them to practice or express their cultural identity (Fincher and Iveson 2008; Fraser 2000). Such an approach is based on a rigid, static, and unitary understanding of identity that does not accurately reflect the multiplicity, dynamism, and indeed the hybridity that Fraser (2000) argues are essential considerations in understanding an individual's identity. Such a form of 'affirmative' recognition can reify group identity and essentialise cultural identity

(Fraser 2000). Fincher and Iveson (2008) argue that this emerges from a limited conceptualisation of cultures which sees them as mutually exclusive, static and unchanging, and does not recognise the interplay and exchange that occurs across cultures or the ways in which cultures may change over time and across different contexts. For Ang (2001), by erecting boundaries rather than breaking them down, multiculturalism in Australia draws attention to the difference between cultures and positioning such differences as irreconcilable.

Further reifying the differences between cultures, Nash (2003) shows that multiculturalism can work to naturalise the tensions or antagonisms between different cultural groups. In understanding the differences between cultures to be essential, multiculturalism as an ideology also thus sees the conflicts and tensions that may arise between different cultural groups to be an unavoidable result of such groups being in contact. Nash (2003) highlights that one of the most harmful results of this essentialised or naturalised view of tension and conflict between cultures is that it can support ideas of cultural exclusiveness at a national scale. Indeed, the presence of particular cultural groups within national space can easily come under question if the very presence of this group is understood to be the cause of conflict and tension that is positioned as inherent and unavoidable (Nash 2003). The resurgence or reappearance of assimilationist policies of immigration and settlement, Mitchell (2004) argues, can be identified in part as a response to the understanding that conflict and tension is a natural and unavoidable outcome of the presence of diverse cultural groups.

The concept of tolerance often also holds a prominent position in discourse regarding multiculturalism (Amin 2002; Hage 2003). While tolerance is deployed to indicate and promote multiculturalism as an ideology of respect of cultural differences and the 'ease' with which diverse cultural groups can coexist in national space, Amin points out that it actually indicates a 'threshold' of diversity. Cultural diversity will be tolerated until this threshold is breached, after which, as Hage (2003) explains, *intolerance* in response to this diversity is justified and expected. In this way tolerance becomes a way through which the expression of cultural difference is controlled and limited. An essentialised understanding of cultural identity and national belonging can be seen to inform this approach. As Hage (2003) explains, cultures that need to be 'tolerated'

evidently do not belong in national space, further naturalising the tensions between cultural groups and emphasising the legitimacy of a monocultural national identity.

As an approach to managing cultural diversity within Australia, multiculturalism can be understood as a way in which ethnicised and racialised bodies are controlled within national space (Ang 2001; Hage 2003). For Ang (2001, p.16) multiculturalism is employed as a way to keep the state together in what are seen by some to be 'turbulent times'. Such turbulent times, Ang (2001) explains, refers to the manufactured narrative of an Australia under threat by increasing cultural diversity within its borders to which multiculturalism is employed to control this situation. For Hage (2003) multiculturalism, with its focus on the differences between cultural groups and the erection of boundaries, is a way in which the Australian state is able to mitigate the impact of these racialised and ethnicised bodies on Australia's cultural landscape and cultural norms. In this understanding multiculturalism works as a form of nationalism which Hage (1998, p. 57) refers to as 'white multiculturalism'.

Multiculturalism, and more specifically 'white multiculturalism' work, Hage (2003) argues through an ambivalent dialectic of inclusion and exclusion. Through a rhetoric of tolerance, diversity, and the celebration of difference, white multiculturalism, works to limit the presence and influence of non-white cultural and ethnic bodies and groups within Australian society to celebratory, and sometimes folkloristic expressions. This limits cultural expression to those which can be perceived as 'enriching' Australian society and works to reinforce and preserve the cultural hierarchy within Australia that was guided and entrenched by previous approaches to immigration and diversity (Hage 1998). This dialectic of inclusion and exclusion works to place migrants and those with non-white cultural backgrounds in a permanent position of 'in-between', where enriching or valuable traits are included into the Australian cultural landscape, and those traits deemed harmful are excluded from this same position. As Hage (2003) points out, this commonly looks like economic inclusion (through workforce participation and the marketisation and monetisation of diversity and multiculturalism) and socio-political exclusion. Australia's migration policy exemplifies the way in which multiculturalism works to position non-white cultures within the national space. Migration or visa conditions that specify or limit the industry individuals work in, the areas of the country they can reside in (urban or regional), for how long, and their

entitlement to access government provided social and welfare services are all ways in which individuals are positioned and controlled (selectively included and excluded) in Australia's economic, social, and political space.

Indeed, white multiculturalism is based on a core/periphery understanding of the cultural landscape of Australia. While multiculturalism recognises the existence and practice of multiple cultures within Australian national space, the position and legitimacy afforded to these non-white cultures is peripheral to the 'core' or mainstream Australian culture.

Hage (2003) explores the relationships between the 'core' and periphery cultural groups within Australia and the way in which they are positioned as enriching and enlivening Australia's cultural landscape, through the concept he refers to as 'cosmo-multiculturalism'. Under cosmo-multiculturalism, cultural capital is based on the acceptance, engagement, and willingness to 'mingle' with cultural diversity. Like cosmopolitanism, this is intrinsically linked to class, meaning the cultural capital which it is linked to cannot be accessed by all. In this understanding the value of different (non-white) cultures stems from the cultural capital which they provide to those who engage with them or are 'culturally-literate'. This further exacerbates the divide between cultures which sees some as 'enriching' and others as 'enriched' by cultural diversity.

Everyday multiculturalism

Considering the critiques and limitations identified in multiculturalism as a national policy there has been a more recent turn within academic and specifically geographic work to look at what is referred to as 'everyday multiculturalism' (Wise and Velayutham 2009). This approaches multiculturalism as a lived everyday experience and reality, and asks questions regarding what it is like to live in a diverse and 'multicultural' society. Such work focusses upon the daily activities involved in living with cultural difference and getting along with diversity. In such work it is recognised that the acceptance of cultural diversity that multiculturalism encompasses or is built upon, is emergent through the daily experience of cultural diversity, including the sometimes mundane or banal experience of this (Valentine 2008; Wilson 2013b, 2014; Wise 2005;

Wise and Velayutham 2009). This shift to look at everyday forms of multiculturalism can be seen to engage with multiculturalism as a 'bottom up' process. Indeed, this approach draws on the understanding that it is through interpersonal everyday experiences and interactions at the community and interpersonal level that intercultural acceptance, understanding, and even solidarity emerge (Amin 2002). It is in moments where we are brought face-to-face with difference, Amin (2002) argues, that assumptions and attitudes towards cultural difference can be challenged and changed.

Work engaging with this idea describes the places in which these moments occurs as 'spaces of encounter'. The everyday setting of these encounters, Lobo (2010, p. 97) argues, allows them to occur in 'ways that are less paternalistic and affirmative of ethnic difference', opening the opportunity for new understandings and affinities to be formed. More recent work in Australia highlights the need to understand the institutional and structural frameworks that shape, guide, and sometimes facilitate these everyday engagements with diversity (Hewitt 2016). In light of this work on the everyday aspects and experiences of multiculturalism, we can begin to understand it as both an ideology or framework for engaging with and approaching cultural diversity, as well as everyday experiences and practices mediated by institutions and organisations.

3.2.2 Paranoid nationalism in settler colonial Australia

In understanding the frameworks employed to conceptualise and manage cultural difference in Australia it is important to recognise the legacy, influence, and enduring impact that Australia's history as a settler colonial state have on approaches to cultural difference today. Underpinning the ways in which cultural difference and migration are framed within Australia (government and society) Hage (2003) identifies a persistent and unresolved *paranoid nationalism*. This paranoid nationalism is based on a fear that the legitimacy and sovereignty of the Australian state (perhaps better described here as the white Australian state and its institutions) could at any moment be taken away or threatened. Imaginaries and conceptualisations of national identity, and the natural citizen or subject, are constructed in response to or in the context of this fragility and fear. These imaginaries, including the image of the legitimate Australian citizen,

are about asserting white European legitimacy and sovereignty. Paranoid nationalism is intimately linked to Australia's continuing history as a settler colonial nation, built on the decimation and violent exclusion of the indigenous population. Colonial Australia was established, in the minds of those who had power and influence over the growth of the colony, as a British nation in the pacific region, an outpost of the motherland exhibiting 'European civilisation' in what at the time was considered an 'uncivilised' region (Hage 2003). Importantly, as Hage (2003) points out, the concept of 'civilisation' was linked or equated with race, and race was understood to exist within a racial hierarchy, with White British (and European) understood to be at the top of this hierarchy and thus being the most civilised. Far away from the civilised motherland, and 'surrounded' by uncivilised neighbours, fear and paranoia can be understood to characterise the colonial Australia psyche. This was a fear that the control, legitimacy, and sovereignty of the British colony in Australia, which was rooted in this conceptualisation of a racial hierarchy and white civilisation, could at any time be threatened by the very presence of non-white races and bodies (Hage 2003). This fear and paranoia were the building blocks of Australia's national identity and thus remain present in understandings and conceptualisation of Australia's national space as something to be protected, and as Anderson and Taylor (2005) highlight, as an ethnically and culturally white space. Such claims are supported by previous work from within geography that explores how whiteness and Australian-ness are co-constructed through spaces from contested urban neighbourhoods (Shaw 2000, 2001), to sites such as 'China towns' (Anderson 1987, 1990, 1998).

The problematic and ambivalent nature of multiculturalism identified by Hage (2003) and Ang (2001) discussed in the preceding section shares roots with, and perhaps furthers this paranoid nationalism. Indeed, both share an understanding of national space needing to be protected and preserved, and the desire to control and contain the increasingly active role of non-white Australians. Implicit in this is the imaginary of the nationalist individuals as the master or the controller of this national space and outsiders and non-white others as being objects within this space who can be positioned and controlled (Hage 1998, 2003). Multiculturalism's attempts to position non-white cultures within national space, including economic, social, and political space, is ultimately reflective of this paranoid nationalistic understanding.

3.3 Neoliberal norms in migration approaches

An influential and transformative force identified across academic disciplines and all sectors of society, neoliberalism is an influential political ideology and socio-cultural norm shaping approaches and attitudes towards migration and cultural difference (Walsh 2011). While sometimes positioned as simply an economic outlook or principal it is now established and accepted that neoliberal values and ideals shape and influence all parts of society, and that neoliberalism should be understood through its socio-cultural impacts as much as any economic effects (Mitchell 1991; 2001). The impact of neoliberal logics on migration regimes has influenced both what forms of migration states pursue, and importantly what kinds of migrant individuals states welcome, prioritising those forms and individuals that reflect key neoliberal attributes and values (Walsh 2011). While a more recent influence in Australia, neoliberal logics have not replaced settler colonial paranoid nationalism, and are not a contradictory force, rather these frameworks can be understood to both be present, and at moments working together. As the discussion that follows will explore, neoliberalism also works to exclude people with refugee backgrounds and migrants, infused and entwined with settler colonial values. Indeed, both frameworks are deployed and function in ways to legitimise the dismantling of services for migrant communities.

3.3.1 Skilled migration and economic social capital

Perhaps the clearest and most notable way in which neoliberal logics have shaped migration regimes across western liberalised democracies is the shift over the last three decades to turn migration programs away from prioritising family migration, towards a focus on skilled or business migration streams (Mitchell 2001). Since the 1980s the migration programs of nations like Australia and Canada have been focussed on attracting skilled 'job ready' migrants whose migration brings capital and skills to the nation. While employment and labour force participation has long been an influencing factor in Australia's immigration approach with large scale migration pursued throughout the 20th century in order to grow the nation's economy, the labour undertaken by these migrants was, as Walsh (2011, p. 863) describes, limited to 'key nation building industries whether agriculture, transportation, manufacturing, construction or other labor-intensive secondary industries'. Indeed, the current focus

(which has been the focus in Australia since the late 1990s) is on migrants with specific business and industry expertise and connections, with 67.3% of Australia's total 2016-17 migration programme entering through the 'Skilled' stream (Department of Immigration and Border Protection 2017).

This shift has been facilitated through the employment of a numerically based 'point system' that controls migrants' access to Australia (Walsh 2011). This point system awards value to 'human capital' measurements, namely employability factors including skills (qualifications and training), age, and linguistic ability. The score awarded by this point system is a key determinant for the approval for permanent migration. For Walsh (2011, p.861), the point system that governs Australian's permanent migration (and similarly the point system used in Canada) is based on, and further installs three central components of a neoliberal agenda 'competitiveness, risk management and responsabilisation'. Through such point systems which are positioned as objective and rational, states are able to select, or attract, enterprising, self-sufficient, and productive migrants. Such policy, Walsh (2011, p.861) argues 'mirror, enhance, and extend neoliberal arrangements and sensibilities', indeed he argues that it is through such mechanisms that states like Australia and Canada create neoliberal subjects. Walsh (2011, p.862) argues that mechanisms including this point system of skilled and business migration and its prioritisation of 'personal attributes' of economic capacity 'inject the ideal of the neoliberal citizen' into imaginaries of national belonging.

3.3.2 Socio-cultural neoliberal impact

The role of business and skilled migration measures entrenching neoliberal ideals and subjectivities is also identified by Katharyne Mitchell (2001, p.165) who looks at the ways in which the expansion of the Business Immigration Program in Canada worked to further entrench neoliberal agendas 'Socially, culturally, and institutionally'. The Business Immigration Program encouraged the migration of wealthy business people, entrepreneurs, and investors from Hong Kong to Canada. The arrival changed the capacity of the migrant serving voluntary sector and eased the retraction of state provided services as migrants were able to provide such services themselves through voluntary and philanthropic work. These kinds of policy shifts have immense impacts on society and on state-society relationships. As Mitchell (2001) explains, a

prioritisation of the neoliberal values and norms through such policy changes and their ripple-effects, also changes the terms of the relationship between the state and society specifically regarding what each party is 'responsible for' or can expect from the other. It is through policies like the Business Immigration Program in Canada, which may seem relatively benign, that neoliberal norms may enter into, and become deeply entrenched not only in economic systems but in culture and society as well. Importantly, Mitchell (2001) recognises that neoliberalisation is not a totalising or all-encompassing end result of such policies and approaches, appreciating that outcomes that do not support, undermine, or perhaps directly challenge neoliberal norms and values may also arise from these circumstances.

Relatedly, the retraction or reduction of social and welfare services for newly arrived migrants within a country has also been identified as an outcome of the neoliberalisation of attitudes and approaches to migration. This has been identified as the result of the neoliberalisation of the third sector or the voluntary sector, but furthermore it can be seen as reflecting or representing the values of individualisation and responsibilisation which are core to neoliberal agendas and approaches.

Within Australia (like Canada) this reduction or retraction has been partly facilitated by focus on skilled forms of migration, with migrants with more capital and higher levels of education able to absorb or take on the costs associated with arrival and settlement in a new country independently. As Pietsch (2013, p. 149) highlights, the focus upon skilled and business migrants who have high levels of English proficiency and employment already confirmed, allows for the reduction of 'early adjustment costs' for the state, including the subsidisation of English language programs and welfare benefits. Within Australia, the decisions of the Howard government to drastically reduce the services available to new migrants to Australia, primarily the withdrawal of unemployment and welfare benefits for the first six months after arrival, a decision that was later extended to the first 2 years after arrival, can be seen as a neoliberal shifting of the responsibility and cost for settlement support onto the individuals and the unit of the family and away from the state (Birrell and Jupp 2000). As Birrell and Jupp (2000) explain, the reduction of services available to new arrivals and the increase in cost recovery mechanisms is a step towards the ideals of 'cost free immigration' and 'user pays' migration, concepts popular in migration debates in the United States, in

which a nation benefits from skilled migration with little to no government expenditure. The restructuring of migration services and programs in these ways must be seen as one aspect of a broader dismantling of the welfare state through neoliberalism.

It is important to recognise that, as this work presents, the influence and entrenchment of neoliberal norms within migration regimes and attitudes towards migration is not simply present in economic measure, but also must be understood as social and cultural norms regarding the citizen and the way in which citizenship is understood and conceptualised more broadly.

The manufactured migration crisis

The influence of neoliberalism can also be witnessed, Stratton (2009) argues, in the narrative of crisis that surrounds the arrival of refugees and those seeking asylum within Australia. Such a narrative of crisis, the accompanying securitisation of the border and the resulting 'ad hoc' policies (Mountz 2011), Stratton (2009) argues, can be seen as part of a neoliberal mechanism which works to obscure and justify economic policies and reforms which are seen to address the fallout of this manufactured crisis. The narrative of a nation in crisis or under threat from unchecked outsiders legitimises reactionary policies that seek to protect national wellbeing and sovereignty, which includes economic measures. The increased use of the military to respond to circumstances that would otherwise be dealt with by domestic government bodies or institutions, including the police, that we have witnessed in Australia over the last several decades, is also part of this manufactured crisis (Mountz 2010; Stratton 2009). The narrative of crisis that depicts a nation under threat by outsiders, contradicts the reality that to sustain economic growth Australia must continue to pursue high levels of immigration.

The narrative of migration crisis, of a nation under siege from outsiders, helps to illustrate how the frameworks of paranoid nationalism, and that of neoliberalism can complement one another, and their entwined nature in many instances. In understanding neoliberalism not to be a totalising, singular, or rigid force but rather acknowledging it as a framework of values, norms, and practices that are employed

differently and unevenly across national and international contexts we can see that it can sit alongside and work with other frameworks. Indeed, within the Australian context it is important to acknowledge the way in which paranoid nationalism and neoliberal ideas have become entangled within and co-constitutive of particular approaches to migration and diversity.

The next section of this chapter moves from these frameworks to discuss care ethics. While engagement with care ethics in regard to humanitarian migration and settlement is a newly emerging research area, many organisations involved in the settlement of people from refugee backgrounds have an ethos of community engagement, welfare, and equity beyond the multicultural or neoliberal state, often positing themselves as a more compassionate alternative, making care ethics an important area of inquiry in this setting. The next section explores this more fully.

3.4 Care, migration, settlement, and citizenship

Care is an important discourse surrounding migration and settlement of people from refugee backgrounds present in a number of ways, from official government rhetoric that positions the state as the caring body, to a public discourse which frames people from refugee backgrounds as in need of care. Importantly as this section highlights, it also circulates as an ethical outlook that structures and informs the actions and practices of organisations and individuals who work in this sector, and through this the boundaries of citizenship. Care ethics is part of these organisations' broader ethos of community engagement and assistance, and commitment to welfare. This care ethics and broader community ethos are also a point used to differentiate these non-state organisations from a more paternalistic and bureaucratic state. Exploring care ethics in the context of non-state organisations further unsettles their conceptualisation as simply part of a neoliberal apparatus and sheds light on alternative ethical frameworks that can shape the boundaries of citizenship.

3.4.1 Geographies of care

Over the last several decades, notions of care, along with the interrelated concepts of responsibility, ethics, and social justice have been the focus of wide-ranging

investigation and debate across the social sciences, including geography. Much of this work can be seen as emerging from what has been labelled geography's 'moral turn' (Lawson 2007). This turn is marked by a renewed interest in questions regarding moral and ethical relationships with space and place as well as an attentiveness toward practising geographic work in ways that prioritise ethical outcomes.

Well-equipped to attend to the spatiality and situatedness of care, geographical work on the concept has focussed on the spaces and places in which care is practised and experienced. This work has examined what Popke (2006, p. 505) calls the 'microgeographies of care', the way caring relationships are produced between people in the context of drop-in spaces (Conradson 2003), counselling sessions (Bondi and Fewell 2003), and Dance Movement Therapy (McCormack 2003), paying particular attention to the role of affect, emotion, and the coming together of bodies in producing these caring spaces. At a more institutional scale, geographic work has explored care practices in a range of settings including hospitals and medical institutions (Allen 2001; Fannin 2003), institutions for people with disabilities (Gleeson and Kearns 2001), care homes for the elderly (Milligan 2003), hospices (Brown 2003), homeless shelters (Williams, JC 2016), drop-in spaces (Conradson 2003; Darling 2011), and child care spaces (Pratt 2003). Care has even been studied within state institutions, with essential work by Askew (2009) detailing how despite the narrative of a 'crisis of care' within state institutions, we should understand and expect caring practices, and indeed care ethics to be 'at home' in state institutions. Askew's (2008, 2009) work is an important example of how caring ethics and practices can exist along-side and in conjunction with neoliberal ideologies and forms of governing.

Geographic work has also explored the uneven distribution of care across cities and regions (Fyfe and Milligan 2003b) and the 'landscapes of care' and 'care-scapes' which shape our cities (Fyfe and Milligan 2003b; Milligan and Wiles 2010). Of particular concern for many geographers interested in the intimate relationship between care and space has been the question 'how far should we care?' (Smith 1998, p. 15) and how we might extend care to distant (and different) others (Popke 2006). How we might practise this care at a distance has been explored through issues and practices of ethical consumption (Popke 2006) and development practises and challenges the assumption that care is reserved for the near and familiar (Lawson

2007; Popke 2006). Furthermore, questions of how a caring ethic may be prioritised and enacted by structures including markets has been explored in the work of Susan Smith (2005, p. 15) who argues that 'markets do not have to be exempt from an ethic of care'. Relatedly, Power and Mee (2019) have considered the caring capacities of housing and housing systems, viewing them as an 'infrastructure' of care. Importantly, this geographic work engages with care not only as a discrete sentiment or practice, but as a guiding moral ethic (Lawson 2007), drawing on the work of feminist theorists and philosophers on a 'feminist ethic of care'.

The proceeding section explores the notion of a feminist ethic of care and sets out a series of important conceptual themes present within care scholarship. These themes, I argue, are essential to understanding how care is an influential framework through which refugee settlement in Australia is structured and importantly how the boundaries of citizenship and belonging might be restructured (to be more inclusive). It begins by exploring how care has been defined, including its definition as a political force of central importance, and not a periphery concern or domain. It then moves to discuss the ways in which care-full practices can be understood and identified through the way in which they engage with subject positions and broader political positionings. Importantly the relationship between care and justice is discussed, noting how these ethics have been positioned as oppositional, and highlighting work that has argued for the importance of considering these ethics as complementary. Finally, it draws attention to the relationship between neoliberalism and care ethics, including the way in which neoliberal logic interprets and implements care in individualistic and limited ways. In discussing the relational nature of care ethics, I show how care might pose a challenge to neoliberal logics through its attentiveness to the relationships that characterise all of our lives.

3.4.2 A feminist ethic of care

Developed through the work of feminist ethicists including Alison Jaggar (1989, 2002), Virginia Held (1993, 2002, 2006), Selma Sevenhuijsen (1998, 2000, 2003), and perhaps most prominently Joan Tronto (Fisher and Tronto 1990; Tronto 1993, 1995, 2013), work regarding a 'feminist ethic of care' positions care as an alternative moral ethic which can (and does) structure all relationships between 'people, objects, and

the environment' (Cox 2010, p. 115). Early work on care as an ethic focussed on the concept of 'women's morality' and the devaluation of care work undertaken by women, both as unpaid domestic labour and paid labour. Much of this work argued for the incorporation of what were seen as the 'feminine' traits of caring and nurturing into the organisation of the public sphere to the benefit of all (Tronto 1993). While this work was important in exploring the exclusion of care and women from the social and political, as Tronto (1993) explains, it was based on an essentialist understanding of the relationship between moral virtues (specifically care) and gender, and relied upon a limited understanding of what constituted care. Responding to such work, Joan Tronto (1993) and other feminist theorists sought to expand ideas surrounding care as an ethic, untangling the essentialist association of care with the feminine and the domestic sphere and highlighting the political possibilities a care centred understanding could create (Cox 2010).

Much work concerned with a feminist ethic of care draws upon Fisher and Tronto's (1990, p. 40) influential definition of care as:

a species activity that includes everything we do to continue, repair, and maintain ourselves so that we can live in the world as well as possible. That world includes our bodies, our selves and our environment, all of which seek to interweave in a complex, life-sustaining web.

This definition is intentionally broad; highlighting the understanding that care is something which everyone can be (and is) involved in (Cox 2010; Lawson 2007; Tronto 2005). Highlighting the centrality of care to all our lives, this understanding of care challenges the normative marginalisation of care within the feminine, domestic, and familial spheres, opening the possibility (and perhaps essential nature) of understanding care as an issue of social, public, and political consideration (Cox 2010). The next section will explore the marginalisation of care and the political possibilities a feminist ethic of care offers.

Re-centring care

Tronto's (1993) seminal work on an ethic of care 'Moral Boundaries', unties what she refers to as the traditional association of care within the feminine and the domestic.

Tronto's (1993) work challenges the essentialist assumption of women as necessarily moral beings and thus challenges the location of moral dispositions/attributes in the feminine. The traditional association of women with caring practices, Tronto (1993) argues, is not a reflection of natural gendered dispositions, but rather is employed strategically to marginalise women and preserve the grasp of men on positions of power and control. While challenging the essentialist assumptions regarding women and moral values, Tronto's (1993) work does not disregard the importance of the historical and ongoing association of the feminine and the notion of care. Recognising the importance of the gendered way in which care is understood, experienced, and practised (often unequally) Tronto (1993, p.3) calls for a move away from an uncritical focus on 'women's morality', toward work that takes seriously 'an ethic of care that includes the values traditionally associated with women'.

In untangling care and morality from the feminine, work on a feminist ethic of care, Raghuram (2016), also challenges the location of care in an individual's identity, emphasising that care is not a personal sentiment or disposition, but rather a social relation that exists between people (and objects, places, environments, worlds). As Raghuram (2016, p.515) states, care is 'produced inter-subjectively, in relation, and through practice'. Care is what is between us. Recognising that care is something everybody is and can be involved with (Lawson 2007; Tronto 2005), and something which everybody requires in different ways and different times over the life course challenges understandings of care which locate and equate it with private or domestic acts. In centring social relationships in this understanding, as Lawson (2007, p.3) explains, 'a care ethic begins with a social ontology of connection'. Emergent through relations and practices, and experienced by all, such work argues that care is 'the work of society' (Lawson 2007) and thus necessarily a political concern.

Care-full practices

Reframing care as a 'species activity' brings a broader understanding of what practices and actions can be understood to be informed and practiced through care. It is important here to note the defining of care as an action and a practice (Lawson 2007). As Tronto (1993 p.104) stresses, 'Caring is not simply a cerebral concern, or character

trait, but the concern of living, active humans engaged in the process of everyday living. Care is both a practice and a disposition'. Despite this broad remit, not all human interaction and activity can be understood as care (Tronto 1993). As Cox (2010 p.116) explains 'care involves making the needs of others (and not necessarily, or only, human others) a basis for action'. For Tronto (1993, p.104), care practices are those 'aimed at maintaining, continuing, or repairing the world'. Responding to normative conceptualisations of care used as justification for welfare and social services cuts, Green and Lawson (2011) argue that care is not so much a specific or particular kind of practice, but a category through which we can view and understand practices. This expanded understanding allows us to see actions and labour not traditionally conceptualised as such, to be understood as care-full⁶ practices. To conceptualise care-full practices, Fisher and Tronto (1990) suggest four stages or elements of care:

Caring-about, noticing the need to care in the first place; taking care of, assuming responsibility of care; care-giving, the actual work of care that needs to be done; and care-receiving, the response of that which is cared for to the carer.

These four elements of care emphasise it as a 'shared accomplishment' (Conradson 2003, p.508) requiring both care-giver and care-recipient to be achieved. Relatedly, geographical work has exemplified the way in which care is multi-directional, not just flowing from the giver to the recipient but created between those involved (Milligan and Wiles 2010). Indeed the benefits of care are not unidirectional either, with reciprocity identified as a key component of care-full relationships (Darling 2011). The benefits exchanged in these relationships may not be equal or alike, with different actors benefitting in different ways. As Darling (2011) identifies in his study of an asylum seeker drop-in centre in the UK, many volunteers who staffed the centre benefitted from this work through gaining experience that would assist them in accessing employment in their desired professions and in attaining certain qualifications. This experience is received in exchange for the support and resources provided in the drop-in sessions including things like advice, an ear to listen, or help

⁶ A number of scholars, most notably Williams (2016) in urban geography have drawn on the term 'care-full' to describe actions, practices, and philosophies that are informed by care ethics, I will also draw on this term as a way to most accurately describe practices informed by care, and to distinguish them from care-less practices and actions.

interpreting documents in English. Importantly the existence of benefits surrounding care-full relationships does not negate or outweigh caring acts (Darling 2011).

Care and Justice

A feminist ethic of care has often been positioned as a binary opposite, and challenge to a justice ethic that many argue guides and structures contemporary political theory and practice (Williams, M 2016). In such an understanding, justice is represented as an impartial, individualistic and abstract moral philosophy, with care counter-posing it as partial, relational, and practice based. The partiality of a care ethic is one of the main ways in which it differs from justice ethics. Indeed, essential to a care centred ethical framework is the understanding that different people require different kinds of care over time, not everyone receives (or is entitled to) the same care. This is a distinct difference to the universality of many conceptualisations of justice ethics (Williams, M 2016).

While the difference between these notions are evident and the exploration of these differences has assisted in the theorisation of each (Williams, M 2016), a number of geographers have argued that care and justice are not mutually exclusive concepts, and rather should be thought of as intertwined and perhaps complementary. Miriam William's (2016) work on 'already existing' practices of, what she terms 'care-full justice' for homeless people in Sydney, Australia, shows how care and justice are dependent upon one another and both essential in creating a just and inclusive city.

Relational care ethic

Based on a relational social ontology, an ethic of care, Lawson (2007, p3) explains, allows us to '[understand] our world in terms of the connections that bind us together', and as Cox (2010, p.116) describes, illuminates 'the interdependence which shapes all our lives'. In attending to and foregrounding the relational nature of care, and the interdependence of humans through relations of care, an ethic of care can be understood to be based in a 'relational conception of subjectivity' (Popke 2006, p.506). In this understanding, we are not autonomous individuals, but rather beings

suspended in a web of life sustaining care relationships (Barnett 2005). The individual cannot be untangled from these relations but are constituted through them. The relational subjectivity central to care ethics is understood to directly challenge the neoliberal logics of 'individualism, egalitarianism, universalism, and of society organized exclusively around principles of efficiency, competition, and a "right" price for everything' (Lawson 2007 p.3).

Care and neoliberal logics

A major challenge that a care centred approach poses to neoliberal logics is regarding ideas and understandings of responsibility. When subjectivity is conceptualised and practised as individualistic, autonomous, and competitive, responsibility for well-being (broadly referring to meeting basic needs) resides solely in the individual. This extends to being a 'good' member of society and the performance of appropriate citizenship (Green and Lawson 2011; Staeheli et al. 2016). The responsibility for failing to attain these standards falls on the individual. This understanding of responsibility ignores and obfuscates structural forms of discrimination and disadvantage that impact the well-being of many (Raghuram 2016). As Lawson (2007, p. 5) argues, such an individualistic understanding of responsibility and responsibility for the care of the self 'allows the ideologies of the "autonomous self-made man" to go unchallenged'. This perpetuates the myth that successes are achieved by autonomous individuals and as a result there is no obligation to share the outcomes of success with others (Lawson 2007). Importantly this understanding also reduces any responsibility to commit public resources to the work of care (Lawson 2007). This further diminishes the responsibility of government to providing social and welfare assistance, as the role of such assistance is removed from understandings of well-being and success. Portrayed as an individual, domestic and familial concern, removed from the social and political spheres, responsibility for the provision of care does not fall onto the state (Lawson 2007). It is this neoliberal logic that underpins much of the sweeping welfare reforms that have occurred throughout western liberal democracies over the last several decades (Green and Lawson 2011).

Neoliberal understanding of care and responsibility can be identified as informing many western, liberal democratic states' approaches to social policy, services, and welfare. This is perhaps best captured by the processes of devolution and deinstitutionalisation involved in processes of welfare reform across many nations over the last several decades. Such reform has seen the responsibility of welfare and social service delivery moved from the state (and state departments) to local governments, non-governments organisations, and private providers (many of which were formed specifically to fill this gap). This individualistic notion of responsibility dictates categories of who can and cannot legitimately receive care (Green and Lawson 2011). As Green and Lawson (2011) explain, under such understanding of care only those who fit into the naturalised forms of dependency (ie. Children, elderly, and the infirm) can legitimately access care. Those that require care but do not fall into such conceptualisations of deserving recipients are deemed unable to keep up their responsibility to act as a self-reliant and thus contributing member of society (Green and Lawson 2011). It is this logic that colours discrimination against those receiving welfare and other social services, portraying them as 'lazy' and 'undeserving'.

Within this understanding care is positioned as the antithesis of self-realisation and self-reliance which are the aspirational drivers of contemporary subjectivities (Green and Lawson 2011). Care (specifically through welfare and social services) is positioned as a means to achieve self-reliance (Green and Lawson 2011). As Green and Lawson (2011) highlight, access to this care for those who do not fall into naturalised forms of dependency, is contingent upon a commitment to become self-sufficient, with welfare schemes limited to strict time limits, requiring proof of job applications, and work for welfare arrangements.

3.5 Conclusion

This chapter has presented two key frameworks, paranoid nationalism underpinned by settler colonial and multicultural politics, and neoliberalism, that shape discussion and policy surrounding the settlement of people from refugee backgrounds, which I argue are active in constructing and shaping the boundaries of settlement and citizenship in Australia and dictate who and how people can legitimately make claims to national space and identity. This chapter also introduced care ethics, identifying it

as important discourse that circulates within and shapes broader discussions of diversity and inclusion in Australian, and more specific discussions of refugee resettlement and citizenship.

The frameworks of paranoid nationalism that emerges through multicultural politics, and the influences of neoliberal logics are not mutually exclusive forces in the context of humanitarian migration and settlement in Australia. These frameworks work alongside one another. Multiculturalism recognises the multiplicity of cultures within Australian society, however it also relies on an understanding of cultures as static, and tensions between them as natural and anticipated. Multiculturalism has guided policy and public discourse concerning cultural diversity, however as discussed in section 3.2 it is bound and shaped by a paranoid nationalism which continues to construct the image of the legitimate Australian citizen, who is entitled to occupy national space, as an Anglo Celtic white figure. This national imaginary is not benign, influencing policy that shapes the daily lives and experiences of people from refugee backgrounds settling in Australia, and non-white Australian citizens and residents.

Alongside paranoid nationalism, neoliberalism is also influential in constructing the boundaries of belonging and citizenship in Australia. Not just an economic ideal or system, neoliberal values shape all sectors and relations within society. Neoliberal values shape who can migrate and settle in Australia, their reception, and how they must act in order to access belonging and citizenship while here, prioritising self-sufficiency and economic productivity amongst other individual attributes. Together these frameworks erect boundaries which exclude people from refugee backgrounds from legitimately being able to occupy national space and claims to citizenship. Importantly, such frameworks also legitimise the further dismantling of migration and settlement services.

In addition to these frameworks, this chapter introduced an ethic of care as an important consideration in understanding present discourses of settlement and citizenship for humanitarian migrants. The language of care and compassion is drawn on in state migration and settlement policy, and importantly used by non-state organisations within the broader community-focussed ethos guiding their work. Care

is central to the landscape of humanitarian settlement in Australia, and thus important to consider in looking at the organisations that populate this landscape.

This chapter has shown that it is these frameworks (amongst others) which construct and shape the boundaries of citizenship and the stranger. These frameworks are not fixed, indeed many authors cited throughout the chapter recognise opportunities for alternative frameworks. Similarly, they are not mutually exclusive. As central figures in the settlement of people from refugee backgrounds in Australia, non-state organisations are also central in the frameworks of understanding that shape settlement which have been discussed in this chapter. Organisations cannot be easily untangled from these frameworks, their work (and existence) intimately linked to and shaped by such ideas. In addition, it shows that alternative ethics, including an ethic of care must be recognised and explored in the work of such organisations and in the broader discourse of settlement and inclusion in Australia. Whether and how non-state organisations navigate these frameworks and understanding to shape xenophobic space or, produce an alternative space of refuge is the overarching concern guiding this thesis. The next chapter discusses the methods used to study this.

Chapter 4. Research design

4.1 Introduction

Following the literature reviewed in the previous two chapters, the present chapter focusses on the research design guiding the project, how it aligned with the aims of the project, and how the methods allowed the research to answer the research questions. The chapter first introduces the organisations and the sector in which they function, as the main focus of the research. In doing so it engages with literature on the sector and discusses the relational view of the settlement sector that informs the research. In section 4.3 the chapter situates these organisations within the research location of Melbourne Australia, highlighting how Melbourne as a settler colonial city offered a useful setting in which to study these organisations and their relationships to the dominant frameworks that shape settlement and citizenship in Australia. This included Melbourne's history as a space of settlement, the organisational memory or experiences of this, and urban processes that shape Melbourne similar to other settler colonial cities. Engaging with Melbourne's established tradition as a space of settlement was important for the research which is concerned with the work of organisations that exceed the narratives and structures of neoliberalism and the politics of the welfare state. The chapter then presents the complementary methods used to gather data for this research, semi-structured interviews interleaved with close engagement with documentary materials. Together these methods allowed the research to understand the daily practices of organisations as well as their position and relationships with frameworks and narratives that structure this settlement space. This leads to a discussion of the ways in which the data were analysed after which the chapter concludes with reflections of the research process including the positionality of the researcher within this context.

4.2 Methodology

This research draws upon geographic work that approaches institutions (state and non-state) to be peopled and practised (Askew 2009; Mountz 2003). While the focus of this research are organisations that may not fall into the category of institutions, the work extends this approach to understand organisations through the daily work of the

people that comprise them. This approach is positioned within a broader relational approach to the non-state sector which understands it as ‘a set of relationships [...] lying in tension among state, informal community, and private market influences’ (DeVerteuil 2016, p. 9). Understanding entities like non-state organisations or state institutions as peopled and practised draws important attention to the ‘possibilities and sedimentations of power’ (Askew 2009, p.655) practised through these entities.

From this conceptual starting point, the approach used within this research reflects what DeVerteuil (2016) describes as an ‘on-the-ground’ approach, which includes a focus on the ‘daily work’ of organisations, and pays particular attention to the context (local, national, and historical) that this work occurs in and is shaped by. This approach provides a more nuanced understanding of organisations and the sector in which they work than what DeVerteuil (2016) describes as ‘higher altitude’ or more cursory investigations that have been done on the sector including desktop analyses of organisations and the services they provide which do not look into the daily work of organisations. In order to do this, the methodology used for this project combines semi-structured interviews with staff and volunteers from non-state organisations, with a close engagement with key government discourses and policy documents that relate to settlement services, as well as participation conferences, network meetings, and other in ‘sector events’. Table 1 outlines the relationship between the research questions and methodology used.

Engaging with organisations as peopled and practised and taking an ‘on-the-ground’ approach which engages with the daily work of organisations allowed space within the research for the complex and ambivalent position of organisations to be revealed, illuminating the work of organisations that may challenge or exceed dominant frameworks used to conceptualise their position and capacity. As DeVerteuil (2016) suggests, this kind of approach allows a more nuanced reading of the work of organisations, which does not immediately dismiss the generative capacity of organisations and the sector they comprise, or focus only on the influence of neoliberalism. Similarly, Askew (2009, p.655) argues, this approach also explicitly creates space for possibility and difference and can ‘[reveal] “other” practices most often subsumed by reductionist framings’. This is important for this research which is concerned with revealing alternative frameworks and ethics, including an ethic of care

that may circulate in the practices of organisations. In order to capture and study the daily work of organisations and the political and social context in which they are embedded, this research devised a methodology of semi-structured interviews with staff and volunteers from non-state organisations, alongside a close engagement with key government discourses and policy documents regarding settlement services, complemented by participation in 'sector events' including network meetings and conferences.

The iterative approach used within the research, which interleaves interview data and a close reading of key government discourses and policy documents reflects other work within this area of study which combines these methods and places interview data explicitly within a specific policy context. For example, the work of Mitchell (2001) who traces neoliberal expansion in Canadian society by focussing on the work of voluntary organisations and the migration policies which intimately shape their work. This is also utilised by Baker and Davis (2017) who place the work of Beneficiary advocacy organisations in the context of Workfare policy settings in New Zealand. Such an approach is also used by Trudeau (2008) who explores the position of immigrant serving organisations in relation to the state in Minneapolis-St Paul, and Staeheli (2003) who brings together accounts from women who work in community-based organisations with broader political discourses regarding community, welfare, and care.

As Chapter 3 established, approaches to migration, settlement, and citizenship in Australia are informed by frameworks including the paranoid nationalism of settler colonial states, and neoliberal values that prioritise economic contributions of the individual. These frameworks are entangled with and sedimented in the political discourses and policy approaches regarding humanitarian migration and settlement. Indeed, policy intimately shapes the context in which these organisations work, circumscribing services that can be delivered with funding and who can access them, shaping areas that funding does not cover and for which additional funding will need to be sought, and outlining the desired outcomes of services. Furthermore, these government discourses and policy documents were referenced regularly by interviewees who used them to contextualise and explain their work and our discussion during interviews. Analysing these narratives and policy documents

allowed the research to engage with an essential aspect of the relationship between organisations and the state.

While useful in understanding the work of organisations, policy and other documents were not taken as objective reflections of what occurs with the organisations or sector, here interviews allowed for a nuanced discussion of relationships and the realities of providing services in the context of a sector shaped by these tensions. Indeed, interviews played an essential role in allowing space and opportunity to tease out how these things played out on the ground, to pinpoint and ask about complexities that arise, identify unanticipated barriers, and understand the ways in which these tensions are negotiated. Interviews also created space to see the ways in which organisations engage or perform narratives that are not circumscribed by policy documents, for example their engagement with care ethics.

Research questions	Methodology used to address research questions
1. What are the relationships between the Australian state, settlement sector organisations, and groups from refugee backgrounds in the contemporary geography of service delivery in Australia?	- Interview theme of 'Relationships' focusing on relationships between participating organisations, state institutions and groups from refugee backgrounds. - Analysis of relevant policy documents detailing formal terms of relationship - Participation at sector events
2. In what ways do organisations seek to shape the construction of citizenship for people from refugee backgrounds settling in Australia?	- Interview theme of 'Practices' - Collection of organisational documents
3. What are the ethical frameworks that organisations operate in whilst navigating the tensions involved in working in the geographies of refugee settlement in Australia?	- Interview theme of 'Ethics and values' - Collection of organisational documents including 'mission statement', 'Organisational Values'

Table 1. Methodology used to address research questions

4.3 The settlement sector in Melbourne

Despite what Billo and Moutz (2015) term an institutional turn within geography, previous geographic literature concerned with the institution has, as Philo and Parr (2000) discuss, largely been limited to either 'geographies of institutions' – focussing on the impacts of a particular institution across different spaces (eg. Herbert 1997; Holloway 2000) – or 'geographies in institutions' – focussing on the intimate internal arrangements and spaces within a particular institution (eg. Hyndman 2000; Mountz 2010; Philo 1989). This work tends to focus on single institutions, highlighting only connections and relations that directly involve the institutions and not those that may shape or impact it indirectly, providing a limited view into the context in which these institutions function. Other work that has approached the community, non-profit or third sectors as a whole have been primarily concerned with documenting the form and location of organisations (eg. Chouinard and Crooks 2008; Fyfe and Milligan 2003a). This work relies on static and definitive ideas about what constitutes a relevant

institution or organisation for the sake of empirically documenting and locating them, producing what DeVertueil (2016, p.55) critiques as a 'cursory' snapshot of the sector.

To allow the research to be attentive to the multiple and diverse types or actors/agents and activities involved in the settlement sector and in the construction of settlement and citizenship for people from refugee backgrounds in Australia, this research is not based in one particular kind of organisation or institution. Focussing on the day-to-day activities and practices that occur within such organisations and with a focus on the role of ethical frameworks, including an ethic of care, avoids the research simply presenting a static and 'cursory' (DeVertueil 2016, p. 55) snapshot of a dynamic sector. This allows for a richer understanding of the complexities driving the formation of this landscape.

Organisations involved in the provision or facilitation of services and support for people with refugee backgrounds in Australia, comprise what I conceptualise within this thesis as a diverse, shifting, and at times messy sector. While these adjectives may not portray ideal conditions for research they highlight the importance of better understanding this essential sector. Indeed, the diversity of the sector entails an opportunity for qualitative social research to contribute to an understanding which quantitative methods would not be placed to capture. Organisational types or forms vary greatly across such a group. However, through their involvement in facilitating services for people with refugee backgrounds within Melbourne, and considering the ways in which they themselves work as a sector, sharing information, resources, service users and staff and the political context which they must negotiate, understanding them to be an interrelated and intertwined (though not 'cohesive') sector allows for a richer engagement with the role of such organisations. A list of organisations that participated on the research appears in Appendix D.

In approaching this varied group of actors in such a way, this research follows from and draws upon more recent geographic work on the voluntary and not-for-profit sectors that utilises a relational understanding of the sector and the organisations, understanding them to be 'sets of relationships' (DeVertueil 2016, p. 9). As DeVertueil (2016, p. 9) explains, conceptualising such a sector through its relations '[can allow research to comprehend] a wide range of agents – including charities, faith-based

organisations and not-for-profits – and activities, including direct services to vulnerable clients as well as advocating on their behalf, but also more general fundraising, research, and so forth’. These are important agents and activities that may otherwise be overlooked or left out of other research and analysis that engages with the sector from a less relational position. Importantly, to the list of agents and activities DeVerteuil (2016, p.9) outlines in the above quotation, this research adds the work of local governments who are involved in facilitating services to different, often vulnerable social groups, and are active in other activities including advocacy.

The organisations that comprise this sector within Australia, and more particularly within Melbourne, span from organisations dedicated to the delivery of ‘settlement service’ contracts from the federal government, faith-based organisations and charities, generalist charities, as well as organisations who focus on the provision of specific services or support for people from refugee backgrounds (for example educational support and homework groups) and local governments. While these organisations differing greatly they often work in close connection and collaboration with one another, something that the initial scoping research for this project highlighted. Many organisations collaborate in the planning and delivery of programs, from advertising and promoting the work of other organisations amongst service users, to co-facilitating or co-funding particular programs, which is often the only way whereby programs can obtain enough resources to run. Such close collaboration is also shaped by the way in which many organisations share staff, with staff either working (or volunteering) across a number of organisations or with histories working at different organisations. The emphasis on (and sometimes requirements for) partnerships between organisations that is present in the funding and grant processes of federal and state governments also contributes to this collaboration.

An important part of this close collaboration between organisations are ‘network meetings’ or ‘forums’ at which representatives from organisations come together in what is largely an information sharing setting. These meetings are often facilitated by the local government or larger consortium organisations or groups. These meetings provide an important forum for organisations to discuss changes that impact the sector and their work within it including federal legislature regarding entitlements of those with refugee or asylum seeker backgrounds engaging in services like English

education and tertiary education. This is especially important considering the legislation surrounding immigration and settlement of people with refugee backgrounds is constantly changing. These meetings often involve representatives from government departments and organisations, including Centrelink, and provide non-state organisations the opportunity and space to engage directly with such departments and work together to clarify complex situations and technicalities that inescapably emerge because of the shifting landscape around such issues. This research took place across metropolitan Melbourne, a city with a long and diverse history of migration narratives and an important location regarding settlement in Australia. The chapter will now turn to give an overview of Melbourne, the geographic context of this study, paying particular attention to its history as a place of settlement.

4.4 Melbourne

This research is based in Melbourne, the capital city of the state of Victoria, Australia (Figure 2). Melbourne is Australia's second largest city, with a population of just below 5 million residents. Approximately 33.5% of Melbourne's population were born overseas (Australian Bureau of Statistics 2017) making Melbourne a very culturally diverse city. Each year on average between 5000 - 7000 individuals granted humanitarian visas settle in Victoria, with Melbourne becoming home to the vast majority of these⁷. As a large city, Melbourne has been an important place of settlement for migrants and refugees throughout Australia's history, home to high numbers of post WWII migrants from Europe, and to refugees from South East Asia (following the Vietnam war) and Lebanon (following the Lebanese civil war) through Australia's first refugee program established in 1977. Each wave of migration has shaped Melbourne intimately. More than just demographic profiles or neighbourhood characteristics, this history of migration has shaped different areas of the city in different ways, and is inextricable from narratives of urban renewal, gentrification, displacement and the movement of industries and employment opportunities. Importantly, the organisations, infrastructure, and institutions that support migration and settlement across Melbourne are also intimately shaped by this history.

⁷ More precise data is not available at this time as accessing consistent data regarding the settlement of people granted humanitarian visas has become difficult since the decommissioning of the Federal government's Settlement Reporting Facility in 2018.



Figure 2. Melbourne, Victoria Australia (Author)

While a culturally diverse city due to migration, particular areas within Melbourne have distinct histories of migrant and refugee settlement. Characteristics including employment and affordable housing opportunities, as well as existing family and community ties and support networks make some areas more desirable to migrant groups and could be described as immigrant enclaves (Dunn 1993). Areas including Maribyrnong in the city's west, and Dandenong in the south east are examples of areas with long histories as spaces of settlement, hubs for post war migrants, Vietnamese and south east Asian refugees in the 1970/80s, and in Maribyrnong more recently growing communities from a number of African nations, in particular those from the Horn of Africa region. These areas with established histories of migrant settlement could be thought of as service hubs for migrant communities. Service hubs, as DeVerteuil (2016, p. 10) explains them, are 'conspicuous concentrations of voluntary organisations' in particular inner-city areas, the close proximity of these organisations, and central location, maximising their accessibility for service users.

Emerging in an earlier time, but reaching their peak through the Keynesian era of public urban welfare provision, service hubs that remain today reflect these earlier political or ideological approaches to service provision, acting as ‘holdover spaces of social innovation, sanctuary and refuge, but also incubators for voluntarism and care/support’ (DeVerteuil 2016, p. 10). As service hubs, areas like Maribyrnong and Dandenong have a long history of non-state settlement and migration resources and practices. This includes the location of many non-state or charity organisations that provide services specifically targeted to refugees and asylum seekers and those with more generalist welfare or charity practices.

While these existing or established hubs are still home to many newly arriving refugee migrants, over the last 10 years new locations across Melbourne have emerged as important areas in which refugee migrants are settling. Within Melbourne the local government area of the City of Hume, in the north east is particularly noteworthy as a recently expanding area of settlement (Department of Social Services 2019). The area comprises both established residential areas and a large amount of new development, with much of the residential land only developed in the last 2 decades. As a semi-rural locality, the city of Hume does not have a long or established history of migration or settlement. Indeed, for much of its history the areas now comprising the City of Hume have had relatively low levels of residents born overseas. With the growth of Melbourne’s outer suburbs and their position as some of the most affordable, the cultural demographic of Hume has undergone massive change. In response to Hume’s position as one of the fastest growing receiving areas for new migrants (specifically refugee migrants) in Melbourne, a number of key service providers for this community have expanded service provision to the Hume area, including relocating offices and bases from previous centres of migrant settlement. Figure 3 (Davern et al. 2016) displays humanitarian migrants living across Melbourne between 2010-2015. The areas of highest settlement include Hume and Greater Dandenong shaded in dark red.

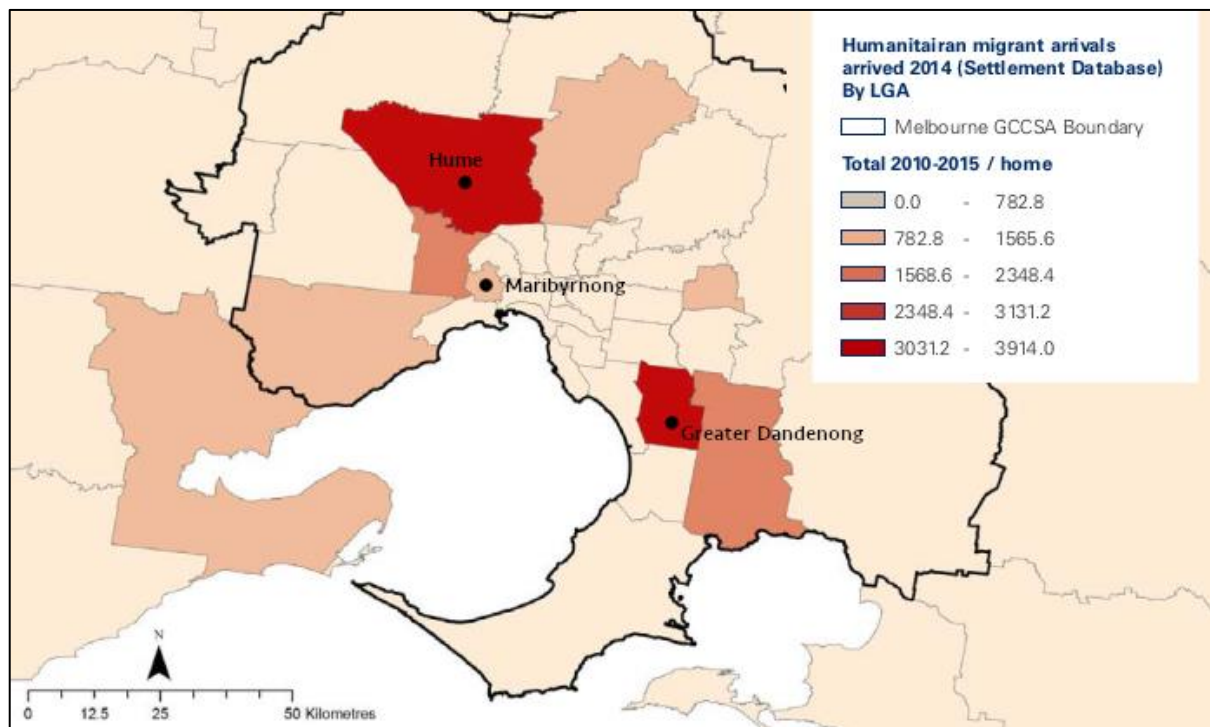


Figure 3. Humanitarian entrants by LGA, total 2010- 2015 (Davern et al. 2016)

The growth of outer suburban areas like Hume as the location for settlement can be seen as part of a broader narrative of urban change that has shaped Melbourne, similar to many other cities in western liberal states. The expanding processes of urban renewal and gentrification have changed both inner city and suburban areas, with the working class, and the industries they work in, pushed from inner-city neighbourhoods and further from the city centre. Areas like Fitzroy, Collingwood and Richmond, once working-class areas home to workers in the local factories and manufacturing plants, are now some of the most expensive and sought-after real estate in Melbourne. Importantly though, as Shaw and Hagemans (2015, p. 238) observe of Fitzroy and St. Kilda, another gentrifying neighbourhood in Melbourne's south east, 'The class remakes are not complete in either neighbourhood, and remnants of the disinvested eras are still visible', include the remaining presence of a large number of social services for homelessness and those living with drug and alcohol addiction, and large community housing programs. This observation could, importantly for this project, be expanded to include the presence of non-state organisations that cater to migrant and refugee communities. With its diverse history

of settlement narratives and experiences, and considering the large number of refugee migrants settling in the city each year, Melbourne provides a rich context in which to study the organisations that work in the settlement of refugee migrants.

4.5 Research process and methods

Overall 34 participants were interviewed for the research from across 25 different organisations⁸ (see appendix D for list of interview participants and organisations). Alongside these interviews documentation from organisations was also collected, including both documents provided by participants, and documents that were publicly available, including documents downloaded from organisational websites. I was also able to attend settlement forum network meetings, workshops run by the local governments I was in contact with, and conferences and lectures that were also attended by those organisations and individuals in the settlement sector. These additional activities were integral in shaping the research and importantly they allowed me to personally engage with the sector, key actors, and potential participants. They also gave me an opportunity to witness how individuals from organisations interacted in such settings and shared information, and to learn why this information and knowledge was important to organisations. These research activities took place between June 2016 and August 2017.

4.5.1 Recruiting participants

The participants in this study include those who work for organisations involved in the refugee settlement sector across metropolitan Melbourne. These participants range from project managers to those delivering services face-to-face (indeed quite often due to the size and capacity of the organisations these were in fact the same people in charge of the design and the on the ground delivery of services). Because of the diversity of organisations and programs and services in this sector I chose not to confine discussions and interviews to participants with one particular job title or type (e.g. manager or coordinator), but rather interviewed people across a range of positions across these organisations.

⁸ In several instances, multiple people from a specific organisation were interviewed as they were differently involved across the services offered by the organisation that were relevant to the research.

A decision was made within the research to focus interviews on staff and volunteers from non-state organisations, and not to focus on service users during this project. As the main aim of the project was to understand the role and position of organisations in relation to the state and to the dominant frameworks that shape migration, settlement, and citizenship within Australia, it was identified that interviews from staff and volunteers at organisations would provide rich empirics that would allow the research to meet its aims. Focussing on participants who work and volunteer within organisations gave the research capacity to fully investigate the values, ethics, and philosophies present in the discourses offered by participants regarding the practices of organisations. Including service users as interview participants would have shifted the focus of the research to examining the experiences of using services regarding migrations, settlement, and citizenship. While important empirical fields, this was not germane to answering the research questions or meeting the aims of the project and there was not scope within a research project of this size and duration to include this additional area of empirical focus. In a more pragmatic sense, the ethical considerations of working with people from refugee backgrounds was also taken into consideration, as additional university research ethics approval is required for work focussing on 'vulnerable communities' which can often take an extended period of time to receive if successful. Future opportunities to engage with service user voices is discussed in Chapter 8 of this thesis, in discussing future research trajectories.

Fieldwork for the project began with a process of familiarising myself further with the organisations' programs and services that functioned across Melbourne, attending where possible workshops, information sessions and similar. Initial contact was also made with a number of local governments across Melbourne, mainly through the 'multicultural communities' or 'cultural diversity' team or officer (the title of this position varies across local governments, but its roles are largely standard across metropolitan municipalities). These local council officers acted as gatekeepers to the sector and approaching them for recommendations and introductions to other potential participants was an important part of the research. Meetings with individuals from a number of local government areas (Hume City Council, Maribyrnong City Council, and Yarra City Council) allowed me to begin to map a landscape of the organisations working in the settlement sector. From here, recruitment then used a number of

strategies including approaching gatekeepers, snowballing, and approaching potential organisations and participants directly through phone, email or in person at network meetings, workshops or other events I attended as part of the research. Because of the way in which organisations work closely together in this sector, snowballing was also a useful technique for recruiting participants, at the end of interviews (which often involved discussions of other organisations they worked closely with) I was able to ask participants to recommend and introduce me to colleagues and contacts at other organisations that they thought would be useful and appropriate participants for the research.

The nature of the sector as funded by government grants and contracts as well as charitable and philanthropic donations and the work of volunteers, all of which add to a certain precarity within the sector, meant that the recruitment of participants was met with challenges of potential participants' time constraints despite their interest and support of the research. Another challenge for recruitment was the political context within which the research was situated. Though the research did not explicitly question political views of the participants regarding migration, refugee issues, or multiculturalism these are highly politicised topics within Australia. While not expressed directly I felt as though the 'politically charged' or 'loaded' nature of the general topics the research is based in had an impact on the willingness of some potential participants to take part in the research. This was potentially contributed to by the fact a Liberal National coalition (a conservative coalition) was in government (and thus in control over much funding for the sector) at the time the research was conducted. While effort was made to engage with a wide sample of participants and organisations the relatively small size of the sector of organisations involved in providing such services and support also limited the pool of potential participants.

4.5.2 Semi-structured interviews

Prior to interviews taking place, participants were provided with a project information sheet and a brief outline of the topics that would be discussed in the interview (See Appendix C). As much of the recruitment occurred through email (in many cases after initial introductions and conversations) the information sheet was provided digitally, and participants were advised that the interview would take approximately 60 minutes,

though could be adapted if required. The majority of interviews occurred at the organisational premises of the participants, in private offices, meeting rooms, and similar. A small number of interviews were conducted at cafes at the participant's suggestion, or when other accommodation could not be found. One interview took place in a meeting room at the University of Melbourne. At the beginning of each interview participants were given an information sheet (Appendix A) and were asked to read and sign a consent form (Appendix B) that advised of the rights of participants to withdraw from participating in the project at any stage and gave information regarding ethics board approval from the University of Melbourne, including relevant contacts. The consent form outlined that the interview would be recorded, and that information given in the interview may be used in presentations of the research outcomes with the use of a pseudonym, and that the name of the organisations would be used within research output. After this time, I gave participants an outline of the structure of the interview and the major topics to be discussed and informed them of their ability to stop, pause, or take a break from the interview at any time if necessary.

The interviews followed a semi-structured form. The interview questions were structured around three key topics of interest that would allow me to answer the research questions guiding the project (see Appendix C for interview guide). The first section asked questions regarding the role of participants in the organisations they were involved with including the tasks and responsibilities that were part of their position as well as a 'typical day' outline. This question was included to illuminate the many activities that go into the design and running of particular programs and services that exceed the delivery of face-to-face programs which may only last a few hours a week. Questions in this section and the discussion they elicited allowed the research to see how the practices of organisations intersected with the broader frameworks that guide migration, settlement and citizenship that the research is interested in. They also allowed the research to see ways in which the work of organisations differed from, or reflected narratives and approaches offered by the state through discourse and policy and the daily work that went into this.

The second section of the interview guide focussed on the decisions, logic, and ethics behind the programs and services that are offered. These questions further illuminated the ways in which organisations intersect and negotiate broader narratives and

frameworks that shape migration, settlement and citizenship, and provided space for participants to discuss the ethics and ethos they believe informs the work they are involved in. The third section of the interview focussed on the relationships that organisations had with others in the sector, including their relationships with funding structures and bodies and different levels of government. This was important in further contextualising the work of organisations as well as their position in relation to the state.

Further than simply question 'what' services the organisations offered, questions in the interview were aimed at opening discussion with participants regarding why such services and programs were run and the considerations that had led to this service or program running in the way it does and the activities and actions that constitute this program. In particular the interviews covered questions about what values they felt were present with their practices and actions, and for examples of where such values may be visible. Such questions were informed by the research's concern with feminist care ethics. After a number of interviews had been completed, the interview guide was revised and updated in consideration of the responses and reception to some questions. This also allowed room within the interview guide for the discussion of interesting and important topics that emerged from these initial interviews.

Interview data were transcribed using a professional transcription service. These transcripts were then entered into the analytics program NVivo which was used as a tool to thematically code the interview transcripts. Interview transcripts were coded thematically, in what was an unfolding and iterative process. To begin I created a number of fairly broad categories or themes relevant to the project questions and concerns. These were largely key words or themes I was interested in including 'funding', 'volunteers', 'collaboration with other organisations'. The majority of the codes that were used in the analysis of the transcripts were developed while reading transcripts where I was able to identify common themes across the interviews and the topics of discussion. Often the same paragraph or parts of a paragraph were coded with multiple codes. An important part of the coding process was combining and synthesising codes together and of 'splitting and splicing' (Dey 2003) themes as their relevance changed or shifted through the analysis of all interview data. While this coding was influenced by theoretical themes that shaped the development of the

project, it also importantly allowed for the emergence of empirical themes within the data, including the work of organisations bridging to mainstream services, and the focus within organisational practices on 'strength based' approaches highlighted throughout the empirical chapters.

4.5.3 Questions of care

The initial interview schedule included questions that specifically referenced an ethical framework of 'care' as this was something I was interested in from the conception of the project. During the first interviews, I learnt that such questions garnered a range of responses. Unfortunately, many of the responses to these questions, I found were not helpful in meeting research aims and disrupted the flow of interviews. While Williams (2013, p. 97) states that directly engaging with questions of care and justice (ethical frameworks used within her own research) in interviews can allow 'space for people to provide their own interpretations without [the researcher's] theoretical interpretations and labelling of these practices as care or justice', within this research project I felt it did not result in useful responses. One reason I believe contributed to this is the subjective ways in which we use the term care within society and the strong and important critiques of the normative use of care as a term used to describe support for social groups whose agency and experiences are limited by this conceptualisation (see Herring 2014). Indeed, the term care and the idea of particular people being *in need of care* can have an objectifying and limiting impact and usage, in which the caring relationship is seen as unidirectional which has been argued to remove or limit agency of those receiving care. Much activism from the disability rights and awareness community has centred on unsettling and challenging this connotation.

The highly politicised nature of conversations and issues involving people from refugee backgrounds in Australia may further have contributed to the hesitation of participants to discuss the notion of care explicitly. Discourse regarding people from refugee backgrounds settling in Australia is replete with narratives and counter-narratives regarding refugees as 'needy' in ways that other social groups may not be. Participants were aware how constructing refugee communities as in particular need of care (rather than say, empowerment) can be misinterpreted and play a counterproductive role to their values and goals. As such care may be understood as

a 'loaded term' with the voluntary sector, and therefore its use within the interview guide was purposefully redrafted. In later interviews, I asked directly about the topic of care in instances where the idea was introduced by participants or in instances where I thought the concept might help in discussing particular ideas, actions, or contexts that came up in our conversations. In addition, questions regarding the values, ethos, and ethics participants felt were present within their work were asked, this gave participants an opportunity to reflect on this aspect of their work and provided data useful for the research's interest in care ethics.

4.5.4 Documents

Data from a range of documents were also used within the thesis. These documents were both official documents from organisations available in the public domain, and official documents from the state or federal government that were available through the public domain. Documents from organisations included both those that participants gave to me during interviews (all accessible to the public) and those I sought out myself primarily through research of online resources. These documents provided further information about organisations and the programs and services they provide. This information included that which may not have been discussed in detail within the interviews, like listing specific program details such as location, how regular they were, and other official titles and details that may have slipped the minds of participants during the interview. While I tried to get participants to include important details in our interview discussions, sometimes such details were missed as participants jumped between topic and program, or else programs had shorthand or different names within the organisations, and details like location and timing may have changed. The documents gathered also gave important insight into how the programs and services were advertised to service users and the way in which they are positioned by the organisations. The information gathered from these documents was essential to creating a picture of these programs and services and meant I did not have to repeatedly contact participants to clarify information.

Documents gathered from the federal government were available in the public domain and were accessed online. These documents included policy information regarding the process of settlement, and the entitlements and requirements of people with

refugee backgrounds settling in Australia. As federal government settlement services are contracted out to other organisations, documents outlining this process, what was required in organisations applying for these contracts, and the expectations and deliverables were used within this thesis. This information allowed me to better understand the federal state's role, approach, and involvement within refugee resettlement and with the organisations active within the sector. This information is used alongside interview material to give a rich account of the setting in which organisations work.

As Bryman (2012) reminds us, all documents are written and compiled by individuals with a specific purpose in mind. As such we cannot approach documents from organisations or government institutions as objectively presenting the reality of that organisation or institution (Bryman 2012). This is especially important regarding documents from organisations that describe and discuss things like mission statements, organisational values, or ethos. Recognising the role that such documents have in constructing particular narratives, I did not take documents as renderings of objective truth or to simply reflect reality, rather they were used in conjunction with data from interview transcripts which engaged with the complexity of stated values, and practised values and other similar questions.

4.5.5 Observing sector events

As part of the research I also attended a number of events, conferences, workshops, and other activities within the settlement sector, outlined in Table 1. This included attending the Yarra Settlement Forum (YSF) on a regular basis over the span of approximately 18 months. The YSF is a monthly meeting co-facilitated by the City of Yarra local government and Co-Health, a community health provider in Melbourne. The forum is open to those working or involved with the settlement sector in some capacity and meets to share information, form links and collaborations, undertake professional development activities, and touch base with others working in the sector within the Yarra area (though in practice this geographic area is very flexible). My presence at these meetings was welcomed and encouraged by contacts at the City of Yarra involved in the YSF resulting in my participation in the meetings for some time. Meetings such as these are key practices for many of the organisations that were the

focus of my research and as such were a great opportunity for me to witness the sector 'in action'. Participation in these meetings also allowed me to engage with the sector as 'peopled', as a varied group of individuals rather than a more abstract constellation of organisations. YSF meetings were also a useful way to introduce my research project and find possible participants. My attendance at these meetings and a range of other events and activities importantly also worked to 'place' me within the sector and not simply as an outsider, which I believe was an important part of building connection and to some degree trust between myself and interview participants (discussed further in the following section).

Brotherhood of St Laurence research collaboration meeting on employment issues	2015
Brotherhood of St Laurence research symposium From Surviving to Thriving: Inclusive work and economic security for refugees and people seeking asylum	2016
Settlement Council of Australia conference Settlement and Citizenship in Civil Society	2016
Yarra Settlement Forum meetings and activities	2016 - 18
ASRC 'Words that work' workshop	2017
Tour of Hume Neighbourhood house	2016
Hume City Council refugee forum A Shared Journey: Supporting the wellbeing of refugee families in Hume	2016
Refugee Council of Australia Refugee Alternatives conference	2018
Informal tours of organisations/spaces by a number of participants	2016-18

Table 2. Participation in settlement sector events

My attendance and participation in these events added an observational component to the methodology within this research project. A more embedded or ethnographic form or participant observation was not within the scope of the project considering the breadth of organisations and activities that were the focus of the project and also the ethical considerations associated with the observation of service users from refugee communities. In consideration of these limitations, discussion within the thesis is mainly limited to the in-depth interview data. However, it remains important to acknowledge how the research was shaped and directed by my personal engagements and observations in the spaces and at these moments (Askew 2009).

4.6 Reflections on research practice

Within the context of the settlement sector and the not-for-profit or voluntary sector more broadly, I entered the research field as an outsider. Not working for an organisation involved in the settlement sector and without a background of working in not-for-profit or third sector organisations. This position produced both limitations and opportunities (Dwyer and Buckle 2009), both of which I felt were present at different

times and in different context over the duration of fieldwork, I will discuss this in the following sections and the ways in which this position was navigated.

While some potential participants may initially have been guarded, or acted in a particular way because they saw me as outside to the sector, this position also brought its own opportunities (Dwyer and Buckle 2009). The willingness of people to talk through their practices and decision-making processes, with clarity and patience, and perhaps reflection that may not be present within a conversation between experts, insiders, or those who hold the same experiences and knowledge of the sector. The willingness of participants to 'walk me through' the basics of their organisations, practices, and assumed knowledge (an unimaginable number of acronyms) was useful for this research in particular because of the different kinds of organisations involved. Indeed, while many organisations shared similarities (that emerged through interviews) as these organisations could be quite different, detailed explanation of organisational practices, activities, and norms was essential for capturing the organisations in the research, as sometimes they were singular or unique to particular organisations.

In spaces like the network meetings I attended in which there was a diversity of organisations and individuals present, my own position was less an outsider, and more an interested participant. Indeed, one commonality among the attendees of network meetings was a recognition of the importance of services that adequately cater for people from refugee backgrounds within local Australian communities and the difficulty of assuring this, something I shared with other attendees. My position as an interested researcher from The University of Melbourne gave me a useful organisational or institutional identity and legitimacy like others taking part in these meetings and forums. As the research progressed and I had engaged with more organisations, this outsider position was also shed somewhat, as I had knowledge of the sector, how it functions and importantly the barriers and difficulties commonly identified, to draw on and discuss.

My own personal experience of growing up and living in the local area was also extremely useful in navigating an outsider position and creating connection between myself and participants when working in the Maribyrnong area. While I cannot speak

for other locations, I felt that this was particularly (though perhaps not uniquely) useful in the context of the western suburbs of Melbourne which, because of its history as a working-class area and position as a place of industry (see Lack 1991) claims and presents an identity that is very different to other areas in Melbourne. Being familiar with the history and context of the area as well as the social changes occurring over the last several decades, and my own local knowledge, I was able to form connections with participants that otherwise may not have developed. Conversation flowed and connection grew smoothly when I knew local things including particular streets, suburbs, organisations, and shops that used to be present and when it emerged on a number of occasions, the fact that I supported the local Australian Football League (AFL) team (the only one in the western suburbs of Melbourne, and who won the premiership during the time I was conducting fieldwork). This also allowed me the position of an interested and perhaps at times concerned local, my interests and compassion positioned in the lives of the local area rather than in concerns over seemingly abstract policy outcomes or other more removed and less locally grounded concerns.

Another point of commonality I shared with participants, which overcame an outsider status and helped build rapport with participants, was an interest and investment in highly politicised issues of migration, refugee resettlement, and multiculturalism more broadly within Australia. I believe, and through interviews it became apparent, that many participants approached the interviews as an opportunity to discuss and advocate for the important work that is happening on the ground that is overlooked in narratives of migration and refugee settlement present to the Australian public, particularly through the federal government and mainstream media. In some instances, participants saw themselves as holding particular insight to the issues politicised regarding the migration and settlement of people from refugee backgrounds in Australia because of their work, and wished to share their knowledge and experiences for the betterment of refugee experiences in Australia.

Chapter 5. Bridging organisations

5.1 Introduction

Non-state organisations have been identified as playing an increasingly important role in the delivery and provision of social and welfare services through narratives of ‘filling the gap’ left by ‘roll-back’ neoliberalism (Brown 2003, p. 11; Mitchell 2001; Williams, Goodwin, and Cloke 2014), and through the emergence of a ‘shadow state’ apparatus (Trudeau 2008; Wolch 1990) in the context of post-welfare urban restructuring (DeVerteuil 2016, 2017). This chapter argues that the diverse organisations comprising the refugee settlement sector in Australia exceed these narratives. This chapter details the way organisations act to bridge the divide between communities from refugee backgrounds and the complex, fragmented, and messy mainstream welfare and social service sector within Australia through their daily practices and strategies. As such, non-state organisations are implicated in the tensions and politics of settlement and migration, as much as the broader economic and political context of the post-welfare state.

The settlement support services and programs funded by the federal government prioritise and focus upon a number of distinct outcomes for people from refugee backgrounds settling in Australia that should be accomplished or achieved as part of a ‘settlement process’. Predominantly the outcome prioritised by these services relates to people from refugee backgrounds reaching ‘independence’, a central attribute prioritised and valued in a neoliberal framework. Here, independence refers to not being involved with or reliant upon specialist settlement services and engaging with state departments, institutions, and social services through the same avenues as other Australians. Importantly, this means using ‘mainstream’ welfare and social services rather than what could be considered specialist services. This chapter shows that while this independence is a key goal, there is ongoing demand and need for assistance and support in accessing and engaging with these services and navigating the mainstream system. It shows the role of non-state organisations in providing this assistance and support to engage and access with other mainstream services, bringing into question the narrative of ‘independence’ present in state discourses of refugee settlement. The role of these organisations in providing this assistance and

support for people from refugee backgrounds to access mainstream services is both at the direct instruction of the federal government through program contracts and funding guidelines about what programs can and should deliver, and through the efforts and commitments of organisations that recognise the need for this kind of assistance for the wellbeing of their service users.

Section 5.2 of this chapter provides a critical overview of the services provided by the federal government to support people from refugee backgrounds after their arrival in Australia. It highlights the focus upon ‘independence’ present within the discourse and structuring of these programs and services. In doing so, it discusses the role and position of non-state organisations within this sector currently and throughout Australia’s history of settling migrants since its invasion and colonisation by the British, placing contemporary humanitarian settlers in the much broader context of migrant settlement in Australia. In section 5.3 the chapter moves to explore the programs and practices of the organisations who are delivering grants and tenders from the federal government or involved in the settlement sector more broadly. This section utilises the metaphor of ‘bridging’ (Herman and Yarwood 2015) to illuminate the work that organisations do to connect refugee migrants and mainstream services. It shows how organisations work to bridge the gap between refugee communities and the fragmented and administratively complex mainstream welfare service domain. Organisations facilitate this engagement through a range of programs and daily organisational and individual practices including through advocacy work, through programs that cultivate spaces in which refugee migrants and mainstream services meet, by placing individuals who have the skills and knowledge to mediate engagement with the service sector in the role of ‘transversal enabler’ (Wise 2009), and through strategies that overcome issues of physical and social accessibility. Considering the work that organisations do to bridge this gap detailed in section 5.3, the conclusion of this chapter presents a reflection on the characteristics of the perceived gap in the accessibility of mainstream services to people from refugee backgrounds.

5.2 Australia's settlement sector

The Australian government funds settlement support through two main programs, The Humanitarian Settlement Program⁹ (HSP), and the Settlement Grants Program (SGP), both overseen by the Department of Social Services (DSS). While administrated by the DSS, the HSP is delivered by 5 service providers (or service provider consortiums) across 11 'contract regions' that cover Australia. The service itself takes the form of a case management system, which 'assist[s] clients to build the skills and knowledge they need to become self-reliant and active members of our society' (Department of Social Services 2017a) and usually is available for 6-18 months. Table 2 (DIBP, 2017) presents a list of services provided through the HSP. Funding available for the organisations delivering the HSP is dependent upon the number of new humanitarian migrants settling in contract regions. Information about new arrivals is often communicated at short notice by the DIBP and often subject to change. This uncertainty has impacts on the hiring, planning, workload, and general running of organisations that deliver settlement service contracts and means that case workers are often managing a huge amount of cases at any one time. The uncertainty at the individual and organisational level, around the number and needs of service users and retaining contracts through funding cycles, contributes to what can be understood as an unstable sector whose main role, ironically, is to deliver services that establish certain forms of stability in the lives of service users.

Arrival reception and assistance
Help to find accommodation (short-term and long-term)
Property induction
An initial food package and start up pack of household goods
Orientation information and training
Help to register with Medicare, health services, Centrelink, banks and schools
Help to link with community and recreational programs.

Table 3. Examples of services administered through HSP (Department of Social Services 2017b)

⁹ The HSP came into effect on October 30th 2017, replacing the previous Humanitarian Settlement services (HSS) Programs. The new program is largely the same as the one which it replaced.

The second main federal service supporting the settlement of refugees is The Settlement Grants Program (SGP), a funding scheme through which organisations can apply for funding for services that focus on one of the settlement outcome areas of social participation, economic well-being, independence, personal well-being and community connectedness (Department of Social Services 2017b). Funded services take a wide range of forms with suggested services listed within the Program overview including case management or case coordination, group information sessions, homework support programs, computer training programs and more (Department of Social Services 2017b). Services funded through this program must adhere to guidelines around the kinds of services they can provide, the people who can use these services (including different eligibility for different visa holders, and the length of time people have been in Australia), and activity and financial reporting. Many of organisations who participated in the research were funded, at least for particular services, through the Settlement Grants Program. Community groups, ethnic or religious organisations, generalist charities, and a range of other kinds of organisations can receive settlement grants which are not limited to specific service providers in particular geographic regions like services under the HSP.

The current structure of settlement support programs funded by the federal government means organisations who deliver these services occupy a position between the state and the service user communities who engage with the services. Through these structures, the role and responsibility of organisations in this position involves the mediation and facilitation of interactions and relationships between the state and the refugee service user communities. More specifically a key role and responsibility of these organisations within this relationship is to bring refugee service user communities into relationships with the state's mainstream welfare and social service domain. This is a direct goal or outcome for these programs. A key outcome of Case management program (the primary service funded through the HSP) is service users accessing and engaging other (more specifically mainstream) social services. The DSS factsheet regarding the HSP and the role of case managers states this:

HSP case managers help clients to access other services or programs as required. HSP service providers play a leading role in settlement and related service coordination, developing collaborative working relationships and ensuring mainstream services are able to meet the specific needs of their clients.

The role of organisations in assisting and supporting refugee migrants to access and engage other services is further evidenced by the primary aim of the service as stated in the DSS factsheet regarding the HSP (Department of Social Services 2017a) which is to:

provide clients with the basic skills and knowledge that will allow them to independently access services, participate fully in the social and economic life of Australia, and continue their settlement journey beyond the HSP.

Furthermore, the Settlement Grants Program, the second major settlement support service funded by the federal government also emphasises organisations in this capacity, evidenced in the policy principals that guide work funded through the SGP (Figure 4.)

Settlement Grants Providers will:

- (1) work in communities to support responsive local services, build capacity and community connections, and create a welcoming environment and opportunities for new arrivals
- (2) work with individuals through the provision of casework services to connect them to mainstream services
- (3) promote access and equity by playing a brokerage and advocacy role with Government agencies on behalf of new communities.

(DSS grants for settlement services – service type overview)

Figure 4. Policy principals for Settlement Grants Program (DSS 2018)

The emphasis on linking to other services as a key part of these settlement programs and the importance placed on the capacity of refugee migrants to do so ‘independently’, makes it clear that this kind of administrative integration is seen to be an essential part of settlement for refugees in the eyes of the Australian state.

The current positioning of non-state organisations in the provision of support to migrants and those from refugee backgrounds and their complex relationship with the state is not unique to contemporary migration or governance contexts, with community organisations and charity groups (many ethno-specific) playing a central role in the

settlement of migrants ¹⁰ in Australia throughout its history. Migrant communities have always supported friends, family and fellow migrants from the same nation or ethnicity in settling in Australia through assistance in finding employment, accommodation and other necessities. This role was formalised by the introduction of the 'Grant-in-aid' scheme through which ethnic communities organisation could access funding from the department of immigration to provide services for new migrants to Australia (Klapdor, Coombs, and Bohm 2009). This resulted in the transformation of many ethnic social clubs and community groups into service providers and lobby groups (Cox 1983). This scheme allowed organisations to access funding for services and activities which supported new migrants in settling in Australia. Considering this history, the position of the non-state organisations in the role of delivering settlement support in Australia cannot simply be framed as a recent reaction to neoliberal restructuring of the welfare state.

The importance of individual caseworkers who take on advocacy roles (still the major component of federal settlement services through the HSP) is also not a new approach, or position, with the Commonwealth Department of Immigration employing social workers to work with migrants as advocates as early as 1949 (Bruer and Power 1993). While this initial approach by the government of the time was ceased in 1959, and understood to be understaffed for the amount of migrants entering Australia (Jordens 1997), the philosophy behind the provision of social workers, and their role in linking new migrants to other social services and government departments indicates that settlement has been understood and imagined in part as an administrative task by the Australia state for a considerable history.

While non-state organisations have had a role in the delivery of settlement services for some time now, broader political discourses regarding the structuring of welfare services in Australia, particularly tensions and discussions surrounding specialist versus universalist approaches, have shaped their role and capacity in this space. The needs of refugee migrants are understood through current policy and legislation to be distinct, and the existence of particular organisations which serve these social groups

¹⁰ All migrants not just refugees, reflecting that there was little distinction between the two categories for the majority of Australia's immigration history.

(and their provisioning by federal government) seem to indicate a specialist approach. However, their standing as specialist organisations is troubled when we consider the focus within these programs on linking refugees to mainstream universal services, the emphasis on people from refugee backgrounds becoming 'independent' as soon as possible, and the short time lines allowed for this. The next section of this chapter explores the ways in which organisations are involved in bringing service users into relationships with the mainstream social service system in Australia, the extent and importance of their work doing this, further complicating ideas around 'independence' and successful settlement in Australia.

5.3 Bridging the perceived gap

The position of non-state third sector organisations between service user communities and the structures of the welfare state, particularly those working in the migrant and refugee sectors, has been explored in a range of geographical work that this thesis draws from and contributes to. A commonality across much of this work has been the context or framework of neoliberal retraction of state involvement and funding of social and welfare services. While acknowledging the presence and influence of neoliberal logics on these organisations which can often be cast as 'filling the gaps' left by roll-back neoliberalism, this work has also highlighted the complexity of the position and roles that these non-state organisations play. For DeVerteuil (2017) these organisations function in an 'intermediary and mediating' role between service user communities and the state, 'smoothing the jagged edges of policy shifts and downward pressure to do more with less'. This builds upon Trudeau's (Trudeau and Veronis 2009, p. 1118) work that positions them as 'translation mechanisms', and observes that despite being seen in some instances to act 'within the goals of the state', organisations often find the capacity to 'translate' these goals in creative and perhaps innovative ways that mitigate their negative impact or allow for more affirmative outcomes. In a similar vein, Martin (2011) illuminates the work of non-state third sector organisations as a 'buffer' between migrant communities and state and market structures, mitigating the impacts (and precarity) of each, with particular reference to the labour market. This thesis draws on and furthers such conceptualisations of the generative role of these organisations that exist between service user communities

and structures of the state in the context of post welfare politics, and their capacity to act in ways alternate to a neoliberal casting.

Drawing on Herman and Yarwood's (2015) conceptualisation of 'bridging organisations' (referring to organisations that sit between 'civilian life' and the military in their work of military charities and organisations) this thesis approaches organisations within the settlement sector as playing a 'bridging' role, through which they bring people from refugee backgrounds into relationship with mainstream social welfare structures in Australia. More than simply 'filling the gap' left by the retraction of state services, a main role of these organisations is to link service users directly to established mainstream universalist welfare and social services. They act as a bridge which transverses the gap between service user communities and welfare state structures. While the work of these organisations is essential in making services accessible to people from refugee backgrounds, it is important to note that outsourcing the work of making state services accessible to non-state organisations, allows the state to maintain welfare structures in their current rigid and exclusionary format without considerable or meaningful adjustment to ensure the accessibility and adequacy of services for all social groups troubling claims of equal and universal access.

Across the organisations within this study, their role and capacity in assisting refugee services users in engaging with mainstream services ranged from informal information sharing and guidance, to more comprehensive and material roles in linking to these services. Through providing information about services, referral (both formal and informal) and advocacy activities, organisations are the point through which communities learn to navigate and actually gain access to and engage with the mainstream social service sector. The focus on engaging with welfare state services present within the practices of the organisations and sector more broadly, and which comes in part from immigration and refugee settlement policies and provisions from the state, also works to position engagement with welfare state structures as an essential step in the process of settlement and the formation of belonging and citizenship.

Engagement with service was also seen to be an indicator of 'social inclusion'. Within an Australian context, social inclusion most broadly refers to having the 'opportunity to participate fully in the life of our society' (Social Inclusion Board of Australia, in Silver 2010, p. 184) and importantly as Silver (2010) identifies, the feeling of being valued by that society. This understanding plays an important role in narratives of membership, belonging, and settlement and is prominent in discourses of multiculturalism in Australia (Silver 2010). The seriousness and importance of achieving this social inclusion is evidenced by the pervasive understanding present through state discourse and understandings of participating organisations of the consequences of particular individuals and social groups being excluded from society which include anti-social, criminal, and violent behaviour. Marika, a programs coordinator at VICSEG captured the importance of this bridging work of non-state organisations to the broader project of social inclusion. As she put it:

if the link or the bridge between the community and the mainstream service is not there and it's not genuine it's not going to work and the huge impact long term is disengagement of the community, marginalisation, petty crime, big crime How can you contribute to a society where you [...] weren't welcomed into society? (Marika, VICSEG)

While the rhetoric of social inclusion can be one that places the responsibility for being included on to the marginalised or excluded groups or individuals (Hage 1998), there was a recognition by participants, seen both in the above quote from Marika, and the following quote from Sylvia, that this marginalisation can stem from a service system that does not adequately respond to the needs and experiences of individuals:

it's not tailored to what people really need or want. And that's why there is high level of social disadvantage happening because [it is] very structured systemic support like "you get nine visits or nine sessions for this, this, this". And that disempowers people [...] these people are, some of them were lecturer back home, mathematicians and things, they come with the greatest skillsets and knowledge and experiences and then our settlement structure and support actually don't count those. Because it's very universally structured. And then by the time they go through that process, they feel their self-confidence goes down, they feel disempowered, [...] and that impacts their mental health and wellbeing that the other issues start emerging from there [...] family violence, the crimes, whatever happens. Yeah, so I think in terms of looking at government, I think we [are] not good at looking at the factors behind and addressing those before it starts.

We are good at looking at prevalence of all the crimes and the statistics and things, but not good at looking at why that is happening and how we can address it before it gets to [an extreme level]. (Sylvia, Dianella Health)

This narrative of disengagement, anti-social behaviour, criminality, and violence clearly gives impetus to the seriousness with which organisations understand their role in bridging the gap between people from refugee backgrounds, and the mainstream social welfare system. The remainder of this chapter explores the strategies and ways in which these organisations facilitate the engagement of refugee communities with welfare state structures and mainstream social services.

5.3.1 Spaces of engagement

The important role of organisation in directly and actively linking service user communities to welfare state structures was made most evident through programs and services across the sector that actively facilitate and create spaces in which refugee service users and welfare state structures come into contact and engagement occurs. VICSEG, an organisation primarily focussed on child and early years services, actively facilitate meetings between different services and members of their programs, in 'case conferencing' meetings which bring the numerous organisations working with particular service users into the same space. Ferne explained these meetings:

We have a critical role [...] in supporting the service system through our case planning mechanism that we've set up. So, we often take the formal role of setting up case conferences with workers, and often with families as well to ensure that everybody is on the same page. And that's become a really critical role. That's one that has been afforded to us by a particular focus of our service in providing supported referrals and [...] supported engagement with the services.

[case conference meetings have] become really important in the process, particularly in extremely complex situations where there's a lack of clarity about roles, where there's miscommunication about what's happening in the service system, uncertainty about visas, trauma, and I guess, the impact of migration itself, which is often presented in ways, for example, both physiological and psychological ways. (Ferne, VICSEG)

Within such meetings information is shared across organisations and departments, complex administrative and bureaucratic situations hopefully clarified, and future plans

for engagement with particular services and organisations decided upon. Ferne described the goals of VICSEG's role in case conferencing meetings:

it's really about developing a relationship between the families and the worker on one side of the bridge, and the families and the service system on the other side of the bridge. But highlighting particular critical issues that impact on the life chances, the life opportunities for families, such as community and family violence, such as access to education, such as the normalising experience of access to universal system. (Ferne, VICSEG)

Importantly, this quote highlights that within such meetings VICSEG plays an essential role as a bridge between families and the service system. Within the case conferencing meeting, VICSEG create spaces in which families are brought into direct contact and engagement with the universal service system within Australia. As the quote also highlights, engaging with the universal service system is a key experience of not only settling but living in Australia. Such a space facilitates enrolling people with refugee backgrounds into the institutional and organisational networks which comprise the social service sector within Australia.

The facilitation of similar direct connections are made as part of the Refugee Child Outreach program, run by Brotherhood of St Laurence and funded through the DSS. Through home visits and a case management approach the program directly connects newly arrived families with a range of family and child services:

The program is really about linking into early years services. So, it might be maternal child health, kindergarten, libraries, playgroups. It's quite broad.

We usually visit in the home, explain what [Family and early years services] are available to them, and then we'll set goals together and go through those goals.

It could just be a family that needs to know you know what's available for their kid when they're four years old, and then if they know about kindergarten what's the difference between that and child care and you know 'where's the closest one? What Centrelink do I need to apply [for]?'.

If there's significant concerns around parenting support or strategies, then we'd probably refer to Family Services, so it can be a good soft entry point in those circumstances. But a lot of it is linking to more sustainable community programs that will run for a longer duration of time. (Alicia, BSL)

Alicia explains the role can often involve actively making appointments on behalf of families, who may be '*just feeling completely overwhelmed with appointments*' by the sheer number of referrals and tasks involved in engaging with welfare state structures and services, not only those which focussed on child and early years:

sometimes for a family [making appointments on their behalf] might be necessary. You know, I've got a family at the moment who has two children with special needs under the age of ten, and then two other children as well, and sometimes you've got to look at a family's capacity and what's happening at that moment and go 'Okay, in this instance it's going to be [helpful] for me to do this as a one off for this family because they literally can't get to all these places and we need to do that right now'. (Alicia, BSL)

Through this approach, the refugee child outreach programs actively facilitate links between families with refugee backgrounds and a range of welfare state structures. The support in engaging with these services that the program provides also extends to volunteers that accompany families to appointments and other activities:

usually you'll have a volunteer matched to a particular family that will help them go to you know playgroup for the first time, kindergarten for the first time. And some of that is around practical orientation but the majority of that is around moral support. (Alicia, BSL)

The importance of bridging between welfare state structures and services, and refugee communities is materially clear in the 'Community Hubs' scheme running in the Hume local government area. The Community Hubs are designated facilities located on school campuses that provided dedicated space for programs and activities targeted at migrant and refugee families and communities. Elizabeth, from Hume City Council who act as the 'support agency' in the region, outlined the program's history in the Hume area:

[T]he model started here in Hume. A number of years ago. It was funded through 'Communities for Children' DSS grants. And then we had three-year pilot that was funded through the Scanlon Foundation, who's particularly interested in social cohesion, between Government and Federal Government. And they expanded the number of Community Hubs, and the focus was very much on early years. And then so from 2015 the Department of Social Services came in, and they're funding it now. So, it's a jointly funded program, so each hub gets \$20,000 a year from the Department of Social Services. They

put in \$20,000 from their school budget and Hume Council puts in \$10,000 and that's the agreement until June 2018. (Elizabeth, Hume CC)

Each Community Hub is managed by a 'Hub leader' who coordinates programs and activities. The hubs usually comprise of one or more multi-purpose classrooms, childcare or child-friendly spaces, and a kitchen. Elizabeth explained the diversity of uses of the hubs:

[the hubs] have a range of programs. So they might also have [...] English classes, or English conversation groups. It might be an English conversation playgroup or a craft group. It could be a pre-accredited English with childcare, or accredited. There's all sorts of models and each hub might have two, more than one. There's a lot of family support programs, like the Brotherhood of St Laurence might run a 'saviours' program. You could have parenting courses put on by Anglicare, so everything's done through partnerships for the delivery in the hub because they don't really have hardly any program money. Maternal and child health will [run programs at the hubs]. And there is also a lot of partnerships around vocational pathways, so training programs, children services, Certificate III or diplomas, could be education support, and they're delivered in the hub. (Elizabeth, Hume CC)

Through hosting diverse partner organisations who deliver programs in their facilities the Community Hubs act as a bridge between communities and services, creating space and opportunities for individuals, families, and communities with refugee backgrounds to engage with and access welfare state structures. The Community Hubs are physical and social spaces in which communities and social services come into contact with one another. Indeed, acting in this capacity - linking and connecting such communities to the social service system - is a key aim for the Community Hubs program. Elizabeth explained the strategic location of the hubs between the service system and the targeted migrant and refugee communities:

You've got a service system, and we've got a good universal system in maternal child health, preschools, but for some people they need additional things to access these universal and specialist programs. And I think that's the space that the hubs fill. So, they come in and they get, they're connected to the service system but through the route of the hubs. So, I think that that's something that they can, they can do, and they do well, because they are a friendly environment. And there's people there who can connect them to what they need,

so there's sort of like an intermediary. So instead of them having to negotiate the system *by themselves there's people there that will help them.* (Elizabeth, Hume CC)

Indeed, the role of Community Hubs in bridging communities with refugee backgrounds and welfare state structures is clearly outlined in the national program's statement of aims. The list of 7 aims includes :

- Connect families to existing support services including local education, health, community and settlement services, and;
- Break down barriers between support services and enhance coordination and collaboration, so service providers can effectively meet the needs of local families

Figure 5. Community Hubs Australia program aims (Community hubs Australia 2015)

5.3.2 Making services accessible

The capacity for hubs to meet these aims and to act as bridges between the communities and services system can be better understood by looking to ideas of accessibility in considerations of public services location. Previous literature has highlighted the highly uneven, rigid, and bounded geographies of service provision across many non-state sector organisations (DeVerteuil 2016). Primarily, accessibility has been conceptualised as a matter of the physical access of populations to the services need or want to use (Fincher and Iveson 2008). This physical accessibility is dependent upon geographic proximity, cost, time, and transportation (Dear, Wolch, and Wilton 1994). The location of Community Hubs on the grounds of primary schools, which parents visit multiple times a day, and their capacity to host multiple different services within their facilities speaks to the 'strategic co-location of services and the populations that use them' (Deverteuil 2015, p. 52) that has been identified as key to the accessibility and success of 'service-hubs' (neighbourhoods with high concentrations of human service organisations used by dependent local social groups):

Schools have a lot of potential because they're neighbourhood based, and you do find a lot of people that go to the hubs don't have transport, they can walk to the hub. And for those who are going to use that school or any school, it's a good introduction to the school

environment. And they might, they get to know the principal, the principal might pop in. So that breaks down huge barriers for them as well. (Elizabeth, Hume CC)

Community Hubs make other social services accessible, by providing resources for services to deliver outreach programs, information on what services are available and how to engage with them, referrals, mentoring, and emotional support. The facilitation of these services within the one location is a bridging of the service system and the communities they serve.

Furthermore, of particular importance is the role of the Community Hubs program in bridging the 'social distance' (Fincher and Iveson 2008, p.35) between communities and services. Social and cultural considerations are often overlooked or not explicitly linked to ideas of accessibility in work regarding public service locations (Fincher and Iveson 2008) despite the fact that a number of social determinants have been recognised as essential for service user engagement (Dear, Wolch, and Wilton 1994). Indeed, while not an issue of accessibility, the importance of more social aspects including the social networks of users, the relationships between services and users, and the relationships between the services within hubs are identified as contributing to their success and resilience (Dear, Wolch, and Wilton 1994). Fincher and Iveson (2008, p.35) call for an expansion of this narrow view of accessibility as simply a physical concern to include 'a sense of perceived closeness or ease of social access to facilities and services' and the 'perception of a welcoming attitude in the services in a place, or a sense of belonging and entitlement to them' (Fincher and Iveson 2008, p. 35):

one of the key things that hubs do is they have playgroups, so they have programs where migrant families might feel, have the, that they're more accessible. A playgroup is more inviting. There's a hub leader which is employed by the school three days a week and they have a really key role in building those relationships with the families and coordinating the programs. And that's a key, that's a real strength of the hubs, is the fact that it's a welcoming safe family friendly environment, so you find refugee mothers feel okay about going there and joining the playgroup. (Elizabeth, Hume CC)

Creating welcoming and inviting spaces through creating family and child friendly spaces and programs (as described in the quote above) and through the inclusion of

childcare services in many programs is a key way in which the Community Hubs program provides this 'welcoming attitude' as well as a sense of belonging and entitlement that might not be felt by these groups with other services. Indeed, the incorporation of these family focussed services (and the location of the hubs in school grounds) also speaks to Takahashi, Wiebe, and Rodriguez (2001) call for those involved in the provision of services (public and third sector alike) to understand and incorporate the daily routines and social networks of service users into organisational structure and practices in order to become better accessible and responsive to the needs of service user groups. Hub leaders are essential to creating the welcoming and supportive space of the Community Hub and to ensuring its capacity to get people engaged and enrolled into other services. These leaders act as facilitators, bringing people into the space and connecting them with other services. The role of the Hub leader exemplifies the active and direct role Hubs have in connecting people and services and the central importance of the welcoming and supportive space they help to create in doing this bridging work:

Referrals are a really big thing, because people they get to know the hub leader and they might start to talk about what the needs and the information they need for their family, they can point them in the right direction, help them, they might help them with an appointment or something like that, so that follow up and support is really important. Because what you find is without that relationship people don't follow up on [referrals]. So that support for doing things out in the community is really important for people to actually access those services. (Elizabeth, Hume CC)

5.3.3 The work of individuals

As the position of the hub leader in the Community Hubs program exemplifies, the work of bridging is often embodied or taken on by specific individuals in dedicated positions, volunteer roles, and by those responding to the needs they identify. Similar to the Hub leader, VICSEG also employ a playgroup leader for their family mentoring programs. What Ferne described as 'acknowledged community leaders' from the cultural communities involved in the program are employed to run meetings and programs for the community members:

they use that knowledge and skill to work both with their communities, provide them support around navigating the service system, but also

around informing the service system about the real needs of the community. The other thing is that they're also ... actually about learning a lot about how the system functions, and the values that inform the system. But also the values that inform the way in which the system works with the community as well. (Ferne, VICSEG)

The central role of these leaders in assisting others in engaging and navigating the service system is supported by the training and preparation of these leaders for such positions which focusses on building knowledge and familiarity with the service system in order to aide others in their engagement with these services:

firstly, there's a training program, there's a mutual training program, I have to say, where I have introduced the [community leaders] to the service system, and we've actually gone around and spoken to the service system representatives and got to know them really well, both individually and collectively through membership of various networks. (Ferne, VICSEG)

While not necessarily a key part of their position, numerous workers with refugee or migrant backgrounds reflected on how their shared experiences and connections with cultural communities combined with their knowledge of the service system is as asset in allowing them to bridge or facilitate engagement between service users and the service system. As this exchange shows:

Rosina: when I started [this job] I was saying... 'Oh my God, I used to do this job before I start working here'. I said 'I would never thought I would get paid for something I always do'. It's because it's me!

Isla: And you were helping community [before you got the job], but in the role we are helping everyone else not only our own community.

Rosina: How good is that!? Yeah.

Thea: A big job but seems fairly fulfilling if you can do that then.

Isla: It is satisfying. Sometimes with immigration you have to wait for the outcome for a while. But when you see families reunited there's no payment for that. Or when you see that you assisted with housing application or something like that and they got appropriate housing because of disability or of some other issue.

- Rosina: 'Because she did the application for me, go to her, she's good'
- Isla: When you see the outcome, when you see that your work contributed to the change for better in their lives...
- Thea: And it seems to be things that really wouldn't happen unless you were there to help
- Isla: Unless they were guided through the process or assisted through the processes, yeah.

The role of particular individuals with knowledge and ties to the refugee and cultural communities and their knowledge of the social service system in Australia shares similarities with the position of 'transversal enabler', identified by Amanda Wise (2009, p. 21), as essential to facilitating positive intercultural encounters. Key figures in what Wise (2009) coins 'quotidian transversality' (a concept itself drawing upon Yuval-Davis (1994, 1999), and Cockburn (1998) work on transversal politics), transversal enablers use their knowledge of different cultural and social (and in this case institutional contexts, and experiences navigating these) to facilitate engagement build relationships across difference. The knowledge and skills possessed by these individuals is termed 'bridging capital' by Noble (2009, p. 55), who draws upon Putnam's (2000) theorisation of social capital. While the role of hub leaders, family mentors, and workers with links to service user communities who facilitate engagement between these communities and mainstream social service system are not necessarily transversing different cultures, they play an important intermediary role between different social structures and norms. The formalising of this role in a number of organisations also speaks to Hewitt's (2016) assessment of the value of the formalisation of this assistance in dedicated positions in institutions like schools.

An example of the formalisation of this role within the refugee settlement sector space is the Refugee Health Nurse Program (now the Refugee Health Program) within Victoria. While providing primary health services to refugee patient these positions also fill the role of 'health navigator' (Phillips et al. 2017), a position emerging across a number of health care contexts whose primary role is to assist patients to navigate and engage with multiple different health services, giving patients a single access point to complex healthcare networks (Valaitis et al. 2017).

5.3.4 Advocacy work

Another important way in which many organisations and programs help refugee services users engage with or access welfare state structures is the use of referrals and advocacy practices. The advocacy work undertaken by these organisations can be understood as case advocacy, as opposed to class advocacy (though many organisations also practice forms of class advocacy) a distinction commonly drawn in social work literature (Baker and Davis 2017). Case advocacy, Baker and Davis (2017, p. 5) explain, ‘commonly involves representing claimants in their interactions with street-level organisations, providing information about their rights and entitlements, and teaching skills so that they can advocate on their own behalf’. This resonates with the concept of street-level bureaucracy developed by Lipsky (1980). This kind of case advocacy work is undertaken as both a formal part of programs, and quite often in a more informal sense with workers providing help and advice when they could or when they saw it was essential and not available elsewhere. For Sophia at Foundation House, a counselling services for victims of torture and trauma, this kind of advocacy work is part and parcel of working closely with service users from refugee backgrounds, and though it may not be what the service is directed at, it is important to their everyday practice and interactions with service users and broader aims of the service:

Whilst we don’t case manage and that’s not our role, where it is beneficial for the therapeutic relationship, we do take on a bit of advocacy work

We do just day-to-day housing advocacy, advocacy with getting access to services. Centrelink is probably a big one because there’s always problems with Centrelink, and just even getting a little win like that helps a client feels heard and understood. (Sophia, Foundation house)

David from Edmund Rice Community and Refugee services (ERCR) also described the support in linking to other services that occurs around their more formal education and mentoring programs:

So, it’s a casual support, like if a family call us, they need help with this, mainly the families that have their children registered with us, and

we find out if it's something that we can do, or if it's something that we can refer to another agency to do. So we work closely with [organisation with which they share office space with] here, if it's something that needs financial support, we'll refer them here, for financial advice, if it's something that needs housing we'll look for somebody in housing department, so that's the support we do. (David ERCR)

Through advocacy roles, both formally and informally, the everyday practices of organisations and individual workers is shaped around engaging service users with mainstream welfare state structures. The focus on engaging with welfare state structures, and the need for assistance in doing this is exemplified by Addison from the Maribyrnong library service who described the service's growing involvement with Centrelink, and the tailoring of their own English and computer skills classes targeted as newly arrived communities in order to facilitate the Centrelink's (DSS) new online engagement and service delivery approach:

We've been having conversations with [Centrelink] because [their services] is becoming very much, it's being devolved out of the kind of the bureaucratic sphere and it's becoming much more end user based. It's having a big impact on people who just don't know how to go about navigating the websites, because they're really difficult. And if you haven't got computer literacy you're really behind the eight ball. So, we talk with Centrelink about 'how can we kind of facilitate better access?', so we're looking at training, having specific training modules on [...] how to apply for a working with children's card, all those kinds of things. (Addison, Maribyrnong library service)

As this quote shows, the everyday practices of the library service in providing support to refugee communities is shaped and changed by the need to engage with mainstream services and the difficulty in doing so.

As the quotes presented in this section have suggested, this kind of active involvement in linking refugee communities with welfare state structures, (further than it being prioritised in contracts and funding arrangements from the federal government) in a large part arises from the recognition of the difficulty of engaging with such services and managing relationships with them because of complex bureaucratic and institutional structures, and the widely acknowledged inadequacy of the service system to cater for the needs of culturally and linguistically diverse (CALD)

communities more broadly, and refugee communities in particular. Indeed, the work of organisations through advocacy and other means also indicates a gap between refugee communities and welfare state structures, that without the specialised and dedicated help of another organisation to bridge this, means such services cannot be successfully accessed by some communities. The difficulty in this relationship between communities and welfare state structures was summarised by Ferne:

I really think that our service system really struggles to work with these communities. And these communities actually struggle to work with the service system too. (Ferne, VICSEG)

Recognising the difficulty of accessing social services for refugee communities, and further trying to bridge the gap between these two things, is a major consideration of many organisations and services working to equip service users with the appropriate skills and knowledge to engage, access, and what is widely conceived as 'navigate' the mainstream social service. Such a focus comes from the knowledge that dealing with social service system is an expected part of settlement, and that the mainstream service system is necessarily difficult to engage with, and often not equipped to accommodate the diverse needs of different social groups including those newly arrived to the country or from CALD backgrounds. Indeed, even the term 'navigate' that was widely used by many organisations during interviews indicates that this engagement requires an informed and considered approach and is not straight forward or simple.

The importance of learning how to navigate and engage with different social service systems as part of settlement, was part of the impetus and inspiration behind the welcome events that Dianella Health, a community health provider, hold for newly arrived groups in the Hume area. Sylvia recounted this thinking through her engagement with one particular newly arrived family:

one family I met got nine referrals. One, they don't know the language, and then they got nine referrals and they don't have enough information and knowledge about why they need to go to nine different services within 2 weeks or 3 weeks time. How to get there, where those strange places are [...] And then we thought if we build the group of people with the right skills and knowledge, they speak the same language, understand, come from same community context, and that would be really good for the people when they just come in

rather than going to the stranger, like someone go and introduce them, you know that 'I also come from that part of Syria' or that part of Iraq, and speaks their language and then put into the same cultural context [...] they still need to do that nine referrals but I think that gives the different set of [capacities] to navigate the systems with. (Sylvia, Dianella Health)

Engaging with individuals who share migration experiences but have been in Australia for a longer period of time are an important resource through which more recently arrived groups learn to navigate and engage with other services available. As such, it is evident that such bridging organisations are essential to refugee communities and also to the mainstream social service system. Indeed, these organisations also are repositories of knowledge about communities for welfare structures. Marika from VICSEG described this whilst discussing what she sees as the mistake in centralising services as losing an 'arm' to the community:

when I was the President of the Turkish Women's Association in Victoria I thought that the ethno-specific organisations at that time did play a bridge between their community, 'cause they establish credibility, and then the mainstream services, and VICSEGs role is very much like that. A bridge and link to a mainstream service and to a community through somebody that's similar to them, that gets them.

centralising services was a huge mistake because they centralise the service but they didn't put any arms to join the central to the community, if that makes any sense.

So this is the central service, who are the arms that makes the connection to the central service? It's very well having a central service, and also it loses that local knowledge. (Marika, VICSEG)

Indeed, the role of these organisations in providing a connection to the service user communities for mainstream services was highlighted by Isla from Migrant Resource Centre North-West, and further illustrates the role of these organisation as bridging this divide:

So that often happens in the sector that more mainstream services have monetary capacity, financial capacity, but they have no contact with clients or communities. So we do have that contact, so we literally get the clients, engage the clients, into particular activity, that they have the funding to run. (Isla, MRC NW)

As this section has shown, the advocacy work undertaken by organisations and individuals is often essential in linking services users with other forms of assistance including mainstream services both through formal and informal ways, and is an often overlooked part of their work.

5.4 Conclusion

By examining the practices of non-state organisations positioned between refugee communities and the Australian state, we can begin to understand the underlying assumptions and conceptualisations that inform and shape the settlement sector. These assumptions and conceptualisations have very real implications for the everyday lives of refugee migrants in Australia, and intimately shape the boundaries of citizenship. The practices of organisations described in this chapter can be understood broadly to create space and opportunities for refugee service users to link to and access mainstream social and welfare service systems; through these practices organisations act as bridges spanning a perceived gap between refugee migrants and the complex mainstream social and welfare service system in Australia. While the perceived gap that organisations bridge is not neatly defined (or indeed static), certain characteristics can help us understand it, and the position of organisations within this space. On one side of this gap, through the programs and services described previously in this chapter, refugee migrants are framed as having complex and extensive needs (stemming from the refugee experience) including urgent physical and psychological needs. These needs are perceived as requiring intense and coordinated engagement and management from multiple services. The intense, comprehensive, and fast acting web of referrals and appointments to health services, psychological services, and more, set up and fielded by case managers as ‘the’ priority after arrival is indicative of this. The anecdotes of families receiving 9 referrals for appointments in 2 weeks (section 5.3.4 of this chapter), of the importance of refugee nurse programs, and coordinated engagement with multiple services emphasise this conceptualisation of refugee migrants as having urgent and specific physical and psychological needs (and also reflects the medicalisation of refugee experiences identified in Australian policy and through academic literature across a range of disciplines emerging from Australia, see Marlowe 2009).

Refugee migrants are broadly approached as having relatively limited mobility, facing challenges like no access to a car or vehicle and difficulty navigating public transport systems (further compounded by the need for a vehicle to access public transport in many of the outer suburban areas in which refugee populations settle). We can see this through the rationale and philosophy behind and success of the Community Hubs program present in Hume and the co-location of services (especially within locations like schools that are already a part of many people's everyday routines). Indeed, the account of the Community Hubs program in the Hume local government area (and now expanded to 61 Hubs across 11 Local government areas around Australia) presented in section 5.3.1 exemplifies this clearly. Capacity to access or engage mainstream services by refugee migrants is conceptualised by organisations to be the result of a lack of social networks and capital that is a key way knowledge of many 'mainstream' social and welfare services is passed to citizens. Indeed, the use of and need for those described as 'transversal enablers' in section 5.3.3 evidences this, their role primarily to provide service users with important but informal social contacts to pass on knowledge and advice. Such individuals are also important in their capacity to inform and translate social and cultural norms regarding interactions with the service sector, bringing their own knowledge and experience and filling gaps in individuals' social network through which this information is often learnt.

On the other side of this perceived gap is the mainstream social and welfare system in Australia that, through the practices of organisations, we can see is understood to be complex and spatially and administratively fragmented. Again, the use and success of Community Hubs and the co-location of services, as well as the use of strategies like case conference meetings (discussed in section 5.3.1) are indicative of this. The complexity and messiness of the sector is the result of both the marketisation of services which means a wide range of organisations populate the sector competing for government tenders and contracts, as well as residual and historical understanding about where the responsibility for providing social support for migrant groups lies. Organisations themselves recognise this messy terrain, evidenced by the advocacy work they do for clients and in facilitating a range of services in one location, through service hubs and case conferencing and similar kinds of collaborative meetings. Indeed, the complex and shifting nature of the sector is further evidenced by the importance and prevalence of network or forum meetings (often facilitated by local

governments or other larger service providers), in which service providers and other important groups including representatives from federal welfare and social services meet to exchange information, news, and updates, collaborating on new strategies and approaches. Through a focus on assisting individuals to navigate and negotiate the service sector, organisations recognise the complex, arduous, and bureaucratic nature of accessing and engaging services, and the importance of appropriate assistance to cut through these barriers to accessing services.

To return to Herman and Yarwood's (2015) metaphor of bridging, at one side of the gap we have a social group who have specific and urgent needs yet have limited capacity to access services because of limited mobility and limited social networks they can draw on to access services and support. On the other side is a social and welfare system that is spatially and administratively fragmented, ill-equipped to deal with cultural and language differences and that often can only be accessed through layers of bureaucracy and that runs through compliance demands that require users to perform and prove their need for support. Organisations are positioned between refugee communities and the structure of the welfare state and are able to recognise the incompatibility and distance between these sides. Through the provision of spaces, access and advocacy, organisations bridge this divide by making settlement and settlement services accessible and attainable.

This chapter reveals the ways that particular narratives and tensions in humanitarian migration and settlement travel through and co-construct non-state organisations. As organisations where the tension of universal services and everyday stresses of settlement intersect and are worked out, the logic of a residual welfare state is encircled by the cultural, social and political imperatives of immigration and settlement. While often cast as filling the gaps left by neoliberal governance, this chapter foregrounds the important role that non-state organisations play in making welfare and social services amenable to the process and practice of humanitarian settlement and the lives of people from refugee backgrounds during this time.

While the explicit aim of the Australian state, through its settlement services, is to make refugee migrants 'independent' as soon as possible after arrival in Australia, this research troubles this focus or claim to independence showing how the current

structures rely on the bridging work of non-state, organisations who provide sustained support to people from refugee backgrounds to be able to access mainstream social and welfare services. Furthermore, this chapter shows the way in which the focus on connecting refugee communities to mainstream services is imagined as a key step in the settlement process, a framing visible in policies, contracts, and guidelines regarding the funding and delivery of settlement services from federal government. Establishing relationships with welfare state structures, then, is positioned as an essential feature of successful settlement in Australia for refugee and humanitarian migrants. This focus contributes to the construction of 'settlement' as a distinct process that follows a particular trajectory, and importantly reveals the extent to which settlement is an administrative task which relies upon learning to be an administrative citizen in the eyes of the state. Notably, the outcome of this first step in settlement (being connected to welfare state structures) seems contradictory to the independence that is valued in narratives and imaginaries of both successful settlement and citizenship within Australia (discussed further in Chapter 6).

The use of these organisations to feed into mainstream services, and the positioning of engagement with mainstream services as an achievement of settlement, means the state does not have to change its existing format of welfare provision in major ways. Indeed, the core or mainstream can remain in its rigid and exclusionary format, while the labour of making such things accessible to groups like refugees occurs at the margins, by organisations tangentially engaged with the state but who increasingly hold the responsibility for this work. The next chapter of this thesis moves to discuss the work of non-state organisation in shaping the boundaries of citizenship for people from refugee backgrounds in Australia.

Chapter 6. Organisations and frameworks of ordinary citizenship

6.1 Introduction

This chapter explores the position of settlement sector organisations as key sites of citizenship formation for refugee migrants in Australian society. To do so, the chapter engages with Staeheli et al.'s (2012) conceptualisation of 'ordinary citizenship' to illustrate the ways in which organisations in the settlement sector are involved in shaping the frameworks of citizenship in Australia through which individuals become members of the polity.

Conceptualisations of citizenship that have dominated scholarly thinking have tended to position citizenship as either a legal status (prioritising legal and formal aspects or concerns), or as a position in regard to the polity (prioritising the more substantive, social and everyday aspects of membership) (Staeheli et al. 2012). Ordinary citizenship as a conceptual framework, does not follow this dichotomy, rather approaching both legal and substantive aspects as essential in citizenship. Ordinary citizenship 'entwines legal status, norms, and systems of rule, with the everyday and the unremarkable' (Staeheli et al. 2012, p. 640), constituting what Staeheli et al. (2012) refer to as an 'ordering framework' that determines the boundaries of citizenship. This ordering framework comprises legal and formal frameworks of citizenship in any given state, normative understandings of citizenship which are sedimented in these formal frameworks, and the everyday substantive experiences of citizenship, which together regulate the boundaries of citizenship (Staeheli et al. 2012).

As a concept, 'ordinary citizenship' moves away from static and abstract definitions, to engage and approach citizenship as a 'fluid and flexible' (Taylor and Wilson 2004, in Neveu 2015, p. 89) concept that must be approached contextually, and which is not located solely in the legal, national, institutional, or otherwise official scale. This conceptualisation is useful to understand the role of organisations, positioned between the state and civil society within the settlement sector in shaping citizenship frameworks in Australia, and it is this view of citizenship that this chapter employs in its discussions of membership and citizenship. In attending to the 'assemblage of law,

norms, and everyday life' as the concept of ordinary citizenship requires, Staeheli et al. (2012, p. 635) argue 'we are forced to recognise the simultaneity and diversity of the relationships and processes that structure citizenship'. This chapter highlights the ways in which organisations are positioned and act within the 'relationships and processes' that structure citizenship in Australia.

While the role of third sector and civil society organisations in citizenship formation has been recognised (Mitchell 2001; Trudeau 2012) empirical work focussing on refugee communities has tended to focus on the spread of neoliberal influences and values, through state devolution and the rise of a shadow state apparatus within the contexts of North America (Mitchell 2001; Lake and Newman 2002) and the UK (Fyfe and Milligan 2003a). Trudeau's (2012) work in Minneapolis-St. Paul is a notable exception, exploring the work of organisations in contributing to national (and to an extent in the US, neoliberalised) narratives of citizenship as well as alternative visions of citizenship, illustrating the way different normative conceptualisations of citizenship are simultaneously present in these organisations, making visible the diversity of 'relationships and processes' (Staeheli et al. 2012, p.635) that structure citizenship. Following Trudeau (2012), I argue for the importance of recognising the role settlement sector organisations play in citizenship formation, and their position navigating and negotiating different frameworks and conceptualisations of citizenship that travel through public and political discourses. This chapter departs from a focus on settlement processes to more explicitly examine the nature and extent of the work of organisations in citizenship formation in the context of the Australian settlement sector landscape, including the norms and rules which shape and structure citizenship. Indeed, it shows the ways in which the national and local context are integral to the formation of citizenship and inclusion in civil society and how these are practised, and challenged, by such organisations.

Like other western liberal democracies, neoliberal values have been institutionalised in the structures through which citizenship is constructed and accessed in Australia. Identifiable more broadly in welfare and social services, this chapter argues that these values are also clearly prioritised in the federal government's settlement services. Yet, while these primarily economic framings and values may structure the state's approach to constructing and defining citizenship, at the same time social and cultural

understandings of what it means to belong in Australia, including settler colonialism and paranoid nationalism, intersect with and shape the way citizenship in Australia is structured and constructed. Recognising its dynamic and contextual nature, citizenship in Australia is constructed through the intersection of these (and other) normative understandings of belonging in Australia. Organisations and the programs and services they provide are important spaces in which these understandings intersect (Staeheli et al. 2012). Conceptualisations of citizenship that approach the formal and substantive aspects of citizenship as separate and not intimately enmeshed, overlook the importance of civil society organisations in citizenship, as spaces in which we can see the interplay and overlap between formal and political scales and everyday life.

This chapter explores the role of organisations in citizenship formation through two areas of focus prominent in imaginaries of ‘successful settlement’ and prioritised in federally funded settlement programs; employment, and English language skills. These focus areas are informed and underpinned by normative conceptualisations of belonging in Australia, prioritising certain attributes and performances as essential to achieving this belonging. By looking at the practices of organisations regarding these focus areas the chapter shows the way organisations simultaneously enact and expand normative conceptualisations structuring Australian citizenship. Through these practices organisations are important actors in Staeheli et al.’s (2012) ‘ordering framework’ through which the boundaries of citizenship are constituted and formed. This points to the potentiality of organisations to influence this ordering framework, and influence the boundaries of citizenship in Australia.

Section 6.2 engages with the focus on employment and financial independence for refugee migrants to Australia. It begins with an exploration of the policy frameworks surrounding employment as a key settlement goal, highlighting specific normative approaches to citizenship that underlie this policy framework and broader political discourse regarding refugees and ideas of belonging in Australia, specifically the influence of neoliberal logics. Section 6.2.1 looks at how the goal of employment is pursued through programs and services that focus upon ‘employability skills’. This illustrates how the reported practices of organisations can reinforce a neoliberalised conceptualisation of citizenship which prioritises independence and economic self-

sufficiency. Following this, the chapter turns to how the reported practices of organisations may also challenge or expand the rigid scripting of successful settlement, and ultimately shape the ordering framework through which the boundaries of citizenship are formed. Section 6.2.2 explores the ways in which organisations are able to reveal the ‘unspoken’ expectations and assumptions that act as barriers to employment for people from refugee backgrounds. Section 6.2.3 then indicates how the practices of organisations are able to expand the possible entry points to employment through mentoring programs and through programs that focus on fostering social networks and connections. In section 6.2.4 rigid conceptualisations of settlement and citizenship are demonstrated to be further challenged by the practices and approaches of organisations that recognise (and foster) the diverse career aspirations of individuals, rather than viewing employment as simply a compliance demand. Bringing this section together, I argue for a nuanced approach to the work of non-state organisations in citizenship formation that allows their complex position to be comprehended (Section 6.2.5).

Section 6.3 turns to English language proficiency, closely related to employment and employability, as a key area of focus for settlement services. It begins by examining the central position that English language has in imaginaries of Australian national identity, informed through its colonial history and policy legacy still felt today. This focus, the section contends, is informed by and reflects settler colonial constructions of Australian society and membership to this society. Section 6.3.1 explores the way in which the federal government’s primary English language service, the Adult Migrant English Program (AMEP), reflects these settler colonial constructions. From here, section 6.3.2 turns to look at the practices of organisations within this sector regarding the acquisition of language skills through the programs they run. It discusses the ways in which organisations incorporate English language skills into all their programming, not just language classes. In doing so organisations actively expand the opportunities and contexts in which participants can speak and interact in English, troubling the linear and inflexible way in which English language learning is offered through federal settlement policy. Indeed, section 6.3.2 argues that beyond processes of neoliberalism, in troubling this construction through their daily practices, organisations are also troubling the ordering framework of citizenship, unsettling (if only in certain spaces and temporalities) the position of settler colonial attitudes (reflective of a

paranoid nationalism) in defining who can be conceived as a member of Australian society.

6.2 Employment and financial independence

Employment holds an important place in understandings of successful settlement of refugees in Australia. It is prioritised as a key outcome for the settlement period and a marker of 'integration' into Australian society in government interpretations. This is emphasised directly in a range of policy documents that guide settlement policy, and in the information and resources given to refugee migrants, and organisations working with refugee migrants settling in Australia. This section will explore the ways in which a focus on employment and financial independence is present within narratives of settlement and citizenship in Australia and importantly, reveal the ways in which non-state organisations both engage with this focus, and at the same time foster alternative conceptualisations of citizenship and belonging that challenge a focus on employment and financial independence as indicators of successful settlement.

The Humanitarian Settlement Program (HSP), which is the federal government's program that provides direct support for people arriving in Australia on Humanitarian Visas for the first 18 months after their arrival, identifies 'Employment' as one of 9 key 'Settlement outcomes' (Figure 6.) around which their services are focussed, positioning it as a key priority to be addressed and achieved as soon as possible after arrival in Australia (Department of Social Services 2018a). Indeed, as a key settlement outcome in the HSP, '*Employment*' and the related outcomes of '*Education and Training*' and '*Managing Money*', are positioned alongside the other and perhaps more fundamental and urgent needs of obtaining secure and appropriate '*Housing*' and addressing '*Physical and Mental health and well-being*' (Department of Social Services 2018a). Despite the prioritisation of employment as an urgent settlement need, as indicated by its positioning as a key settlement outcome, the commitment to achieving this outcome is troubled when we understand that the support provided through the HSP to meet this outcome takes the form of a referral to a *Jobactive*¹¹

¹¹ Jobactive is the employment service funded by the Australian federal government. The service is linked with the receipt of welfare benefits. Depending on age and circumstances, there are 'Mutual obligation' requirements for participation in the services including applying

provider. Such providers offer no specialist support for clients with refugee backgrounds (Tahiri 2017). The appropriateness and effectiveness of the *Jobactive* system for refugee migrants has been critiqued by Tahiri (2017), who detail the barriers to employment ‘cased or made worse by... the *Jobactive* program’ including the ‘lack of specialised services... inappropriate compliance obligations and implications,... [and] inappropriate work for the dole placements’. This is further evidenced by the work Curry, Smedley, and Lenette (2017) based in regional Australia, who highlight the ‘inability’ of employment services to meet the needs of jobseekers from refugee backgrounds in a regional setting.

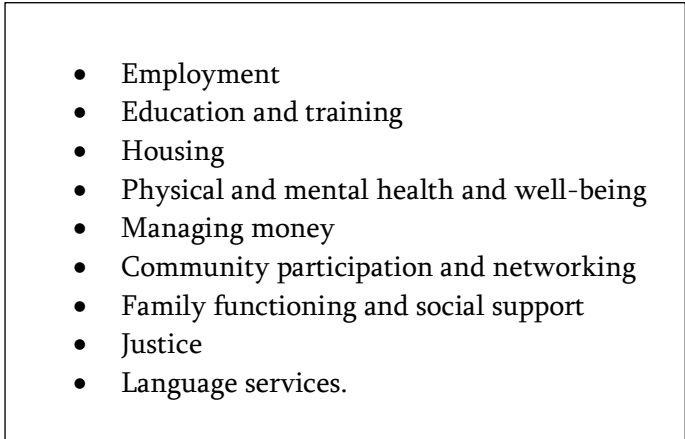
- 
- Employment
 - Education and training
 - Housing
 - Physical and mental health and well-being
 - Managing money
 - Community participation and networking
 - Family functioning and social support
 - Justice
 - Language services.

Figure 6. HSP Settlement Outcomes (DSS 2017a)

for a minimum number of jobs each month, and attending a certain number of meetings with providers (Department of Education Skills and Employment 2020)

Similar areas of focus that relate to the quick acquisition of employment and more broadly economic participation, are also featured as ‘key outcomes’¹² for the federal government’s other main settlement assistance program *Settlement Grants Program* (SGP) presented in Figure 7. The outcomes of ‘*Economic well-being*’ and ‘*Independence*’ clearly have economic implications and meanings, with the programs that target these outcomes revolving around employment (Department of Social Services 2018a).

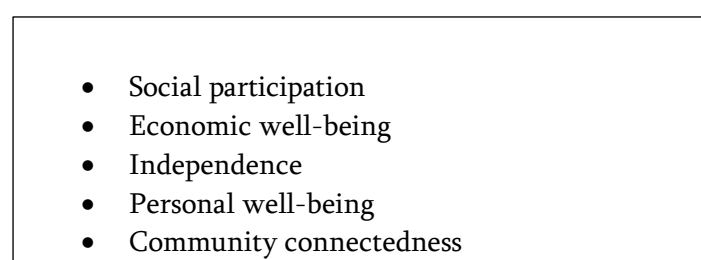
- 
- Social participation
 - Economic well-being
 - Independence
 - Personal well-being
 - Community connectedness

Figure 7. SGP Key Outcomes (DSS 2018)

Case management programs, which are one kind of program that can be delivered under the SGP funding, focus largely on employment. This is evidenced by the list of suggested casework services that can be provided under this funding framework as outlined in the *Settlement Grants Program Service Type Overview* document (Department of Social Services 2018a), with upwards of half the listed services relating to employment and economic productivity (Figure 8).

¹² It is important to note that these ‘settlement outcomes’ which are used across a number of settlement related policy and evaluation documents etc. are systematic measures used only by the government and sector in interacting with the government. A report by the Australian Survey Research Group showed that people with refugee experiences do not conceptualise or measure a distinct period of settlement in this way, meaning these outcomes are not devised by people from refugee background or reflective of their experiences.

- Advice, information and support to explore training options
- Advice, information and support to explore employment opportunities
- Developing partnerships with employment providers and employers who can assist eligible clients to become 'job ready' through training, and/or work experience or other job readiness activities
- Developing partnerships with technical colleges and other educational institutions that can help clients move into the Australian workforce, strengthen vocational English, get their skills recognised, prepare job applications, participate in training and other job-readiness activities

Figure 8. Casework services eligible under the SGP with focus on employment and economic productivity (DSS 2018)

Employment, and the economic participation and contributions of refugees are used as measures of 'successful' settlement, and to legitimise the presence and settlement of humanitarian migrants in Australia. The 2011 Department of Immigration and Citizenship's report (the government department in charge of immigration at the time) *A Significant Contribution: Economic, Social and Civic contributions of first and second generation humanitarian entrants* (2011) authored by Graeme Hugo provides one example. This is the only longitudinal and multi-generational study on settlement conducted in partnership with the government on these issues. While considering social and civic contributions the report is heavily framed around economic contributions of humanitarian migrants. Reports like this, which centre economic contributions (often understood through labour force participation) position the legitimacy of such populations within Australia (their claim to be here and the rights associated) in their capacity to be economically productive. This understanding marginalises such groups, firmly placing them at the periphery of Australia's cultural and social landscape. This understanding flourishes in government rhetoric and policy, and public discourse, despite claims that Australia is a multicultural nation in which cultural groups all have the same social position and opportunities.

The federal government's approach to employment for people from refugee backgrounds presents a narrative of commitment to assisting people from refugee backgrounds to find employment through the funding of settlement services, and a

recognition of the contributions of refugee migrants to Australia. However, informal and far less welcoming narratives regarding the presence of people from refugee backgrounds in Australia also circulate in the political and public discourse influencing the context in which settlement sector organisations work. Such narratives undermine the legitimacy of people from refugee backgrounds in Australian society, and also the moral and personal values of these individuals themselves. A common claim regarding refugees, and more broadly non-citizens living in Australia, is that they take jobs that would otherwise be filled by ‘native’ (read white) Australians, who by virtue of being born here, or their citizenship status, are somehow more deserving of employment. Such a narrative stand at odds with statistics regarding which industries refugee migrants work in, and in contradiction to the logic informing the focus on attracting migrants to fill specific labour shortages that has characterised a large component of Australia’s immigration program throughout history and through which Australia is able to maintain economic growth (Jupp 2002). This narrative, and the contradiction on which it is based, is illustrated by comments made in 2016 by the then minister for immigration Peter Dutton, in which he remarked that refugees were a ‘burden on the Australian economy’ (Doherty 2017), claiming that:

many [refugees], they won’t be, you know, numerate or literate in their own language, let alone English. These people would be taking Australian jobs, there’s no question about that [...]. For many of them that would be unemployed, they would languish in unemployment queues and on Medicare and the rest of it so there would be huge cost and there’s no sense in sugar-coating that, that’s the scenario.

This is one example in a sustained discourse furthered by Australian governments under both major parties. While often done in slightly more subtle ways, this discourse positions refugees as a ‘burden’, having no legitimate place in Australian society unless they can contribute economically. They are also seen as a burden if they are taking job opportunities away from deserving Australian citizens.

The growing body of literature in Australia and elsewhere that looks at the experiences of people with refugee backgrounds shows that being unable to find paid employment is a major impact not only on economic security, but on a range of other issues (Abur and Spaaij 2016; Curry, Smedley, and Lenette 2017). Considering its importance in discussions like this and in the life experiences of people with refugee backgrounds,

issues of refugee employment have gained attention in research. Work by Colic-Peisker (2003) identifies a 'segmented' labour market for refugees, with refugees falling into a number of employment niches including cleaning, aged care, meat processing, labouring, and driving taxis. In this segmented market, the 'least desirable' or bottom level jobs are allocated to refugee migrants who are visibly different, highlighting the magnitude of discrimination faced by refugees seeking work. Hugo et al. (2011) show the non-recognition of previous qualifications and work experience results in 'occupational skidding' in which refugees are not employed in jobs commensurate with their ability and skills, a situation most significantly attributed to discrimination in the labour force. More broadly the conversation about the 'success' (or failure) of refugee settlement is framed and discussed in terms of employment figures for refugee migrants. This fits with wider discourses about humanitarian migration to Australia that are almost always framed in terms of economic cost/benefit equation and highlight things like potential tax revenue and labour force increases.

Relatedly, a key part of the dominant narrative regarding refugee resettlement is the emphasis surrounding refugee migrants becoming 'financially independent' (or at least not financially dependent on the state) as soon as possible after arrival. Such a focus reflects a conceptualisation of citizenship which positions economic participation as a key responsibility that must be upheld to access the rights conferred to citizens. The attitude that migrants should become 'self-reliant' as soon as possible after arrival is again not a recent idea within Australia. Immigration to Australia since European invasion and colonisation has been used primarily as a tool to expand the labour force and grow the nation's economy (Jupp 2002). Through this lens, migrants have always been positioned as a source of labour, ideally being economically productive from their arrival and not reliant on government welfare services (Jupp 2002). The Galbally report into migrant services undertaken in 1978, which is widely recognised as the formal institutionalisation of multiculturalism in Australia (Cox 1983), also reflected this, contending that migrants 'should become self-reliant quickly' and suggested that 'self-help' through ethno-specific organisations, and not the federal or state government, should be encouraged (Jupp 2002).

The link between employment, economic participation, and belonging is not limited only to refugees or migrants, with employment and financial independence regarded

as a key value of citizenship in liberal western states (Marston and Staeheli 1994). Understood as a relationship between the individual and the state that exists through a range of 'rights and responsibilities', self-reliance (conceptualised as being employed and financially independent from the state) is a key 'responsibility' attached to citizenship (Marston and Staeheli 1994). The rights associated with citizenship cannot be accessed or enacted unless these responsibilities are upheld. This responsibility of citizenship can be better understood as the responsibility not to be a burden on others (including society or the state) (Staeheli 2003) through being a 'productive' member of society. Here productivity refers to economic productivity rather than other ways in which individuals contribute to any given society. The importance of this understanding of citizenship can be seen in Australia by looking at the ways in which the social and welfare systems are structured and run. While visible across the social and welfare systems, issues regarding income support, as well as workfare programs, are key areas in which the link between economic productivity and citizenship can be identified (Marston and Mitchell 2004).

Focusing on economic participation and self-sufficiency as well as the value of migrants to Australia based on their potential to contribute to the Australian economy clearly reflects a neoliberal approach to conceptualising citizenship in Australia. Indeed, much recent attention has been paid to the ways in which neoliberal values influence and shape formal and legal structures of citizenship, especially in western liberal welfare states. As Trudeau (2012, p.443) explains, in such formations of citizenship the neoliberal values of 'individualism, economic self-sufficiency, and competitiveness [are] characteristics that are integral for belonging in the national polity'. Individuals must perform and align themselves with such values in order to gain and maintain the position of inclusion. Such formations draw on an understanding of citizenship as a relationship of 'rights and responsibilities' (Marston and Mitchell 2004). Under a neoliberal construction, responsibilities of citizens centre on participation in the market and on independence, namely financial independence from the state (Trudeau 2012).

6.2.1 Building 'employability skills'

Considering the prominent narratives equating employment to successful settlement and the funding of several organisations through the SPG which prioritises this outcome, much of the participating organisations' programming is focussed on employment and related issues. This work largely focusses on 'job readiness', 'employability skills' and building the social and cultural capital and knowledge of job markets and employment cultures and norms in Australia. As such, many organisations, responding to both their contracts and funding terms, as well as the needs expressed by their service-user communities, provide programs and services that focus on building knowledge of workplaces and workplace cultures including preparing resumes, and providing job interview experience. 'Employability' has been a guiding concept in the restructuring of welfare systems around a welfare-to-work or *Workfare* system in many liberal democratic states (Peck and Theodore 2000) and has been identified as a neoliberal tactic which individualises the responsibility of joblessness on to unemployed persons and conceives the causes of unemployment 'in individualistic and behavioural terms' (Peck and Theodore 2000, p. 729). A focus on the individual development of 'employability skills' as the main way in which employment is addressed in settlement organisations, positions a lack of knowledge and familiarity with such skills, as the primary barrier to refugees becoming employed, obscuring other structural barriers that have been identified including discrimination and racism (Castles 1998; Colic-Peisker and Tilbury 2007; Hugo et al. 2011). As these skills are largely culturally coded, the development and learning of them can be seen as a way to address cultural incompatibilities. At the same time as this neoliberal logic or narrative of the individualisation of responsibility is reflected in organisations and their programming, the next section shows that organisations have other effects, which challenge this rigid scripting. A neoliberalist logic cannot capture the nuance and diversity of the practices and performances in these spaces. Using ordinary citizenship as a lens, these alternative outcomes are visible.

6.2.2 Revealing unspoken rules and barriers

One major area of focus within programs that are concerned with employability skills is building knowledge and familiarity with the Job market and employment cultures in Australia. Michelle from the BSL employment program Pathways explained this focus

on introducing people to the job market in Australia which was common across many organisations:

We do group workshops around employment preparation, readiness, talking about Australian workplace culture, really kind of giving people a bit of induction into what it's like to work in Australia and what you need to set up in order to be able to do so. (Michelle, BSL)

Such sessions, as described in the above quote, include information on administrative tasks including: preparing a CV, attaining tax file numbers, preparing job applications. They also focus on more social and cultural aspects including: how to perform well at a job interview, and expectations regarding workplace cultures. As the quote above, and this approach more broadly implies, being able to work in Australia is reliant on a familiarity and competency with these kinds of 'everyday' practices. Indeed, not being aware of these norms and practices is understood to be a barrier to getting a job within Australia. While this approach targets the behaviours of individuals, such programs through their attention to social and cultural norms, can be seen to be revealing or illuminating the otherwise unspoken necessities of employment in Australia, and providing ways to overcome them. The work that organisations do in revealing these unspoken and assumed impenetrable barriers to getting a job was made clear and further described by Mariam from Sutherland Adult Education who explained her organisation's approach to what they call the 'rules of the game':

we call it 'rules of the game' and there's even things that aren't explicit. There's unspoken rules of the game. So, if you go for an interview there's unspoken cultural rules of our game that, ... it's like when you travel in a different culture and do things that you don't know are wrong, but you've just stepped in it and you wouldn't know because it's all unspoken. It's very similar for our students who have never done a job interview before. Some of our students didn't know what a job interview was for, and when we started practicing they thought it was like a Centrelink interview. So they said, you know, I said, 'Why have you come here today?' And then their answers would be things like, 'Because Centrelink told me to come,' rather than the 'rules of the game' is actually prove that you're the best for the job. So yeah there's a lot of groundwork in that sense of supporting the students to understand the cultural context. (Mariam, Sutherland Adult Education)

In speaking these otherwise unspoken 'rules', organisations like this aim to make employment and the job market accessible, in ways that are not prioritised or taken seriously by other services, specifically *Jobactive* providers. While these programs can be seen to be an induction, or introduction to employability skills, this approach is not based on the assumption that individuals from refugee backgrounds do not have knowledge or capacities around these skills, rather that the rules and expectations around how they may be practised and expressed in different employment contexts may be different.

This kind of approach, which gives name to the otherwise unspoken rules and assumptions and which emphasises their cultural specificity, also highlights the somewhat superficial or at least flexible nature of the social and cultural norms that dictate these interactions. Presenting them as the rules of a larger game, Sutherland Adult Education shows that these things can be identified, learned, and perhaps manipulated, and that they and the employment opportunities that rely on them, can conceivably be accessed and achieved by all. This further unsettles a normatively neoliberal conceptualisation which presents cultural incompatibility and individual deficiencies as the reason for unemployment:

we talk about the different [taken for granted norms and skills] in different cultures and then we just say, 'Look if you want to win the game here, in some ways, these are the rules that can be followed. You don't have to follow them, but we know from experience the outcome is going to be you're successful in negotiating these systems and structures if you follow these certain rules.' (Mariam, Sutherland Adult Education)

While the focus on employability skills and cultural differences can be seen as an individualist and behaviour based approach to unemployment that reflects neoliberal framings, the practices of organisations can, at the same time, go some way in pushing back against this normatively neoliberal framing. Indeed, many programs also showed an awareness or recognition that service users already had these skills, that it is not a lack of personal skills that makes it difficult to find work:

We're assuming that people are coming to us with, and we are seeing the people coming to us with so much knowledge and expertise. And so it's not about us saying 'Okay, this is how we do things', and it's

about saying 'You've got all of this. We just need to be here alongside you to help you feel more...'. (Michelle, BSL)

Such an approach, while sitting in a larger employability/empowerment framing, does not conform to the conceptualisation that unemployment is the result of an individuals' lack of knowledge or skill. Rather, it reinforces the problem as one of transferring, and perhaps translating, skills so they can be acknowledged and recognised in a new and different employment setting.

6.2.3 Expanding possible entry points to employment

Programs like those discussed above are perhaps the only opportunities that service users have to learn these skills, as family, friends, and social networks may not be in the position (in the Australian job market) to facilitate this learning. Importantly, through mentor relationships, service users can gain the social and cultural capital and personal networks that assist in gaining employment and which can be drawn on to act as referees or informally for advice:

The other thing that we do is mentoring ... So this can either happen one-on-one with staff within the program, or else we also use ... volunteers to work one-on-one or with a small group as well. So basically with that, it would be around providing one-on-one or small group support to young people, again to kind of step them through what are their goals and what do they need to do to kind of achieve them. (Olivia, BSL)

In placing service users in direct contact with mentors to facilitate employment, professional, and social networks, organisations are actively expanding the ways in which people from refugee backgrounds can gain access to employment. Michelle, from the BSL Youth Settlement Employment program expanded on the importance of these networks to actually finding employment for people with refugee backgrounds:

And a big part of it is we kind of talk about with participants is that it's so often said you get your first job with someone you know, and we kind of appreciate that when you've recently arrived somewhere your networks are a lot smaller, so a big part of what we're doing is trying to build people's networks as well. Which is often how they do find their jobs. (Michelle, BSL)

Such mentoring programs run by many organisations recognise that getting a job can often be more an outcome of the informal ‘who you know’ relationships than through learning, accomplishing, and exhibiting soft employability skills, or through the structured and impersonal workfare system practised through a *Jobactive* provider. Indeed, this challenges the narrative that it is a lack of awareness and knowledge about Australian workplace cultures and the soft skills that are associated with them, that are the most prominent barrier to refugees becoming employed.

6.2.4 Recognising employment aspirations

While employability skills are conceived as universal, employment focussed programs offered by organisations within this study recognise the diversity of employment aspirations amongst people from refugee backgrounds. Through their programs, organisations approach these choices as part of a career building process rather than a stop gap measure intended to get individuals off income support and meet a vague ‘employment’ as settlement outcome. Targeting young people from refugee and migrant backgrounds, the Futures Club, part of the BSLs Jobs Club, recognises the diversity of these aspirations and capabilities and tries to meet this with a diversity of information about career pathways:

As part of our Futures Club we do what we would call industry tasters where we look at getting young people exposed to the different job and career opportunities there are. So often it might be looking at what young people in the program have an interest in and getting exposure to that industry to learn about what are the career pathways into that work? Or sometimes it’s about exposing people to something maybe they had never thought about before and what the different opportunities there are, and what would be the educational pathway to get work in that area? (Michelle, BSL)

Such an approach sees young people not simply as unemployed, but as individuals with unique interests. Furthermore, it approaches these interests as a basis for developing a pathway into the workforce, and employment as an extension of these interests rather than solely a compliance with expectations regarding settlement and workfare policy. Indeed, this approach recognises people from refugee backgrounds as more than a burden on the state who have a personal responsibility to find employment in order to resolve this burden, as they are positioned through colonial

and populist discourses that circulate in Australia. Rather, it approaches them as members of a society whose goals and aspirations should be realised and supported with training and education. It uncouples them from an economic framing which only sees them as individuals who either contribute to the economy, or who are a burden on the economy.

6.2.5 Complicating the importance of employment

At the same time as many programs prioritise employability skills that further the construction of labour force participation and unemployment as a personal individual responsibility, organisations in their everyday practices offer alternatives to this narrative. Through employment focussed programs discussed in this section, organisations reveal and illuminate the otherwise hidden and unspoken social and cultural norms and practices that are assumed to be essential to showing employability and finding employment in the Australian job market. Organisations also recognise the importance of social employment networks through mentorship programs which expand the opportunities and access points through which people from refugee backgrounds can enter employment, recognising that employment is often about 'who you know' and providing individuals with spaces and connections to expand this. Furthermore, these employment focussed programs are spaces which recognise the unique interests and motivations of service users with refugee backgrounds, and approach employment not simply as a compliance demand or as achieving a 'settlement outcome' as defined by the federal government, but as an important life choice and part of a career path. This recognises people from refugee backgrounds as individuals, not simply framing them as either an economic burden or an economic contribution as more neoliberal conceptualisations may. In looking at what else organisations are doing in the spaces of employment focussed programs we can see that these narratives of neoliberalisation, and liberalism that are sedimented and circulate through government policy and through wider public and political discourse are not complete. Indeed, looking only to these narratives to understand the everyday of the groundwork that organisations do misses a diversity of other outcomes and possibilities.

Understanding more clearly the complexity of organisations' position in citizenship formation challenges the conceptualisations of such organisations in some geographic literature as simply filling the gaps left by a rolled back and neoliberalised state. Indeed, in looking at the ways in which different forces intersect and play out in the daily practices and programs of these organisations we can see that they play a more complex role, on one hand reinforcing neoliberal values through the areas on which they focus, but also challenging the narrative of neoliberalism as a complete project, and its singularity in shaping organisations and institutions like citizenship. Notably this discussion highlights the importance of seeing settlement sector organisations (third sector more broadly) as important spaces of citizenship formation, through their daily and sometimes mundane practices.

6.3 English Language

Intimately related to issues of employment and to conceptualisations of the successful settlement of people from refugee backgrounds is English language proficiency. The dominant narrative of successful refugee settlement which is constructed and maintained through federal government policy and discourse, positions the ability to speak English as the first and most important step in the settlement process, a step on which the rest of settlement is dependent, and more broadly through which social inclusion is achieved. The relationship between English language and employment goes further than simply being a practicality of the workplace. English and employment are tied together in an equation that is perceived to equate to successful settlement. Achieving these two interrelated outcomes, through this construction, is indicative of successful settlement and positioned as key to membership of the Australian society. The Adult Migrant English Program (AMEP), a key settlement service funded by the federal government since 1948 and continuing today, specifies the importance of English and employment for successful settlement in Australia. The key aim of AMEP is described as helping migrants and humanitarian entrants to 'learn foundation English language and settlement skills to enable them to participate socially and economically in Australian society' (Department of Education and Training 2018). This directly links English language skills to economic and social participation, and thus 'successful settlement'. As discussed in the chapter, other forces including Australia's settler-colonial history and resulting racialised imaginaries of Australian national

identity also contribute to the importance of English language as a marker and measure of membership and belonging.

A continuing legacy of Australia's history of invasion and colonisation by the British, English language holds an important position in Australian national identity. As Hage (2003) argues, Australian national identity has been constructed and maintained by emphasising and enshrining what are perceived as cultural ties and similarities with Great Britain, often described as the 'values' that inform Australian society. Belonging in Australia relies on the acceptance and practice of such 'values' which are positioned as distinctly Australian (Hage 2003). Such a 'national myth' (Hage 2003) is fuelled, Hage (2003) claims, by a distinct paranoia that the ties between Australia and Great Britain, and thus the legitimacy and power of Australia in the Asia Pacific region, could at any time be lost. Within such a paranoid understanding of national identity and legitimacy, English language is grouped or entangled with such values, understood as an essential in structuring Australian society and a marker of belonging citizenship.

The importance of English language as a key component of national identity continues today despite the diversity of Australian society and the political project of multiculturalism over the last 5 decades (Colic-Peisker and Hlavac 2014; Wise 2005). The introduction of multiculturalism did not change or necessarily challenge the imagined cultural landscape of Australia, with white Australians still occupying the centre or core, and other cultures and ethnicities remaining at the periphery of this landscape (Hage 2003). Within multicultural rhetoric, English language does not simply tie Australia to its colonial past but is also imagined to tie Australia's otherwise diverse inhabitants together, positioned as a unifying 'common ground' between diverse Australians (McNamara 2009b, 2009a).

Literature on multiculturalism in Australia has argued that the central role of English in immigration and citizenship policy is evidence of its importance to national belonging (Wise 2005; Hage 2003, 1998). Language testing as part of the immigration processes was introduced with the White Australia Policy in 1902 and still remains a component of immigration policy today with most visa streams requiring a certain level of English proficiency to be eligible (Colic-Peisker and Hlavac 2014). The relationship between English language and national belonging is nowhere more apparent or evident as in

the citizenship test, introduced in 2007 as a new component of the requirements for attaining formal Australian citizenship (McNamara 2009b). While the citizenship test is not presented as a test of English language proficiency, the level of proficiency, particularly regarding reading comprehension, that is required to complete the test (specifically in understanding the information booklet on which the test questions are based) is far and above that of 'basic knowledge' of English as is legislated in the Citizenship Act (McNamara 2009b). As such, formal Australian citizenship remains out of reach for 'basic users' of English (McNamara 2009b). Within this lies an assumption that individuals who do not speak English can never fully participate in society and would not 'integrate' into Australian society (Jupp 2002). It also relies on the assumption that civil society only occurs through English, anything else being marginal and minority (Jupp 2002). Such an assumption prevails despite the fact that 21% of Australian residents speak a language other than English at home with more than 300 separate identifiable languages spoken across Australian households (Australian Bureau of Statistics 2016). Such settler colonial conceptualisations on Australian citizenship are still influential today, visible in policy and broader public discourse.

6.3.1 English language learning and the AMEP

In response to the emphasis placed on the acquisition of English language being the first and most important step in the settlement process, the federal government provides English classes to all eligible migrants through the Adult Migrant English Program (AMEP). The AMEP is central in settlement support services for humanitarian migrants, further evidencing the assumed importance of English language to settlement and inclusion within the Australian society. This is not a new focus, with English language services included in settlement support services for migrants for many decades now. The AMEP, established as early as 1948, remains the keystone English service for migrants to Australia. The AMEP is explicitly framed around settlement in Australia, its purpose described as to help migrants 'learn foundation English language and settlement skills to enable them to participate socially and economically in Australian society' (Department of Education and Training 2017).

Through the AMEP those holding permanent residence (as well as those who hold a number of temporary visas) receive 510 hours of English language tuition through an accredited provider, with eligible individuals able to access further classes under two sub-programs. Individuals must register for the AMEP within 6 months of arrival in Australia and must commence within 12 months of arrival. The AMEP must be completed within 5 years and individuals must exit the AMEP when they reach the end of these 510 hours. Participants become ineligible to continue the program¹³ once they attain the proficiency level of 'functional English' ¹⁴ (Acil Allen Consulting 2015). The AMEP is largely undertaken as a full-time course with 20 hours a week the minimum full-time commitment. Part time, as well as distance and self-guided online education options are available through some providers. Through the sub-program the Special Preparatory Program (SPP), humanitarian entrants can be eligible for up to 400 extra hours of tuition if they are 25 or under and have 7 years or less of schooling, or for individuals over the age of 25 and who have had 'difficult pre-migration experiences including torture and trauma' (Acil Allen Consulting 2015).

13 In 2018 the program AMEP extend was introduced which allows 490 hours of extra tuition for individuals who do not reach functional English after their 510 hour entitlement

14 This is a proficiency level taken from 'The International Second Language Proficiency Ratings' (ISLPR) on which AMEP assessment is based.

English language learning through the AMEP is evidently tightly regulated and bound, limited to strict timelines and opportunities for learning. Provision of the AMEP through the universal cap of 510 hours is not responsive to the different needs of individuals in learning English. As a key finding of the 2015 evaluation of the AMEP highlights, the issue is not ‘whether 510 is the right number of hours’ (Acil Allen Consulting 2015, p. xiv) but rather that in allocating English learning opportunities through this cap and not based on an assessment of the needs of individuals, there is an acceptance that some clients will not attain ‘functional English’. This is at odds with federal government discourse and settlement policy which emphasises the importance of learning English to achieve settlement outcomes and positions it as the first settlement outcome on which others rely. This is compounded by concerns that the curriculum is not appropriate for foundation level learning and for those with limited experience in formal educational settings (Acil Allen Consulting 2015). Indeed, the reliance of the AMEP program on class-room based delivery and multi-cohort classes limits the kind of spaces and opportunities in which participants have to engage in English language learning.

The AMEP teaching resources and curriculum illustrate the link between English and settlement. The AMEP is focussed on the period immediately after arrival in Australia, content relating to ‘settlement’ is ‘blended into AMEP tuition’ (Acil Allen Consulting 2015, p. 9) and is the context in which classes are framed and delivered. While different service providers construct individual teaching syllabus, the resources for AMEP home tutors illustrate the ways in which settlement outcomes and issues are the focus of what is an English language course with specific modules at each proficiency level covering particular aspects of ‘settlement’ including *Housing, Health, Money, Transport, Schooling* and somewhat more ambiguously *A New Life* which covers cultural and social norms of Australia (Department of Education and Training 2017). Progression through the curriculum is based on knowledge of these different areas, and the completion of different suggested worksheets and tasks that pertain to a range of topics like: *Australia’s History, Social Customs, Public Holidays, The Great Australian Dream, Home Ownership vs Renting, Neighbourhood Watch* (Department of Education and Training 2017). Within this framing, English language learning occurs through engaging with the conceptualisation of Australian society as presented in

these structured modules. It is through associations like this that English becomes equated with settlement in Australia.

English language retains its position as a key measure and indicator of membership and belonging in Australia through a range of frameworks including Australia's colonial and continuing paranoid nationalism, and contemporary Australia's commitment to multiculturalism. Such frameworks inform the ways in which English language is approached by organisations and through this, the conceptualisations of citizenship or membership in Australian society that are furthered.

6.3.2 Expanding opportunities and timelines

Because of the central importance of English to an imagined settlement trajectory, it is a major focus for many organisations, even those who are not primarily involved in education or English language teaching. The majority of participating organisations had some focus on facilitating English language learning, or practice, through their programs and services. This is informed by the understanding present across participating organisations that "language is the first main barrier, and then everything else" (Isla, MRC NW).

The opportunity to engage in English language conversation and practice was incorporated into the programming of many organisations. For example, Maribyrnong library service runs a 'conversation café' for community members to expand opportunities to speak English outside of more structured English classes. Marisa and Addison from the library service explained the success of the initiative which transforms the space of the library to a space in which English can be confidently and convivially practised:

Marisa: [Conversation Café take place on the main library floor] Because we want [it to be] open to everybody, so we want people to see and join at any time during the hour of conversation and it's open for them even after the hour, so it's a guided conversation for an hour. After that we kind of try to let them stay in the library to use the other resources, to keep talking with each other, and so it's been really successful. [...] we wanted to do it every week but that's constrained by the resources. We

decided to do two times a month, but thanks to the collaboration of the volunteers some of...

Addison: So, we're just doing it anyway.

Marisa: ...yeah, they are doing it anyway. So, they'll meet in the, because we do the first and the third Thursday of the month, and they are meeting also in the other two Thursdays of the month, so is really, it is working really well.

Through initiatives like the Conversation Café, everyday spaces are opened and activated as spaces of English language practice and learning, where it is accepted that individuals are in the process of learning English. This is a different setting from structured English classes, or the form that spaces like the public library might at other times take. Another example of organisations expanding the opportunities and timelines through which participants can learn and practice English language skills is Hume Community Hubs who run a number of social groups which focus on providing a space in which people can feel comfortable practising and interacting in English. These include English conversation playgroups, craft groups and other social activities across the hubs in the area that provide social settings through which participants interact in English. Dianella health facilitates social groups and particular activities and courses in which participants can practice English and expand their vocabulary. Dianella Health's healthy cooking classes run through their women's social group is a further example of this. As Sylvia explained:

the program is, cooking is a medium of learning so it's like we incorporate healthy cooking program into the English language class [...] it gives two benefits. One, they learn English and others it's [about] lifestyle, the health promotion because they learn about healthy eating as well.... It's simple and so [the facilitator is] teaching the healthy cooking or recipe in the same time and helping them to understand English as well.... the participants, they said they loved it because one it's a good social connection. (Sylvia, Dianella Health)

This program, as the quote explains, utilises cooking as a 'medium' through which English can be learnt and practised, incorporating the names of particular produce and cooking techniques in English and creating a space where this vocabulary can be learnt and used. Such programs provide different spaces for the learning and use of English, expanding the rigid and confined way in which English language learning can occur for people from refugee backgrounds.

Such opportunities expand upon the linear way English language skills and learning is structured through formal courses, recognition that these skills may not be learnt in 510 hours alone. The importance of this was identified by Mariam from Sutherland Adult Education who identified opportunities for participants to speak English outside of a classroom setting as a major barrier:

I think another barrier to what we're doing is a lack of opportunities for students to practice their English on an ongoing basis outside the classroom [...] So, unless students willingly engage in ongoing volunteering, it's very hard for many of our students to actually really practice, and they might go home and not speak English at all. That's I think a barrier to people, to the speed of their progress. (Mariam, Sutherland Adult Education)

Another example of the expanded way in which different settings and spaces are offered for the learning of English is in the 'Project Event class' run by Sutherland Adult Education. This is a semester long English class that takes the form of a project that students must plan, design, and run:

for example our Project Event class, we had the students run a health promotion event on the Richmond housing estate. So, during the course they came up with that idea and then they applied for roles in that project through actually going through an employment, like a structured employment, like a recruitment process. So, they submitted resumes and they did interviews with us for different positions, so volunteer positions. And then they worked as teams to promote and to organise and work with partner organisations to actually set up the health promotion day, and then they ran it. (Mariam, Sutherland Adult Education)

As this quote shows, programs like this expand the spaces in which students learn and use English, providing different contexts including job interviews, collaborating with others in workplace settings, indeed students take on a variety of roles in these programs that are not present in other approaches. English here is not limited to the 510 hours universal cap, indeed opportunities for learning are not capped by funding allocation, with pre-accredited English classes run by Sutherland Adult Education open for participants to enrol in multiple times, recognising the different timelines through which English language proficiency develops.

The time restrictions regarding when individuals must enrol and complete the AMEP and the weekly time commitments of the course create a rigid and inflexible structure that does not recognise the competing responsibilities and commitments that individuals have, including the needs of their children and other dependents and in finding and engaging in work. Indeed, the structure of the AMEP means many people cannot complete the course and also be engaged in work at the same time, with classes occurring during business hours (some providers have part time and night classes available however this is not consistent) (Acil Allen Consulting 2015). Recognising the competing demands and priorities of individuals' lives is an important aspect of Sutherland Adult Education's approach to fostering English language learning. Mariam explained:

I think we really need to know to understand people's contexts because they don't just turn up in class and that's it. There's so much going on in everyone's lives and so that's going to really have an influence on their learning. So yeah, I think with the intergenerational learning too we know that children perform better academically and their outcomes in terms of education and employment and social outcomes tend to be higher if their learning is supported at home. And because all the kids are learning in an English environment sometimes parents can't support as they would like to because of those barriers. It might be a barrier of actual English language literacy, oracy, or it might be a barrier of not understanding the systems and structures that the student is, the child is going to go into. (Mariam, Sutherland Adult Education)

The positioning of English language proficiency as the first step in a settlement process on which other outcomes rely, and as a marker and measure of membership and belonging in Australian society, reflects a limited settler colonialist conceptualisation of citizenship in Australia. Organisations providing settlement services to people from refugee backgrounds engage with this positioning, prioritising English language learning through a range of programs and practices that incorporate English learning as a focus. At the same time as an organisation's approach to English language learning is shaped by this conceptualisation of settlement and citizenship, through their everyday practices organisations have the capacity to push back against and provide an alternative to this narrative.

As shown in this chapter, Organisations are not limited to the same strict time regulations as those which surround the AMEP, offering ongoing opportunities to learn and practise English that can be more responsive to individuals' needs and not dictated by universal entitlements capped at a particular number of hours. Organisations were also able to provide different social settings in which English can be learned and used, expanding the linear way English language learning is structured through federal programs. Practices that recognise the limited structure of the AMEP, and provide expanded spaces, timelines and opportunities for people from refugee backgrounds to learn and practise English and which recognise the competing demands of individuals' lives, unsettle the normative positioning of English language as the first and most important barrier to settlement and the only avenue through which participation in society can occur. In unsettling these normative frameworks of citizenship, organisations' practices also have the potential to unsettle or push against the ordering framework of citizenship within Australia.

6.4 Conclusion

This chapter has illuminated the important role that settlement sector organisations play in citizenship formation for people from refugee backgrounds in Australia. It engages with the concept of ordinary citizenship, which understands the boundaries of citizenship to be circumscribed by the intersection and interaction of formal laws, policies, and normative frameworks that are sedimented in formal accounts of citizenship, public discourses, and everyday lives and experiences. This chapter has argued that organisations that provide settlement services to refugee migrants can be understood as key actors in this ordering framework of citizenship in Australia. Sitting between the formal state and shaped by its laws and policies, and civil society which plays out in everyday practices, these organisations illuminate the ways in which these different aspects are enmeshed and entwined in ways that structure and guide citizenship in Australia.

The concept of ordinary citizenship facilitates a way of understanding the formal and substantive elements of citizenship as occurring in and shaping everyday experiences. Highlighting the presence and influence of formal, legal, and institutional structures in daily life, civil society organisations in the settlement sector are shaped and influenced

by these structures, through the funding they receive, the programs they are contracted to deliver, and the gaps in needed services they identify and strive to fill. They are spaces in which we can see these structures, concerning membership and citizenship, influence the daily lives of service users, and everyday experiences of citizenship formation. The programs that populate the settlement sector can be understood to be part of the daily lives and routines of newly arrived refugees. These programs are structured around particular kinds and imaginaries of belonging, citizenship, and legitimacy regarding membership to Australian society. While these programs may be thoroughly everyday and perhaps mundane in what they do (writing CVs, using Job search websites, English literacy and numeracy) these practices themselves are informed by dominant narratives of citizenship and belonging in Australia.

This chapter has explored this in relation to two focus areas within the settlement sector: Employment and related financial independence, and English language proficiency. Entering paid employment as soon as possible after arrival in Australia is prioritised as a key goal and outcome through policy surrounding the settlement services provided to people recently arrived in Australia and is understood to be a signifier of 'successful settlement'. The emphasis on finding employment and attaining financial independence from the state reflects neoliberal normative conceptualisations of citizenship which frame individuals, particularly migrants, as either an asset or a burden to the economy. English language is a closely related focus area of settlement services and is positioned as the first and most important barrier to settlement and to participation in the Australian society more broadly. English language acquisition is addressed by the federal government, through an established English course (AMEP) that all migrants are entitled to access. However, this presents English as a static and bound linear trajectory. The focus on English, and the way it is addressed in settlement services is informed, this chapter has argued, by settler-colonial understandings of membership and citizenship in Australia, and reflective of a paranoid nationalism that fears losing ties to Great Britain and the West. In positioning English proficiency as the only way through which individuals can access employment and as a key indication of successful settlement and thus inclusion into Australian society, programs like the AMEP reinforce settler colonial understanding of Australian citizenship which place

legitimacy and belonging in ties to Great Britain and the West including through whiteness and English language skills.

Further than identifying the diverse and simultaneous conceptualisations of citizenship present in formal approaches to bringing refugee migrants into the Australian society through settlement services, this chapter has highlighted how the organisations that populate this settlement sector can trouble the restrictive and exclusive conceptualisations of citizenship through their position and practices. As section 6.2 showed, organisations, while focussing on fostering 'employability skills' for services users (a neoliberal intervention to workforce exclusion) are also able to foster alternative access to the workforce for people with refugee backgrounds. They are able to do this through programs that initiate social contacts and networks and which recognise that employment opportunities often come through personal contacts, an approach which works around forms of discrimination and disadvantage which may lock people out of finding work. Importantly, in building networks and social contacts these programs also seek objectives that extend beyond employment. Programs also trouble the positioning of employment as primarily a compliance demand or as a means to become an economic asset rather than burden on the state, as other conceptualisations present. Organisations do this through program approaches that engage with individuals as holding unique goals and aspirations surrounding employment, recognising these in approaches, and providing assistance to finding and entering employment.

Regarding English language as a focus area for settlement, organisations are able to expand conceptualisations of citizenship that link English language skills to membership and belonging. Government programs present a very temporally and spatially bound linear approach to opportunities to learn English through the AMEP. Organisations expand this approach by providing expanded and alternative settings, timelines, and contexts in which people from refugee backgrounds can speak, learn, and practise English, through programs that recognise the limited and bound offerings as part of federal settlement services. In expanding the normative conceptualisation of citizenship through their programs and practices, organisations can be understood, this chapter argues, to also be expanding the ordering framework that structures and regulates citizenship in Australia, and thus the boundaries of citizenship.

The organisational spaces in which these happen must be understood as spaces of citizenship. Ordinary citizenship as a concept allows us to see the ties between the formal and the everyday and to see these organisations as important spaces for citizenship (fluid and flexible and not necessarily a particular bound kind of citizenship) formation for refugee migrants. This complicates the often-described role of organisations simply filling the gaps left by the retraction of the neoliberal state. This chapter shows that organisations are deeply embedded in and circumscribed by the norms and rules of citizenship and belonging. They are immersed in every aspect of the ordinary articulation of citizenship: from contextualising the ‘rules of the game’ and Australian labour markets, to expanding employment pathways and opportunities for English language acquisition. While these processes are shaped by economic (often neoliberal) logics, organisations are necessarily embedded in the cultural, social and political processes of citizenship and belonging, as produced in the ordinary spaces of organisations where norms, policies, and everyday life intersect.

This chapter continues the thesis’ work in providing detail regarding the ways organisations navigate and negotiate diverse influences and rationalities in the complex and ‘messy’ sector in which they are positioned. Using the framework of ordinary citizenship challenges the extent to which we can see ‘neoliberal’ and ‘settler colonial’ values shaping what is considered citizenship within Australia. This expanded conceptualisation shows how such values are important to recognise as they structure the boundaries and norms of citizenship, shaping measures of successful settlement and filtering into expectations about the nature of work and time required to be ‘recognised’ as a citizen. However, as the chapter shows, ‘neoliberal’ and ‘settler-colonial’ values are not fixed but are subject to modification in the spaces, programs, and practices of settlement organisations. Indeed, the chapter shows that the existence of these values does not preclude other forms of citizenship and belonging being established. While chapters 5 and 6 have underscored the prevalence of ‘neoliberal’ and ‘settler-colonial’ values in settlement services provision and the norms of citizenship, the next chapter turns to care ethics, to consider whether and how services for migrants from refugee backgrounds and citizenship in settler colonial societies might be more meaningfully structured by organisations.

Chapter 7. Caring organisations

7.1 Introduction

The previous two empirical chapters illustrated how normative conceptualisation of Australian citizenship and belonging are bound and informed by both settler colonial values and by neoliberal ideals of citizenship. Importantly these chapters also illustrated how these frameworks are not absolute in their reach or influence. The capacity for organisations to provide alternative conceptualisations of citizenship that exceed both settler colonial and neoliberal frameworks suggests a capacity for an alternative ethic informing inclusion into the Australian society and the work of non-state organisations in the space of refugee resettlement in Australia. Recognising the potential for more caring organisations and bureaucracies as identified by Amin (2012), Smith (2005), and Baker and Davis (2017) amongst others, this chapter focusses on whether and how organisations are shaped by care ethics.

While Chapters 5 and 6 focussed on the practices of organisations in the planning and delivery of their programs and services, this chapter incorporates interview data regarding the values of organisations. Considering care can be understood as a practice and a moral and ethical standpoint, and considering the inseparability of practices and values in conceptualisations of a feminist ethic of care, this chapter engages with both the values and the practices of these organisations as reported by participants, understanding them to be intimately linked (though not entirely bound or limited to one another). Values are both those that could be considered formal values of the organisations including those explicitly listed or highlighted in organisational publications and other outputs and materials, as well as those that research participants recognised in their experiences of organisational cultures, structures, and practices and identified as informing the work of organisations.

Within the values and practices of these organisations care ethics are in a constant relationship of negotiation and compromise with other guiding logics both complementary and contradictory. The relationships, contracts, and tenders that some organisations enter into with different levels of government and other funding organisations or bodies prioritise particular outcomes and practices. Resultantly,

pervasive assumptions about what ‘successful’ settlement looks like and what a productive and thus deserving member of society entails also circulate within and influence the priorities, values, and practices of these organisations. Whilst prescriptive and exclusionary logics persist as influential forces within the sector, through expressions of a relational social ontology, and attentiveness to the particularities of individuals’ lives and needs, a care ethic can be identified as a present and influential force within the values and practices of organisations providing services and programs of support to humanitarian migrants in Melbourne.

A feminist ethic of care is a moral and ethical standpoint that can structure society, institutions and everyday relations (Tronto 1993). From this understanding, care is defined as ‘everything we do to maintain our world so we may live in it as well as possible’ (Fisher and Tronto 1990, p. 40), and the wellbeing of others positioned as its central concern. This ethic understands all people to give and receive care in a myriad ways over the life course and to be enmeshed in a diverse range of relationships of care (Barnett 2005). Moving away from bounded and deterministic understanding of care, a feminist ethic of care argues that care is a social good, occurring in and through the public and not confined to familial or domestic relationships and contexts as is normatively understood. As an ethical standpoint and a social good, a feminist ethic of care can inform and structure the values and actions of governments, institutions, organisations, and individuals. In identifying key elements of an ethic of care in the practices and values of organisations in the settlement sector this chapter argues that these organisations encompass a feminist ethic of care through these approaches and practices (not to preclude other ethical influences and values that also circulate in these organisations and their practices – as have been highlighted in Chapter 6 of this thesis).

Section 7.2 focusses on relationality and the relational social ontology upon which a feminist ethic of care is structured. This conceptualisation of care understands individuals to be always already enmeshed and suspended in a complex network of social relationships over the life course through which care is given and received. This relational social ontology positions individuals as interdependent, the wellbeing and capacities of individuals emerging through social relationships. This section identifies the ways in which practices and values of organisations expressed through their

programs, recognise and are attentive to this relational conceptualisation of subjectivity. It argues that programs that foster and provide opportunities to forge social relationships for people from refugee backgrounds reflect a recognition of the interdependence of individuals and the importance of cultivating relationships as a social resource essential for wellbeing. It then moves to explore the ways in which organisations are attentive to the networks of social relationships that surround the individuals they work with, reflecting an understanding of the relationships, commitments, and responsibilities that shape and inform individuals, their actions, and daily lives.

Section 7.3 explores the ways in which organisations are attentive to the grounded particularities of the needs of individuals. This includes recognising the position of individuals in broader social, economic, and political structures and the needs that arise from this positioning. It begins by identifying the range of ‘client¹⁵ centric’ approaches utilised by organisations, arguing that these approaches recognise and focus on the way individuals are differently positioned with these intersecting structures and the way they are differently disadvantaged and impacted by this. It then moves on to contrast this approach against more universalist approaches to addressing needs. It engages with the way organisations differentiate and conceptualise the concepts of equity and equality, and how this informs their practices and allows them capacity to challenge a universalist viewpoint despite the prevalence of universalist narratives that circulate in the sector and in broader political and public discourse surrounding social support and welfare. This chapter further contributes to the empirical examples of a care ethics within contemporary geographic literature, highlighting the ways in which this practice-based ethic can be seen through the structures and work of settlement sector organisations, and the spatial implications of such care ethics to broader geographies of settlement and citizenship in Australia.

7.2 The relational social ontology of care ethics

¹⁵ Recognising debates within related and relevant disciplines this thesis only uses the word ‘client’ to describe those who use services when used in a direct quote from participants, and in referring to ‘client-centric’ approaches as they are termed within communities of practice.

Care ethics is based on a relational social ontology and a relational conception of subjectivity, which as Williams (2016 p.7) puts it, is 'an understanding of all beings as connected and interdependent upon others for their own wellbeing'. Care ethics begins with an understanding that we are all profoundly interdependent through care relationships and care work that is central to our lives and societies (Lawson 2007). Centring a care ethic allows us to 'understand our world in terms of the connections that bind us together' (Lawson 2007, p.3). Care ethics recognises the interconnectedness and interdependence of individuals (Lawson 2007). Atkinson, Lawson, and Wiles (2011) show that the relational nature of care extends further to see care ethics as based upon a relational conception of subjectivity which disrupts the normative understanding of the 'individual as the site of agency, responsibility, and wellbeing'. Such an understanding prioritises relationships (through which care is provided and received) as a social good, indeed, as *the* social good. Lawson (2007) contends that care is the work of society. In a care ethics, care and care work is understood as central to, 'our lives and societies' (Lawson 2007, p.3). This is distinct from more individualistic frameworks or ethics, including neoliberalism or settler colonial values, which prioritise individualism and in which care is restricted to the periphery of social life. Organisations reflected and enacted this attention to the interdependence and interconnectedness on which relational social ontology that informs care ethics is based, in several key ways.

7.2.1 Interdependence and social connection

Across the range of programs offered by diverse organisations working in the settlement sector was a shared recognition and regard for the importance of social connections and relationships for service users. The forging of social connection was positioned as an essential part of a broader settlement process and prioritised as the explicit goal or aim of many programs. These relationships were amongst service users themselves, between service users and what was often described as the 'broader community', and between service users and those working within organisations. This attention to fostering and maintaining social relations reflects a value that is placed on social and interpersonal connection across the sector, indicative to Lawson's (2007, p.3) claim that 'care ethics begins with a social ontology of connection: foregrounding social relationships of mutuality and trust, rather than

dependency'. Prioritising and valuing social relations takes seriously the interdependence of all humans and sees them as resources and a social good. Social relations were positioned as essential to emotional wellbeing and as a resource through which individuals link to broader social service networks and access things like employment opportunities.

Establishing social networks is a major and important task for humanitarian migrants, who for the most part have left such established networks in their country of origin (Torezani, Colic-Peisker, and Fozdar 2008). Social ties are essential for individuals in building a sense of belonging, finding employment, and accessing other services and resources (Williams 2006). Negotiating new networks on top of possible language and cultural barriers is an important and challenging part of settlement (Torezani, Colic-Peisker, and Fozdar 2008). While building such networks and capacities is seen as a personal task or responsibility, the work these organisations undertake recognises the importance of adequate resourcing, allowing spaces for these links to be built, and avenues for individuals to access such networks; providing an infrastructure for building and accessing these resources. For some, fostering and providing space for social connections was discussed as a key part of organisational practice and approach. An example of organisations understanding the importance of building social connections and their role within this, is the work of West Welcome Wagon. As Cecelia describes:

We're based around community connections and reinvigorating a sense of community in a world that is now [dominated by] social media. So, we are in a modern sense - if you can imagine, replacing churches, replacing community groups, replacing the pub that people used to go to have a chat with their neighbours. We offer a way for volunteers to take items to new people in their community and say welcome, and reinvigorate that sense of one-on-one connection with another person. (Cecilia, West Welcome Wagon)

It is important to note here that as an organisation West Welcome Wagon has a focus on providing material aide. As Cecelia's comment reveals however, providing the opportunity to make social connections between service users and volunteers from the organisation is equally positioned as a key goal of the organisation's practices. Indeed, Cecelia's nostalgia for a time in which this kind of connection was prevalent

further underscores the understanding that such 'one-on-one' connection is necessarily, and perhaps normatively, beneficial to wellbeing.

The prevalence of mentoring programs also attests to the importance of such social networks, the recognition that they need to be established and maintained, and the benefit of one-on-one and individualised support. Most mentoring programs focussed upon finding employment and on building employability skills as discussed in Chapter 6. The capacity and willingness of established members of the broader community, who come from a range of backgrounds, has been a major driving factor in establishing mentoring strategies across the Brotherhood of St Laurence multicultural communities programming, as Marta, senior manager described:

we've really noticed a lot of people who want a tangible way to help people with refugee backgrounds. So, our Brimbank mentoring program really provides an opportunity for people to, if they've got skills in grant writing applications or job writing applications or doing a constitution for an organisation which needs to become incorporated. (Marta, BSL)

Such mentoring roles, including those at the Brotherhood of St Laurence (BSL) are primarily volunteer positions. Volunteers are essential to the work of the Multicultural Communities team at the BSL. While the team has 22 staff members it relies on a volunteer group of around 110 individuals, the majority of which are in mentor roles. 'Stepping stones', a small business program for women from refugee backgrounds run by BSL relies on the work of around 60 mentors, while the mentoring service within the 'Resource Youth Program' relies on approximately 30 volunteer mentors. As well as providing industry connections and specific employment skills, mentors in other programs provide more informal support and mentoring to participants. Through the BSL 'Refugee Child Outreach Program', family mentors play a range of roles:

we have volunteers that go and help people go along to a playgroup or toy library, just to take them for the first time or give them guidance on public transport. (Marta, BSL)

The sense that building social relations was the underlying, 'real', or most important outcome of programs and services, was apparent in discussing the work of other organisations. While programs often have aims that align closely with achieving more

normative settlement goals, these were understood and positioned as only one aspect of the outcome of the programs, with social and community connection understood as equally if not more important. This was the case at a conversational English class run through Maribyrnong library services, as Marisa the outreach librarian involved in the program described:

I think the sense of community is the main thing of this program, more than the English itself. That is very important, but the sense of community is more important. For example, last session we had a man saying that he felt he was with his family during this conversation, and we realise also how [the group members] help each other

Marisa went on to describe the aim of the program as:

For me, inclusion. Just having all different people together. That's my idea of the program. (Marisa, Maribyrnong Library Service)

The sense that these connections were the most important outcome of programs like this speaks to an understanding that social connections are of fundamental importance to the wellbeing of all individuals, and evidence of a relational social ontology which appreciates the *interconnectedness* and *interdependence* of all individuals and on which a care ethic rests.

Furthermore, the importance of the emotional wellbeing that social connection brings was recognised through programs that sought to cultivate this through 'fun' social activities. This was illustrated by Daniel, a youth worker for Maribyrnong council youth services, when talking about the holiday program:

The aim of the holiday program is to interact with young people, especially newly arrived young people, and is to give them new skills, and also build their confidence on going to outdoor activities on their own.

I also believe that [...] it helps with settlement and breaking barriers when they're having two groups of young people that would never have had the chance to actually engage, but they engage in their love for ice skating or their love for something, and then from there building a relationship and becoming friends.

A lot of people look at us and say it sounds like a fun program, but it's all the other things that they don't see that actually happens [that are important]. (Daniel, Maribyrnong council youth services)

The importance of these informal convivial spaces in building social relations, and the apprehension around 'fun' being a legitimate and appropriate focus of programs and services for newly arrived groups was also highlighted by Alicia from the BSL Refugee Child Outreach program, specifically in discussing family excursions run as part of the wider program:

A lot of that is about getting families together and kind of saying you know 'welcome', we're going to the city and do things that you know most of our families haven't done before or haven't had the opportunity to ever have an outing and just have fun. And I think that a lot of services mightn't necessarily offer those 'soft' kind of outcomes because they're seen as a bit fun but the kind of you know anecdotal feedback you get as well around you know 'That's the first experience we've had in six months where we've been able to go out and meet other families and our kids just have, you know have fun ...'
(Alicia, BSL)

The importance of social relations and the associated belonging and comfort it creates is also seen as an essential step to achieving other settlement outcomes. Olivia, a Youth Development Coordinator from BSLs Resource Youth program described this importance:

at the end of the day everyone needs to feel that sense of belonging and that's largely what human beings are striving to do is make those connections with other people [...] So obviously, that is kind of really key and sometimes [...] you might not be able to necessarily move forward with the employment or the education because there might be a more kind of primary need around the need to kind of feel that sense of belonging. (Olivia, BSL)

As Olivia's comments show, personal relationships are understood not only as important for emotional wellbeing but also seen as a resource in 'putting down roots' in Australia.

Strong personal networks can be a source of information about jobs, a resource to answer questions, and access points to further link with the service sector both government and non- government as both Chapter 5 and Chapter 6 of this thesis have touched on. The increased capacity to engage and navigate the service sector that is provided by social networks and connections was recognised as a key goal for an informal 'welcome function' for newly arrived individuals run by Dianella Health, a

community health provider working in Melbourne's north west. The thinking behind this function was explained by Sylvia, the population health team leader, in discussing the experience of one family inundated by referrals and appointments to different services:

we thought if we build the group of people with the right skills and knowledge, they speak the same language, understand, come from same community context, and that would be really good for the people when they just come in rather than going to the stranger, like someone go and introduce them, you know that 'I also come from that part of Syria' or 'that part of Iraq', and speaks their language and then put into the same cultural context and social context, and that relationship and that engagement and trust is really important for the newly arriving people to feel welcomed and that helps. [...] I think that gives [them a different capacity] to navigate the systems. (Sylvia, Dianella Health)

The very real impacts that social connections have were emphasised by Alicia, from BSLs Refugee child outreach program:

I don't think you can underestimate the ability that social capital has on things like mental health and then even networking in terms of being able to meet people in the community. And it can lead to those more, and you know I guess I'd call those soft outcomes and hard outcomes, like employment and things like that. (Alicia, BSL)

A focus on social relations sometimes came from a recognition that an opportunity to forge these relations, an opportunity described as a chance to 'meet and mingle' by Sylvia from Dianella health, was not seen as a priority by federal settlement policy and funding and thus not adequately provided for in federally funded settlement programs. This is despite the major focus of federal government settlement policy and discourse which emphasises the ideas of 'community engagement' and 'social inclusion'. The importance of providing a space to 'meet and mingle' was also recognised by Vanessa who coordinates Maribyrnong city council's Family Inclusive Language and Support (FILS) homework club, which is targeted at newly arrived communities:

The idea is that the whole family can come, and we've got resources for everybody [...] Obviously a lot of the Mums want to work on their own English skills, but usually when they come in at the end of the day, the kids are tired, the Mums just want to put their feet up and chat. So, they usually sit out here in the foyer, there'll be like 14 or 15 Mums, mostly, Horn of Africa, Somalia, Eritrean, and they'll be here

just chatting pretty much, which is totally fine. (Vanessa, FILS Maribyrnong CC)

The homework club acts as an unplanned social group for parents, and a social event which many of them look forward to, indeed Vanessa describes providing the space for this kind of social interaction to happen as a specific aim of the program. Recognition of the importance of this social space and the connections it facilitates has meant the program, initially only a homework club, has expanded to run a sewing class for mothers of children involved in the programs and whole of family excursions during school holidays and other initiatives:

The FILS program itself is a whole of family support program. So, even though it's sort of on face value just a Wednesday afternoon homework club [there's] other stuff, like we've set up a sewing class on Monday mornings for the Mums. (Vanessa, FILS Maribyrnong CC)

Through their attentiveness to interdependence and prioritisation of social relations as a resource integral to emotional and mental wellbeing and to achieving successful settlement outcomes, these organisational practices sit in tension with prevalent discourses and understandings of settlement and citizenship which are based on 'ideologies of the autonomous self-made-man' (Lawson 2007, p.5). Understandings of success and wellbeing that focus on the individual and their actions obscure the support, assistance, and care of others that allow for settlement outcomes to be achieved and citizenship formation to occur. Through these practices that take seriously the importance of social connectedness and interdependence, settlement sector organisations practise an ethic of care that challenges the ideologies and ethics on which more normative understanding of settlement and citizenship are based.

7.2.2 Relational subjectivity: family, community, and broader obligations

A relational notion of subjectivity underpins care ethics. This understanding positions individuals as suspended in a web of life-sustaining care relationships (Barnett 2005). The individual cannot be untangled from these relationships, but rather is constituted through them. Based upon a relational understanding of subjectivity Atkinson, Lawson, and Wiles (2011, p.563) argue that care ethics necessarily challenges 'the individual as the site of agency, responsibility, and wellbeing'. Relationships with family, friends,

communities, organisations, and institutions as well as other social structures all shape and influence the life trajectory of individuals as well as their capacities and experiences. Approaches that reflected this expanded understanding of the relationships that shape and influence the lived experience of individuals became evident in the practices of organisations undertaken to better understand what was sometimes referred to as the 'whole of person' or 'whole of individual'. Understanding the 'whole of individual' was a key part of BSLs Resource Youth program, described by Olivia:

when we meet our young person for the first time.... we do what we call kind of a readiness mind map. And we kind of map out where they're at and actually is a physical mind map where we kind of map out I suppose where they are, where they want to be in terms of what are some of their aspirations and dreams about what they would like to be doing? But also, kind of mapping out their family, their community connections, just so that we can start to get a bit of that picture, so that we can understand what are all these other things that are going on for this young person and at this given time. (Olivia, BSL)

As the quote from Olivia shows, the family and other community connections are understood to be essential in getting to know the individual they are working with and intimately influence the 'picture' of their lives including their aspirations and future dreams. Similarly, Sylvia from Dianella Health described the way in which the programs she coordinates try to engage with the diverse contexts and relationships that influence the lives and wellbeing of service users through the 'socioecological' model of health:

We look at it in a socioecological model of health in our programs so that actually gives flexibilities looking at individual families, social network, the policies, programs, what's happening widely as well. (Sylvia, Dianella Health)

The recognition that individuals' wellbeing and indeed settlement outcomes were dependent on a diverse range of contexts and influences, much more expansive than the focus areas of education, employment, and financial independence, reflects this dispersed or expanded understanding of agency and wellbeing central to a feminist ethic of care's relational conception of subjectivity. This quote from Olivia explains this consideration:

when you're working with a young person, you have a youth lens but you also need to kind of have that family and community lens to your practice as well, because often for that young person they might have particular responsibilities that they have to, you know their families and communities that need to be kind of understood and I suppose yeah recognised. (Olivia, BSL)

Incorporating the understanding that wellbeing and settlement are dependent on multiple relationships and contexts, is an essential part of the program and essential to being able to work effectively with the young people it targets. The importance of this to the running of the mentoring component of the program was explained through an anecdote by Olivia:

a volunteer mentor was kind of yeah got a bit frustrated because their, the young person wasn't coming to the appointments or missed an appointment and when the worker [coordinating the program], and this wasn't me, kind of probed the young person to find out what had gone on and she said, 'Look I was actually on my way to the appointment but a community member stopped me and said that they needed help with something, so I had to go and help them.' So, it was about kind of educating the volunteer around the importance of that. (Olivia, BSL)

For a number of participants, this attentiveness to the multiple dimensions of service users' lives that impact their wellbeing and engagement with services was described as an 'holistic' approach:

it's just about trying to look at the whole picture and making sure that, a big part of it is trying to help people who have potentially just had a whole lot of other circumstances come up and priorities come up, and not really thought much about what their goals are in terms of their careers and what they want to do.

So, it's just there's a lot going on, a lot all at once. So, I think the purpose of the program was to have a very much small, targeted, well-informed program that could kind of recognise all those factors at play and be a bit on top of how they're going to impact on the clients that we're seeking. (Michelle, BSL)

This section has shown, utilise a range of program approaches and designs that recognise the interdependence of individuals on one another and the embeddedness of service users in a wide range of social networks, relationships and other ties which shape their priorities, capacities, and more broadly, lived experiences of settlement in

Australia. This attentiveness is reflective of the relational social ontology on which a feminist ethic of care is based and practised, which decentres the individual as the site of responsibility, wellbeing, and agency (Atkinson, Lawson, and Wiles 2011). In practising such a relational ontology, organisations challenge the normative discourses of autonomy that characterise contemporary politics. The next section continues to expand upon the complex ways organisations approach the individual while maintaining this relational social ontology, in the context of individualistic social and political discourse and rhetoric that prioritise autonomy of the individual.

7.3 Attending to particularities

While care is universal in that all humans are involved in caring relationships (as both givers and receivers of care) and that all humans will need care during the life course, it is not universal ‘with regard to specific needs’ (Tronto 1993, p.110). Care ethics is based on the understanding that care needs are particular to individuals considering the ways in which they are differently positioned in social, political, cultural, and economic contexts across the life course. This attentiveness to such particularities is the result of care’s grounding in everyday practices rather than in abstract notions as other ethical theories (that employ a universalist rationality to meeting needs) can be argued to be (Tronto 1993). As Tronto (1993, p.104) stresses, ‘caring is not simply a cerebral concern [...] but the concern of living active humans engaged in the process of everyday living’.

Indeed, essential to care is an ‘engagement with the concrete the local and the particular’ (Tronto 1993, p.142). A care ethic contains an engagement and attentiveness to these particularities. This attentiveness is further indicative of, and reliant on, care ethic’s relational conception of subjectivity (discussed in section 7.2 of this chapter) which recognises the multiple and different ways in which individuals are positioned and impacted in relationships of care, need, and disadvantage in the context of broader intersecting structures. Care ethics emerges from and exists in, actions undertaken to meet particular needs of the other, as Cox (2010, p.116) puts it, ‘[c]are involves making the needs for others (and not necessarily, or only human others) a basis for action’. As this section shows, this attention to the particular means care ethics also must be attentive to the structures of disadvantage that shape

individuals lives, and to the reality that because of such structural disadvantage, some people require more and different support and care in particular moments and in particular ways to be able to engage with life opportunities and live in the world as well as possible. Furthermore, as this section argues, attention to particular and specific needs of refugee communities through specialist and targeted programs, and indeed the existence of specialist organisations themselves, is an important way in which we can recognise care ethics' attention to grounded particularities of complex situations in the settlement sector.

A long running point of difference and debate within the discourse and politics of social services and welfare systems has been regarding specialist versus universal services, and which kind of service delivery can or should deliver the best results for target social groups (Mohan 2003; Pinch 1997). This debate has a long history in Australia, especial regarding the provision of services for new migrants (Bruer and Power 1993; Jupp 2002). Adding complexity to this has been Australia's position as a 'multicultural' society and its history of Keynesianism welfare mechanisms. The Galbally report into services for refugees undertaken in 1978 asked these very questions without resolution, and differing accounts regarding the benefit of universal or specialist services continues in Australian politics today. The influence of neoliberal values has exacerbated this, and can be seen in the federal government's focus on 'mainstream services' as the primary form of service delivery (for services still delivered by government departments). Mainstream services are positioned as equitable spaces of service delivery by their proponents, indeed within this approach everyone is included not singled out or given special or periphery treatment. Within Australia this is marketed as an element of, or testament to, an inclusive multiculturalism, and engaging with mainstream services (if social services are required) is seen to be the desired outcome, with specialist services seen as a stop gap while people learn to engage with the mainstream service system (as Chapter 5 detailed).

The attentiveness to the grounded particularities of individuals' lives positioned within intersecting social, economic, political, and other axes of power can be identified in the practices and values of organisations in a number of ways. This section first covers the practices and approaches that many organisations use to centre the service user in the delivery and design of targeted programs and services. Through 'client centric'

and 'strength-based' approaches, organisations aim to be attentive to and responsive to the specific and particular needs of individuals and groups from refugee backgrounds, reflective of an ethic of care's foundation in responding to particularities of position and needs. Following from this, this section also looks at the ways in which organisations, through their practices and values, navigate and counter universalist policies and programs of support, and strive to employ an 'equity' based approach which recognises that some people need more support to access the same life opportunities.

7.3.1 Centring service users in understanding and addressing needs

A commonality across organisations were the discourses and approaches to practice that start 'from the individual' in determining the needs that can be addressed and supported. 'Client-centric', 'Citizen-centric', 'strength-based', 'tailored', 'individualised', and 'individual care plans' are all ways organisations described programs and service approaches that recognise and focus on the way individuals are positioned in society. Considering the close and overlapping nature of the settlement sector, the community sector, and the profession of social work (especially regarding the training and professional experience of staff within these organisations) organisations are informed by and draw upon theory and practice from these areas. These approaches stem from psychology and social work theory and practice which focusses upon the individual. Extremely pervasive and widespread, these kinds of approaches have come under much criticism for being tools of neoliberalism through their role in shifting responsibility for well-being to the individual and away from the state, and placing blame for disadvantage and inequality on to individuals' actions, or lack of action (Gray 2011). As Gray (2011) explains, this critique stems from what they identify as a 'strength-based' approach's foundation on the conception of an autonomous individual through its philosophical roots in Aristotle's theory of human flourishing. Another major criticism of these approaches is that they can gloss over and not pay attention to structural inequalities that create and perpetuate discrimination and disadvantage (Gardner and Toope 2011; Gray 2011).

At the same time, recent work looking at the on-the-ground daily practice of such approaches presents a more nuanced account (Roy 2017). Roy's (2017, p.455) work

regarding the public health sector and the use of the closely aligned 'assets-based approach' by public health practitioners shows that they consider their work through these approaches to be about 'mitigating the worst effects of poverty and social vulnerability in ways that enhance collectivism and solidarity', this sits at distinct odds with neoliberal ideals which disrupt collectivism in favour of individualism. This section supports this messy and ambivalent relationship between strength-based approaches and the individualisation of responsibility through neoliberalism, understanding a focus on the individual to not always be an expression of neoliberalism's individualisation of responsibility.

Looking at the way organisations and participants interact with these narratives and the way they understand them to inform their approaches and daily work, this section shows that for settlement sector organisations, strength-based, client-centric and other similar methods, are ways of attending to the complex needs of service users, and the complex and strict political and legal contexts they navigate in their work. Indeed, the link with 'equity' raised by numerous participants further establishes this, positioning this approach as mitigating against an ineffective and unfair system of care for resettling refugees in federal policy and discourse. As exemplified in this section, for organisations and participants, strength based and related approaches are a way of attending to the complex and particular realities of an individual's life and are reflective of an ethic of care's fundamental attunement to the particularities of individuals' needs and lives. I argue that the approaches discussed in this section can also be understood to be a way of resisting universalist narratives, prevalent in Australia's welfare and social service system, which do not allow room for particular or individual need.

Being 'citizen-centric' is an important value to the Community Hubs program run By Hume City Council and forms part of the image and identity of the Hub as this excerpt (Figure 9) from their Philosophy statement exemplifies

How are we citizen-centric?

The Community Hubs Model:

- is a proven, grassroots community development and engagement model that puts people at the centre of everything we do
- requires Hub Leaders to plan around local needs and encourage social interaction and participation
- emphasises the importance of building respectful, trusting relationships, and
- actively involves families and local community members in decision making about the time of support/activities at their Hub

Figure 9. Community Hubs 'citizen centric' approach (Community Hubs Australia 2015)

Elizabeth from the Community Hubs program run by Hume City Council discussed the 'citizen-centric approach' that the Hubs employ in their interactions with service users:

an individual comes into the hub and things are built around what that person needs, almost without even noticing it, through informal conversations. So, it's much more of a customised approach about people getting what they need, when they need it, at a time they need it. (Elizabeth, Community Hubs, Hume CC)

Similarly, this individualised approach to working with service users was discussed by Olivia from BSLs Refugee child outreach program:

I think when you're thinking about care, to be effective is about being individualistic in terms of working with that family and working out what's going to work best for them or working with that young person. So not necessarily having this one size fits all kind of model of practice [...] but having that kind of flexibility to actually work out what's going to be the best way to work with that individual or family. (Olivia, BSL)

As Olivia highlighted in this quote, this individualised approach employed in the program is attentive to the particular circumstances and needs of service user's lives, and takes into account different forms and strategies of support that will work differently for different service users. Indeed, this 'flexibility' is essential to the program, and as Olivia specified, to the kind of 'care' they provide being effective. The importance of not relying on a universal or a 'one-size-fits-all' approach was echoed across many other organisations. Sophia, from Foundation House, a counselling

service for victims of torture and trauma who work with many people from refugee backgrounds, reflected on this approach in the organisation's practices:

We care in so many different ways. When a person comes to see a counsellor, you know, it's not just a patient or a counsellor or an individual that comes to seek any services, we individualise that support to that person. Every person's intervention looks different, you know, there's no one-size-fits-all model in Foundation House [....] So, when a person walks into our door, we find out what their story is and what their experience has been; even the same experience can be experienced differently by two different people. So, we take care to understand the person as a whole, and understand their experience, and understand their coping, and their strategy and their strengths and their skills, and then we try to understand the world around them [....] we take care to understand the full picture (Sophia, Foundation House)

Similarly, the discourse of a 'strength-based' approach in program planning and delivery was common amongst participants when asked to discuss the values and ideas behind particular organisational practices. Olivia from BSLs Refugee Child Outreach program reflected on how she understands this approach to be present in the practices of the organisation:

We've got a few approaches that we work with and I think they really have values that underlie those approaches, which is really around valuing skills and strengths that young people have first of all, and focussing on their advantages rather than disadvantages. So, that's why we don't necessarily practice from a [....] case management style of working. But we more focus on a way of kind of coaching young people and looking at their skills and valuing that, rather than the more kind of 'deficit' focus. (Olivia, BSL)

This idea of building on the strengths of the service users and placing them at the centre of service approaches was explained by Amy from CoHealth who contrasted this approach with her previous experience of the methodologies taken when working as a physiotherapist in a clinical setting:

[A strength-based approach refers to] viewing people as having all sorts of strengths within themselves and experiences that you can build on. So, it's a little bit different to as a physio, as we were trained probably to be a bit more deficit [focussed], 'what's your problem?' and you're focussing on what's the problem for us to fix? [...] as opposed to asking people to look at what's working for them, how can we build on that, what have you tried before. Acknowledging that

people come to see us with a whole wealth of different experiences that hopefully they can draw on and can be a more empowering. An approach that starts with 'well what's working for you?', acknowledging what that person's come to the room with, rather than just coming in to be fixed. (Amy, CoHealth)

Importantly, this is an approach that informs the design of programs that organisations like Hume City Council and the Community Hubs program that they facilitate:

[the strength-based approach is] in their day to day dealings with people, it's not about 'You need to do this' but it's about looking at what people are already doing and building on that. But it's also about the design of the programs they offer. So, there are programs that are about supporting people, rather than being directive I suppose. (Elizabeth, Community Hubs, Hume CC)

Such approaches, that focus on advantages and skills rather than disadvantages and deficiencies that Olivia discussed, and programs which seeks to build upon already existing strengths of individuals service users as Amy identified, pay attention to the lived experience of people from refugee backgrounds in accessing and receiving support and care from these programs and services. This shows a commitment to supporting people to 'live in the world as well as possible', the key aim or outcome of care as defined by Fisher and Tronto (1990, p.40). These kinds of approaches, which prioritise support that 'works for the individual' rather than instituting change in individuals' positions or practices are contrasted against the more interventionist and prescriptive settlement outcomes that are prioritised through federal government services discussed in Chapters 5 and 6.

Another way in which the centring of service users and communities can be seen throughout the sector is through the importance placed on 'learning from communities', something which was mainly understood to be achieved through processes of community consultation and participation in program design and delivery. This sentiment was captured by Elizabeth from the Hume Community Hubs program in discussing the 'strength-based approach' that guides the work of Community Hubs:

it's about building on what [people] already know, and also having input in terms of what they can offer, because you have to learn from the community as well. So, it's not just about what you know, but taking in what the community knows as well and taking that into your

thinking, and how you do things. So, it's about not thinking 'Well we need all these things, we've got to go and we're going to have this program, we're going to have this program', it's about bringing the community insights into that as well. (Elizabeth, Community Hubs, Hume CC)

There was also recognition of the need to centre service user communities in the planning and development of programs, with many programs themselves emerging as a response to suggestions and expressions of needs from communities. While the extent of this involvement differed greatly across organisation type and particularly with consideration to funding arrangements, the attitude that service users 'know what is best for themselves' was a strong sentiment in participants' discussion of the service user's role in directing programs or goals. Alicia from BSL refugee child outreach program explained this attitude in her thinking about the program:

it's very participatory. I [incorporate] things like participatory action response, [...] that attitude to development where you're talking about people being the expert of their experience. And I think all the programs really [try to incorporate that attitude]. So, it's not an attitude of coming in and telling people what they need but asking, making sure that your service is always responding to community need rather than you going in and saying what people need. (Alicia, BSL)

Similarly, recognising and centring the knowledge of the communities that used the services was, for Marika from VICSEG, key to the success and reception of programs:

[lots of social services in Australia] have an attitude that 'I'm the professional, I'm the expert so I'm going to tell you what to do'. This is why I think the Family Mentoring Program is so successful, we don't tell them what to do. We understand their position and the family mentors are people from, community leaders, from their own community who are ahead of their settlement process by five or six years. So, they know, it's still fresh but they are distanced enough and work through their own issues enough, to be able to support them and we support and supervise and resource them through that process. So, they validate and respect [the service users'] styles of parenting or integration or whatever that is and then what we then do and say is, 'oh here are some more tools and material that you can integrate into your own', that's why it's so [successful]. It's not patronising, we are experts in the way we are trained in our field but we're not experts in people's lives. (Marika, VICSEG)

The ability to react to certain emerging needs was made difficult because of the funding structures and policies that guide some organisations' programs, this was

most apparent in organisations directly funded through federal settlement grants program funding. As Isla from Migrant Resource Centre North West explained, the last round of settlement funding the centre received was less stringent in prescribing how the funds could be used, allowing the organisation to respond to the needs of the community, which is ultimately how she sees the role of the organisations at large:

Isla: [the most recent funding agreement] was less restrictive in a way that it didn't prescribe this many information sessions, this many clients, this many specific programs with the full title and description. It was more loose in that way to give us that flexibility to kind of [...] respond to what we notice that is needed because we are here to listen to the community and then tailor that answer to the community needs. Not that we plan something and then we deliver it, without knowing whether that was exactly what the communities, various communities because we are here not for one particular community but for whoever is eligible regardless of the background. So that gives us a bit more flexibility in responding.

Thea: Yeah, that's very interesting. It's, obvious so much of what you can do is tied to those specific things.

Isla: It is. We are limited. I mean you might see the need but if it doesn't fit within the funding guidelines or we don't have capacity at that particular moment, we need to reach out, talk to the Council or raise it at the Multicultural Action Plan Group, or raise at the Hume Network, and see the response and capacity of the others, to maybe play a role in addressing that particular issue. Because it's as I said, we all have limitations. I mean MRCs and [settlement] specific agencies are in one basket because most of us [...] are funded through DSS, but each agency individually is trying and is constantly on the lookout for some smaller funding that would complement services that we are allowed to deliver, or funded to deliver.

As the quote above shows, staff at the MRC regularly and strategically seek out partnerships and other, less restrictive funding sources to be able to run programs they feel are tailored and responsive to the needs of the communities with which they work.

The importance of being 'close to the community' and the capacity that this gives organisations to be able to respond to needs was discussed by Tamara, from Hume City Council, in talking about the special capacity of local government:

I think, one of the good things about Councils across this country, is that we're close enough to the community to be able to work with the community and drive our strategy by community. So, all of this works, the Council plan[s] are all written through community consultation. So, I would say that we are, we're probably becoming more responsive to community need, and therefore then targeting those responses. I think that's probably the best way I could put it really. Is that it is very much a changing in mindset of how we respond probably, is because we're kind of really going back to the grass roots to be able to feed into that. (Tamara, Hume CC)

Being able to react to and act upon diverse and sometimes surprising needs as they emerge, some of which don't fit neatly into specific services or programs, was highlighted as an import consideration for many participants, and not limited to particular kinds of organisations. For Saniya from Jesuit Social Services, the need to be flexible and reactionary in what she described as an 'ad hoc' way is captured in her description of the way in which she was able to help an individual who had lost her mobile phone:

And one of my participants bought this iPhone and she has signed a contract and then she lost her phone and she had the assumption that she had bought insurance and this is such a small issue [...] And she said, 'I bought my insurance.' I'm like, 'I'm sorry, but the insurance didn't go through.' Apparently it was past the due date [...]. So, I am here writing a complaint to the TIO, Telecommunications Industry Ombudsman, because this person has been misled or miscommunicated with about her insurance. So, it could be anything because it's a huge financial burden on her because she's continuing paying the money without having a phone [...] So these kind of things are all interlinked ... you can't do any of the others until your housing and your core security is settled. For example, when she lost her phone and she was stressed because she actually lost her phone, her wallet and everything, I can't ask her to go for English classes on Monday. She's a mother of two, her phone is lost, she can't contact her daughter or she didn't even have an ID. That's [important because] with the ID that she had that has her face in her Australian ID [rather than the veil she normally wears]. So, it's a big deal for [her], these small issues. For us we understand that is a big deal for them [...] So, we look at it as an interwoven issue that you can't separate it. (Saniya, Jesuit Social Services)

For Saniya, the phone and issue that arose from this situation were part of the broader housing and settlement issue (reflective of the holistic approach to settlement and the individual described in section 7.2 of this chapter) and being able to react to this unforeseen need was an essential part of her job and essential in providing proper

support and care for the service user despite this kind of responsibility not being outlined in her role.

Understanding and attending to the contours of individuals' lives, including their strengths or capacities, and tailoring support services (whether it be mental health services, employment mentoring, educational support or anything else between) around such situations and context through approaches that engage with the discourse of 'strength-based' and 'empowerment' is a way in which organisations practise an attentiveness to the grounded particularities that shape individuals' lives. This includes the position of individuals in broader political, economic, and social structures, as is a foundational logic within a feminist care ethic.

7.3.2 Countering universalism

Importantly this attentiveness to individuals' particular needs was seen and valued as an important way in which specialist organisations differed from 'mainstream' services, and as this section shows a way in which organisations push back at narratives of universalism in approaches to welfare and social services. Elizabeth for Hume CC highlighted the attentiveness to the individual as a key difference between the Community Hubs program and that of mainstream welfare and support services:

I don't think there's many places [like that], so if you go into Centrelink, it's about you have to adapt to the service, whereas this is more about a person focussed approach and I think that's quite important.
(Elizabeth, Community Hubs, Hume CC)

This approach is a conscious consideration by many organisations in response to the 'universalist' approaches practised by mainstream services and, as many participants explained, understood to be inadequate and ineffective. These kinds of approaches were most often discussed by participants when asked about how they understood the concept of 'care' to be involved in their daily practices, and when asked how the values that guide their organisations might be seen in their programs and practices. Some programs and organisations saw themselves as making up for the ineffective universalist programs, recognising the needs of some for extra support to be able to access mainstream services:

So, you've got a service system, and we've got a good universal system in maternal child health, preschools etc. but for some people they need additional things to access these universal [...] programs. And I think that's the space that the hubs fill. So [people] come in and they're connected to the service system but through the route of the hubs. So, I think that that's something that [the Community Hubs] can do, and they do well, because they are a friendly environment. And there's people there who can connect them to what they need, so there's sort of like an intermediary. So instead of them having to negotiate the system by themselves there's people there that will help them. (Elizabeth, Community Hubs, Hume CC)

Not only is a care centred approach different to more universalist practices, it is employed by organisations to redress the inadequacy of these approaches to providing support to people from refugee backgrounds. Organisations understood their work as being informed by and promoting different values from universal or mainstream services. This is most clear in the responses from participants that discussed the concept of 'equity' as a guiding principal in their work, in contrast to 'equality'. Ellena, a diversity and inclusion officer from Yarra City Council discussed this:

we talk all about treating people equally but actually there's an understanding I think here that equity is a different matter and that actually, some people need specific targeted support and programs and policies that underpin that to address the imbalance there. (Ellena, Yarra CC)

As part of her position Ellena runs induction training for new staff from across the council. The following quote highlights the importance she sees in these values, and how she tries to install this understanding as a foundational organisational value:

One of the things I do in [the induction] is make people think about that difference between 'equity' and 'equality' and really say, 'Well what would that look like in different situations'. It didn't used to be in there, but I realised that that was actually a gap that people you know, were saying, 'Well why don't we just treat everybody the same?', Well because that doesn't actually change anything. We actually need to treat people differently to get people to the same outcome. So yeah, I think it's one of those light bulb moments I had and I was like, 'I need to be talking about that more before I talk about this other shit'. (Ellena, Yarra CC)

An equity-based approach also informs the design and delivery of services by Dianella Health targeted at people from refugee backgrounds and what are understood as other disadvantaged social groups:

in terms of equity perspective, we talk about universalism of care, like everyone has [the same] access to resources, services, and programs... but because our community structure, if we look at it, it's [stratified] in terms of socioeconomic status. Some people are down here [points down] some groups ... and some people are far, high level [point higher level]. And so, if we talk about universalism, what we have been seeing is people who are at a high level, they have easy access to services, resources and opportunities and they get more benefits, ... but people who are down here... they might go further behind. (Sylvia, Dianella Health)

This attentiveness is reflective of the capacity of organisations to recognise and react to structural disadvantage faced by service users from refugee backgrounds. As this quote exemplifies, organisations like Dianella Health understand and are attentive to patterns of social inequality and their position and role in broader issues of disadvantage, and are trying through their values and approaches to redress these patterns:

we see it as equity, rather than equal access [equality], you know it's that old thing that we always bang on about. Some people have more 'equal access' than others so we rebalance or redress that balance. (Jacqueline, Yarra CC)

This section shows that organisations are aware of and take into account their position in relation to mainstream services, and to broader structures and understandings of welfare and care. Importantly, as this sections shows, organisations also recognise their capacity to act in ways that push back at the inequality and discrimination within these current universalist structures and understandings of welfare and care, by focussing on the specific needs of individuals.

7.4 Conclusion

This chapter has explored the ways in which a feminist ethic of care is present as a guiding ethic visible in the philosophies and practices of organisations within the settlement support sector in Melbourne Australia. While frameworks of settler colonialism and neoliberalism circulate and shape the work of organisations (as

revealed in Chapters 5 and 6), in focussing more explicitly on the values that participants report as guiding organisational practices, this chapter has highlighted the important place of care ethics within the landscape of settlement and citizenship for people with refugee backgrounds in Australia. This chapter further contributes to the empirical examples of a care ethics within contemporary geographic literature, highlighting the ways in which this practice-based ethic can be seen through the structures and work of non-state organisations, and the expansive implications of such care ethics to broader geographies of settlement and citizenship in Australia.

Section 7.2 shows how organisations are attentive to and express the relational social ontology on which a care ethic is based. Program approaches that take note of and make room for these different and competing relationships in their interactions with individuals indicate the recognition of the interdependence and interconnectedness of individuals foundational to a care centred ethic. Recognition of the relational subjectivity of all people challenges the narrative of the autonomous, rational individual on which liberalism is based and which informs neoliberalised forms of governance and of welfare and support and distribution. While organisations have a strong focus on the ‘individual’ through ‘strength-based’ and similar approaches, as section 7.3 discusses, these programs focus upon situating the individual in the complex social, economic, and political contexts or landscapes, seeing these things as shaping and guiding the contexts that impact individuals’ lives and capacities. Indeed section 7.3 explores the way in which such programs approach individual service users, centring them within programs, and the way in which this challenges the universalist approach to services delivery, often described as an ineffective and inappropriate ‘one-size-fits-all’ approach by participants, and the capacity it gives them to be attuned to structures of disadvantage that shape service users’ lives. In challenging this universalism, care ethics might also be seen to challenge the persistent understanding that those from cultural minorities, positioned on the periphery of the cultural landscape in Australia, informed by a paranoid nationalism, must do the work to ‘fit in’ to mainstream culture. The approaches used by organisations highlighted in this chapter reflect key or foundational considerations that inform an ethic of care, and as such show the ways in which an ethic of care is present in and shapes organisations in this sector.

The insights from this chapter further complicate the easy and pervasive narrative of organisations simply doing the bidding of increasingly neoliberalising states. It does so by showing the ways organisations are informed by alternative values and ethics and how they are able to work these into their programs despite the constrained and exclusionary context and boundaries established by the state through discourse, policy, and funding and program guidelines. Indeed, this chapter points to another tradition of care present in the practices of these organisations that has not been eroded despite changes to public welfare practices ascribed to growing neoliberalist agenda in most areas of politics in western liberal democracies. Whilst universalist, individualist, and other limiting and exclusionary logics persist as influential forces within the sector, through their attentiveness to both the relational social ontology, and grounded particularities of individuals' lives (both foundational considerations to care ethics), a feminist ethic of care can be seen as a present and influential force within the values and practices of organisations providing support to humanitarian migrants in Melbourne.

Chapter 8. Conclusion

8.1 Introduction

This thesis is concerned with the diverse range of non-state organisations that provide support and resources to people from refugee backgrounds within a context of settlement services delivery. Furthermore, it is concerned with the ethical frameworks that guide and reside within their approaches. To address these concerns the research investigated the role and position of non-state organisation in the settlement sector in Australia, paying attention to the historical and political context of these kinds of organisations and their relationship to the Australian state. In doing this, the daily practices of organisations as well as the values, principals, and philosophies behind these practices were closely examined including the services and programs organisations run, and their relationships with service users and other actors within the settlement sector. From the analysis of the practices and approaches of these organisations, the research has shown that non-state organisations are indispensable and foundational to the refugee settlement landscape in Australia. This concluding chapter highlights the indispensability of these organisations, a theme emergent across the preceding empirical chapters, and draws conclusions regarding the broader contributions and insights that this thesis offers, before offering reflections on future research.

The current political landscape concerning humanitarian migration to Australia is one of increasing exclusion and discrimination. Successive years of increasingly punitive treatment of those seeking humanitarian protection in Australia, administered by federal governments from both major parties has made it abundantly clear that the Australian state is exceedingly reluctant to welcome humanitarian migrants into Australian society in any meaningful capacity. Inhumane offshore and onshore detention, a policy of involuntary repatriation and boat ‘turnbacks’, a sustained smear campaign which paints refugee migrants as a ‘burden’ by politicians and exacerbated by the media, as well as increasingly strict compliance demands and restricted access to support services culminate in a hostile climate for humanitarian migrants in Australia. This sits in stark contrast to the welcoming multiculturalism the Australian state brands itself with. Issues like national security, economic rationality, as well as a

rhetoric of the 'responsible citizen' are used to justify the increasing tightening of Australian borders through practices of securitisation, stringent visa requirements and migration caps. The settlement of humanitarian migrants in Australia has been an issue of constant debate for decades now, with little meaningful policy change, in contrast to an increasingly punitive approach to border security. The situation in Australia occurs within the global context of the tightening of borders and the increasingly harsh treatment and abuse of those seeking sanctuary. This can be witnessed in Europe with nations closing their borders in the face of a proclaimed refugee crisis¹⁶, and in the US with attention on policies of family separation and detention of 'irregular migrants' brining to light a broader campaign against migrants from Mexico and South America.

Within Australia, the conversation regarding issues of humanitarian settlement is dominated by two emotive extremes; the detention and abuse of individuals in offshore camps (also cast as the interception of dangerous and illegal migrants who threaten the sovereignty of Australian borders) and the 'successful' settlement of communities with refugee backgrounds who contribute to Australian society through their 'entrepreneurial spirit' and cultural differences. While important experiences in the narrative of settlement in Australia, accounts of these extreme circumstances often leave out and overlook the importance of organisations, like those discussed in the research, to the settlement landscape and more broadly in debates around migration, discrimination and settlement of humanitarian migrants in Australia. This thesis has shown that while they are entangled in more conservative and exclusionary frameworks, organisations are spaces of reworking and contestation, where broader narratives of welcome, care, and citizenship find space and meaning.

The next section of this conclusion details the contributions made by this work, beginning with the ways in which this work exceeds previous conceptualisations, positioning organisations as entities of concern for social and cultural geographies of migration and settlement, co-constituted through these processes. It then discusses contributions regarding revealing the bridging work these organisations undertake,

¹⁶ The term crisis is seemingly not in reference to the conflicts that have caused these people to leave their homes but rather the impact on nations who are not prepared for their arrival, or willing to welcome them.

and the ways in which they are involved in the regulation and at times expansion of the boundaries of citizenship in Australia. It also explores the contributions made by this thesis to work on a feminist ethic of care, by looking beyond intimate connections and moments to investigate the possibility of a broader architecture of care. Finally, the contributions section offers the concept care-full resistance, to describe the capacity for non-state organisations to push back upon the discriminatory and exclusionary politics of the state and practise a more care-full politics. It concludes with directions for future research.

8.2 Contributions and implications

8.2.1 Expanding conceptualisations of the non-state organisation

Previous work based in similar political and economic contexts has conceptualised organisations and their relationship with the state as a result of residualisation. The concept of the shadow state engages with this understanding, conceptualising non-state organisations involved in social and welfare service provision as lacking the power, resources, and accountability of a functioning welfare state and as the product of welfare state restructuring. Related to this have been approaches to understanding organisations that focusses on the neoliberalisation of governance and service delivery. This understanding follows a narrative of the state's retraction in areas of social services provision and the devolution of responsibility on to non-state actors, often 'for-profit' companies, who engage in competitive contracts for service delivery. In work that engages with this narrative, organisations are conceptualised as the 'handmaidens' of neoliberalism, guided by a free market logic and filling the gaps left by the retraction of the state that once delivered these services.

It is important to note that this thesis does reveal situations and circumstances that align with this conceptualisation. Many organisations have funding arrangements with the federal government for the delivery of particular services, with these programs and services structured in part by guidelines and outcomes prescribed by the federal government. Indeed, as Chapter 5 discusses, further than influencing governance structures neoliberal logics can be identified as influential in the outcomes and personal attributes that certain programs prioritise, particularly regarding economic

participation and 'independence'. However, these neoliberal logics are not alone in shaping humanitarian settlement and citizenship within Australia. Migration and settlement are also structured by diverse axes of power. As Chapter 5 of this thesis explores, the Australian political landscape is not the result of simply one ideology or approach though trends are certainly present. The frameworks of settler colonialism, paranoid nationalism, and now neoliberalism are threaded through, and shape policy in Australia and thus the settlement sector which is shaped by federal government policy and broader discourses that emerge from it.

While a narrative of filling the gaps after residulisation exists in this setting, the functions of organisations in the settlement sector are not circumscribed, fully explained or predicted by the political economy of the welfare or post-welfare state. The analysis in this research moves past previous conceptualisations of organisation within this space. Through looking at the work organisations do; bringing to mainstream services through means that make them accessible, contextualising the challenging norms that construct settlement, belonging and citizenship in Australia, and their concern and engagement with care ethics, this thesis demonstrates that non-state organisations are engaged with and constructed through the politics of social difference, as much as they might be embedded in the economic concerns of post welfare states. This differs from previous understandings of non-state organisations and allows for the functions of organisations not circumscribed by their relationship with the state to be more clearly viewed.

Bridging organisations, beyond a residualised state

One key way in which this thesis has added nuance to conceptualisations of non-state organisations is through highlighting the specific role of bridging to mainstream organisations that non-state organisations undertake, and the way in which this exceeds a simple casting of organisations taking up the residualised state. Non-state organisations are indispensable to both the refugee communities settling in Australia, through the support and resources that they provide, and to the Australian state, in upholding the current configuration of social service provision.

Chapter 5 of this thesis identified and illuminated the unexplored bridging work organisations do, linking people from refugee backgrounds to mainstream state provided social services. While indispensable in making these services accessible to people from refugee backgrounds, this bridging work also allows the state to continue the rigid and limited service provision system, with the labour of enrolling people from refugee backgrounds into such services undertaken within non-state organisations and not in the core or mainstream welfare and social services. Indeed, this means that the core of mainstream service provision does not need to address specific concerns of this community to make these services accessible or appropriate for these social groups. While a universal model of delivery is meant to ensure that all social groups can access these services, the bridging work that organisations perform, linking to mainstream services, and tailoring the experience of engaging with these services, fundamentally troubles claims to a universal model of service provision as it is being practised currently. This finding contributes to existing research that has looked at the ways in which universal access and universal standards of care are not experienced in the same way by all social groups, further making clear the patterns of bias and discrimination that structure the mechanisms through which the state engages and supports its residents and citizens.

This thesis has revealed the hidden labour undertaken by organisations in linking service users to mainstream services and has illuminated the on the ground and everyday details of how and where such work occurs. As Chapter 5 and 6 show, this is different than organisations *doing the work of the state* or *filling the gaps in service provisions*, rather it can be seen as organisations doing translation and mediation work, making services appropriate and accessible (physically and socially) and undoing or countering the centralisation, consolidation, and universalisation of social services.

This configuration of service delivery, in which the needs of social groups like communities with refugee backgrounds struggle to be met by mainstream services, further positions the needs and experiences of these groups to the periphery of social concern. Such a periphery position reflects the broader marginalisation of culturally diverse or non-white communities to the periphery of Australia's cultural landscape as has been identified in work on race and cultural diversity in Australia (Hage 2002,

1998). This marginalisation is the result of a pervasive understanding of Australian identity that sees white anglo-celtic Australia as the (legitimate) core or centre of the cultural landscape of Australia and other cultural, ethnic, or racial groups as marginal and periphery to this core. This imaginary is not reflective of the cultural and racial composition or history of Australia, and conflicts with narratives of multiculturalism that are used to brand Australia. This thesis reveals that these imaginaries are sedimented and institutionalised in structures like universal and social welfare systems.

Chapters 2 and 3 highlight how non-state organisations have been important actors throughout Australia's history of migration, particularly large-scale migration since the 1940s, preceding the spread of neoliberal logics within Australia's social and welfare service systems. Non-state organisations have occupied a blurred space between the state and civil society and have always worked in conjunction with state departments, institutions, and structures. This history further shows the limitations of the narrative of non-state organisations 'filling the gaps' after the retraction of the state and of the clear division between service provided by the state and the work of other organisations in this space. Indeed, this history highlights the importance of understanding particular social and political contexts of place in interrogating the influences and presence of neoliberal logics.

The configuration of service delivery revealed in this thesis is not the reflection of a singular ideology, regime or approach to welfare or state/citizen relations. As the thesis shows in Chapter 5, multiple social, economic, and political regimes are visible shaping the work of these organisations in the current day and throughout their history. Furthermore, Chapter 5 highlights the different constructions of Australian citizenship that structure and circulate in the policy and legislation around migration and settlement in Australia. Framing the position and role of non-state organisations as the residualised state in service of neoliberal governance, obscures the multiplicity of structures of exclusion and marginalisation that shape the settlement landscape as well as the ethical, inclusive, and care-full forces and practices that are also present within this context. More messy than singular narratives of the shadow state, the notion of bridging is therefore useful in explaining the work of non-state organisations in this sector.

8.2.2 Centralising organisations as sites of citizenship

This thesis begins to locate citizenship within the ordinary practices of organisations, in the bureaucratic and banal work they do to navigate the competing tensions of the settlement landscape in Australia. In doing so it locates citizenship within the spaces utilised and created by such ordinary practices. This includes the spaces of community connection, of learning and of relationships which, as the thesis presents, take shape in the public or semi-public spaces that populate day to day life in the city including libraries, community centres, organisational offices and classrooms. In identifying these situated practices, this research shows how non-state organisation constitute an important part of the ordering framework that regulates the boundaries of citizenship, and thus the ways in which citizenship takes form, or emerges, in precise spaces of everyday life. In illuminating the importance of such practices and spaces, this thesis supports existing understandings of the state and the everyday as co-constituted and interlaced scales or spaces of citizenship formation (Painter 2006), and situates organisations within this context. This research shows that recognising this co-constitution is generative in understanding organisations to be essential spaces in the construction of the boundaries of citizenship, and in seeing them as political spaces rather than passive to outside forces or the blank space in which political narratives play out.

The organisations within this research are tasked with bringing people into Australian society. They do this in ways that are prescribed by the state through certain contracts which dictate outcomes and behaviours from refugee migrants that are then treated as key attributes of citizenship and belonging in Australia. Chapter 6 identifies economic participation, financial independence from the state, and high levels of English language proficiency as key citizenship attributes that are prioritised and pursued through federal government settlement programs and supported through wider discourses of the good Australian citizen. Importantly however, this thesis also shows that the role and importance of organisations in citizenship formation exceeds simply instilling these particular formal and state mandated citizenship attributes into individuals from refugee backgrounds, revealing their work in troubling limited conceptualisations of the citizen and expanding the boundaries of citizenship in Australia, through their everyday practices.

While the programs and services run by non-state organisations may align with normative citizenship ideals (through a focus on employability skills or on learning English), there is a capacity to expand such conceptualisations in the negotiation of barriers to citizenship practices in these settlement sector organisations. As Chapter 6 argues, the practices of organisations negotiate and find alternative pathways around barriers to finding employment faced by people from refugee backgrounds, by enabling different pathways to employment including through fostering social networks and personal contacts facilitated through initiatives like mentoring programs. Such practices trouble the positioning of employment as simply a means to achieve economic independence and of those without work as principally jobseekers. Through practices that appreciate the career and life goals of service users, organisations recognise that employment has more meaning than a compliance demand and a means to a financially independent end. Organisations also negotiate the perceived link between English language proficiency and Australian citizenship which acts as a barrier to it. Practices of organisations temporally and spatially expand English language learning, providing unbound opportunities to learn and speak in diverse contexts. These spaces are not structured around the linear progression of learning English through the ascension of levels or grades, but on creating spaces where English learners speak and interact in English.

Such practices do not approach citizenship as simply the achievement of a particular status, and therefore the settlement process as the means to achieve this. Rather, citizenship is approached in more relational and care-full terms, with the settlement period seen as essential to this but not definitive of it. This understanding rejects the view of settlement as a set of linear stepping stones towards achieving the formal status of citizenship. Instead, settlement and the challenges and experiences of the time after arrival are seen as essential aspects of citizenship in their own right. Such practices pay attention to the 'journey', not just the 'destination', as a substantive expression of citizenship.

This perspective and understanding allows organisations to use the resources (both those received through relationships with government, and other resources) in more creative and expansive ways, opening out the process of citizenship from its bounded

trajectory. As the example of the social cooking and sewing sessions run by Dianella Health presented in Chapter 6 illustrates, organisations facilitated social and physical spaces, the purpose of which was for people to speak English in, and not for the linear and bound approach to language learning and acquisition as other more prescriptive lessons may. Here citizenship emerges through the more substantive practices facilitated by organisations, of participating in social groups, building a sense of place and identity. Indeed, these creative and expansive approaches, guided and informed by care ethics which take a grounded approach to understanding the wellbeing of individual (Chapter 7) can at times work in ways that are subversive to the constructions of citizenship and settlement that circulate in federal government policy and broader discourse. Approaches that overlook organisations as spaces of citizenship formation thus overlook important political spaces or scales in which exclusionary frameworks and politics can be resisted and reworked in more care-full and progressive ways.

Furthermore, this thesis shows how organisational spaces are critical in bringing feminist ethics of care into processes of settlement and citizenship for people from refugee backgrounds in Australia. In doing so it highlights non-state organisations as essential in the practise of a more care focused and inclusive citizenship in Australia. Recognising the caring capacities of these organisations is essential in any attempts to expand or foster this sentiment and practise across Australia.

The work that this thesis does to centre organisations as sites of citizenship also speaks to a growing area of geographic scholarship looking at unsettling and identifying alternatives to the restrictive and exclusionary politics of migration that now characterises western liberal states. Reflecting a broader shift towards everyday practices and forms of multiculturalism, this work has tended toward the micro-political and intimate scales, looking at personal interactions and moments of encounter as hopeful but necessarily contingent and fleeting moments of an alternative politics at play. Within this understanding refuge is a momentary achievement that emerges out of interpersonal encounters (Darling and Squire 2013; Squire and Darling 2013). Such intimate and micro-political enactments are positioned as holding transformative potential. Within these literatures the organisations that structure the spaces and moments they engage with are rendered passive, predominantly conceptualised as

the backdrop against which these important and potentially transformative everyday enactments occur.

This thesis recognises the vital nature of such interpersonal encounters and relationships but exceeds this intimate scale. It illuminates how such moments are situated within organisational practices, structures, and spaces, building on geographic work on the micro-political interpersonal encounter to understand the indispensable nature of organisations to a transformative and inclusive politics of refugee settlement. This speaks to Amin's (2012, p.168) call for investigation into an 'architecture of responsibility and care', looking past the scale of the individual moment to see how an alternative politics of inclusion for the stranger might exist at a more macro-political scale, and indeed how elements of this might be present and functioning in contemporary cities. Through understanding organisations as entities circumscribed by the politics of social difference and citizenship and investigating the presence of care ethics within these organisations, this thesis illuminates established spaces and structures in which this 'architecture' might function.

8.2.3 Organisations and care ethics

Analysis presented in this thesis shows how a feminist ethic of care is an important ethical framework that informs the practices of non-state organisations in the refugee settlement sector in Australia. Non-state organisations are attentive to and express key conceptual tenets of care ethics within their approach to daily practices. As Chapter 7 of this thesis details, the reported practices of organisations reflect the relational social ontology that care ethics is based on through programs and approaches that incorporate the web of relationships and commitments that shape the lives of individuals they work with. These kinds of approaches foreground the interdependence and interconnectedness that Williams (2016) reminds us, shape us all, and strengthen the relationships and connections that are central to individuals' wellbeing. Centring this interdependence challenges the concept of the autonomous, rational individual that is the subject of liberal and neoliberal ideologies and associated neoliberal welfare state restructuring. Organisations' attentiveness to the grounded particularities of individual lives and circumstances also troubles the universalist approach to service delivery that characterises countries like Australia.

Identifying care ethics in the discussion of the practices of organisations further challenges the simple conceptualisation of non-state organisations as passive actors to larger forces of the state or of neoliberal ideologies and ethics. Rather, it shows a tradition and commitment to care informed practices persists within organisations notwithstanding the shifting structures and boundaries of the welfare state in Australia and the prevalence of ideas and ideologies that oppose and oppress these ethics. It is also important as it shows how care ethics are entangled with and navigate different and contradictory regimes, highlighting further that caring practices are not mutually exclusive with exclusionary, discriminatory, or otherwise un-caring politics and policies. Care is never the only political or ethical approach working in one context or space. This thesis illustrates the multitude of forces circulating within organisations and within the programs they run. Furthermore, the thesis argues that the navigation and negotiation of these forces throughout history, and presently in everyday practices, is also reflective of and emergent from a feminist ethic of care.

Foregrounding and focusing on care as an ethical framework as this research has done, allows us to see the importance and essential nature of the work that organisations do in ways that research that is limited to a universalist and more abstract ethic of justice could not. The grounded, practice-based, and particular nature of care ethics has allowed the project to uncover and understand the work of organisations as ethical and political. Shedding light on the political nature of the care work that organisations undertake follows a key tenet of care ethics as outlined in the foundational work of Joan Tronto (1993) which was to re-politicise care, re-centring it as a political and public concern and not simply a concern of the private sphere as it has been relegated. The politics, and political impact of these organisations may look very different to other actors who act, lobby, and advocate at different scales and spaces but engaging with care ethics has allowed this project to understand these actors as politically important and influential.

This research is also an important empirical contribution to the further development of care ethics. It has provided empirical examples of the ways in which care ethics can be identified and viewed in the work of organisations. While different organisations have been the focus of existing work on care ethics, this thesis helps move away from seeing organisations as simply the passive backdrop against which care happens, to

show care as an emergent ethic through the everyday practices of organisations. This is important considering care ethic's grounding in practices unlike more abstract ethical viewpoints. This thesis also shows how care ethics can be a present and structuring forces within organisations when care may not be an explicit aim or stated values of organisations. This is important to understanding the role and opportunities of care ethics in a broader range of organisations and institutions that may not be explicitly involved in service provision or focus on social groups in which care is an assumed or expected practise.

Care, as an ethical framework attentive to the grounded particularities of specific contexts, has allowed the thesis to reveal the ways in which organisations involved in the settlement sector act in ways that disrupt and resist exclusionary and discriminatory politics enacted through the state. In paying attention to how these organisations describe what they do, and the practicalities of how they do it, informed by care ethics, this thesis has revealed organisations as essential actors in the broader political landscape of settlement in Australia. Furthermore, it revealed how organisations are essential actors in debates surrounding the role and responsibility of the state in social and welfare service delivery that more abstract ethical viewpoints would not accomplish or allow.

In illuminating the role of care ethics within these spaces, this work is able to respond to provocations from social and cultural geography encouraging scholars to investigate whether an alternative urban politics, inclusive of the stranger and the outsider within citizenship can be supported and enabled through a more macro-political structure, which Amin (2012) describes as an 'architecture of responsibility and care'. This thesis positions organisations as importance spaces within this architecture. Shaped by a feminist ethic of care, organisations are able to practise inclusion and citizenship in ways less reliant on distinguishing between the stranger/familiar, or the citizen/noncitizen but on individual's position in life sustaining webs of care. Organisations have been largely overlooked by cultural and economic geographies which have focused upon the intimate scale, and the scale of the state as locations in which citizenship and inclusion are emergent. This research shows that organisations are a vital resource in a politics of difference.

8.2.4 The care-full resistance of non-state organisations

As this research has shown, organisations in the refugee settlement sector are marked or characterised by an ambivalence; involved and intertwined with the policies, politics, and normative imaginaries of the federal state that construct the settlement of refugees in limited ways, and at the same time practising a more care-full and generative politics which expands the limited boundaries of resettlement offered by the state. While recognising such ambivalence raises questions regarding the disruptive, progressive, or radical nature of these organisations, I argue that in the particular context of an uncaring state and uncaring state structures, and in the context of a turn towards neo-conservative politics and associated increasing border securitisation and nationalism, the practices of organisations highlighted in this thesis (informed and reflective of a feminist ethic of care) may be limited, but nonetheless disruptive and generative in important ways. Indeed, I argue that these practices should be thought of as a form of care-full resistance.

Care-full resistance draws on the concept on 'everyday resistance', first conceptualised by Scott (1985, 1989) to understand the strategies and practices of peasant resistance, and more recently brought into the geographies of the post-welfare state through the work of Baker and Davis (2017). In his foundational conceptualisation, Scott (1989, p.37) used everyday resistance to describe the 'invariably quiet, disguised, anonymous, often undeclared' acts of resistance that he saw as different but ultimately complementary to more overt forms of protest. In the work of Baker and Davis (2017), everyday resistance is further developed and used to describe the practices of non-state organisations facilitating and assisting individuals' pursuing engagement with state welfare structures in ways that resist and challenge broader logics of dissuasion and deterrence that characterise welfare state practices in most western liberal states. As care is a grounded and practice based ethic, care-full resistance, like everyday resistance, recognises and centres the everyday nature of these acts of resistance. Importantly it draws our attention to the essential role of care ethics in the capacity to undertake this resistance and adds further nuance to our understanding of what acts may constitute everyday resistance.

In defining care-full resistance, this thesis develops and expands upon notions of everyday resistance. By engaging with the role of care ethics within the acts of organisations, this theorisation of care-full resistance allows for engagement with the multiple and intersecting structures of oppression and exclusion that shape individuals' everyday lives and experiences. As discussed in Chapter 7, central to care ethics is an attention to the particularities of individuals' lives including a recognition of individuals' positions in different social, political, cultural, and economic contexts across the life course. Through practices that are attentive to the particularities of individuals' lives, including 'client-centric' or 'citizen-centric' approaches (discussed in section 7.3.1) organisations illuminate the position of individuals within these contexts, and the disadvantage and exclusion that can characterise this. Importantly, they are able to push back against these forms of exclusion through tailored services and forms of assistance. Understanding these acts as forms of care-full resistance expands our understanding of everyday resistance to recognise the multiple and intersecting forms of disadvantage, exclusion, and oppression that can shape the everyday lives of individuals.

Furthermore, the relational social ontology that informs the practise of organisations and acts of care-full resistance, highlight and bring attention to the social or collective aspects of everyday forms of resistance. Through service approaches including mapping social ties and relationships of service users and being attentive to the 'whole picture' of individuals lives (discussed in section 7.2.2), organisations are able to recognise and account for the extensive caring relationships and responsibilities that shape everyday experiences. Being attentive to caring and social relationships, as acts of care-full resistance are, is essential in the context of ideologies that are based on individualism and exclusion, like neoliberalism and settler colonialism as discussed through this thesis and in previous work on everyday resistance (Baker and Davis 2017). It is important to recognise that both everyday resistance, and care-full resistance, highlight the close and intertwined nature of forms of resistance to the structures of oppression and exclusion.

In revealing the capacity for care-full resistance, this thesis contributes to a growing geographic literature that recognises the capacity of organisations who work alongside and with state structures to act in disruptive and radical ways in the context of un-

caring or exclusionary state policies and politics (DeVerteuil 2017; Trudeau 2008, 2012). The arguments presented in this thesis lend further support to work that problematises the pervasive assumption that resistance and radical capacity of non-state organisations necessarily relies on 'non-engagement with the state' (Williams et al. 2014, p. 2804). The arguments presented in this thesis provide nuance to previous work on the relationship between the state and non-state sectors, much of which rests on the assumption that non-engagement with the state is the only position through which non-state organisation can retain agency and practise a generative politics. This thesis demonstrates that it is increasingly important to study and understand the capacities of organisations involved in sectors like the settlement sector considering the messy and shifting post-welfare context of service delivery in many western liberal democratic states, where single organisations often fulfil a range of roles and positions depending on the programs, contracts, and relationships they are involved in.

The proximity of organisations to the politics of exclusion practised by the state bureaucracy may shape what organisations do to a particular extent, however I contend that this proximity is also essential and perhaps necessary to their capacity for disruptive and radical practices, and to practise care-full resistance. Such a proximity frames their existence. The relationships this proximity produces and requires define organisations' form and practices, though these are shifting and not fixed. It is this proximity that allows organisations opportunities to push against the exclusionary politics and the boundaries of citizenship which this informs. The disruptive acts of organisations are acts of negotiation of the boundaries of the state, negotiations that are only possible at proximity.

The capacity to practise an inclusive and care-full politics and citizenship at a close proximity to structures characterised by a politics of exclusion emerges, I argue, from a feminist ethic of care that organisations are attentive to. Care ethics is fundamentally about the interconnectedness and interrelation of all subjectivities for wellbeing and survival. Acknowledging the interconnectedness and interdependence is also a recognition that individuals are connected to, shaped, and constituted by already existing systems and structures including welfare and social services structures of the state, and bureaucracy. In this context care recognises the systems of settlement and citizenship that intimately shape Australian society. Within the relational understanding

of subjectivity that is central to care ethics, and which this thesis identifies as informing the practices non-state organisations, non-engagement with the state is not the basis of disruptive and radical politics. Indeed, for these organisations, within this specific context engaging with the state may be essential or necessary for this disruptive and radical politics to occur. This is not an argument that organisations that choose not to engage with formal state structures (like funding frameworks or contacts) are not practising an ethic of care, but rather that care ethics' grounded, and practice-based nature allows it to be present and generative in the context of exclusionary state structures. In the global context of a political shift towards a neo-conservatism marked by neo-populism which is particularly catalysed and amplified in debates regarding migration, the movement of refugees, cultural difference, and who can be counted as a citizen, it is with renewed importance that we must recognise that opportunities and capacity for inclusive political alternatives can emerge within, alongside, and with blurred proximity to structures of the state.

8.3 Future directions

The importance of continuing to persevere and exist in the face of these political, ideological, and ethical pressures is also beginning to be recognised and explored in other areas of geography and the social sciences. Within political anthropology, Ghassan Hage, whose work has been essential in understanding relations of race and ethnicity in Australia, and the way these ideas structure and are sedimented in the state and institutions which guide Australian life, has also recognised the current necessity of 'waiting the crisis out' (2009). Hage (2009) explores how simply continuing to exist in the face of a crisis, whether it be a landslide or the resurfacing of overt and violent racism in the policies and structures of western liberal states, is being read as a disruptive and necessary politicised act in current global political climates. The organisations in this thesis, and their perseverance and presence at close proximity to (and from inside) such structures, and the ways they practise and engage with care ethics, can contribute to our thinking regarding 'waiting' and perseverance. It can further show that this waiting is not simply passivity or inaction, indeed like the organisations in this study it can be political and generative through small practices of negotiation and expansion that trouble and challenge the imaginaries and subjectivities that these broader violent and exclusionary politics work through.

Importantly, this study also highlights how a feminist ethic of care is essential to the continuation and political capacity within this broader context. The practices and capacities for organisations to negotiate and expand the limited boundaries of the state emerge through care ethics attentiveness to grounded particularities of individuals lives and its recognition of the interconnectedness and interdependence of all individuals. Indeed, staying with the problem in the face of exclusion and violence could itself be understood to be a care-full ethical practice, a commitment to allowing all of us to live in the world as well as possible.

This highlights the importance of staying alongside, and not looking away from structures of violence and oppression. This thinking, I argue, has similarities with important work from scholars including Haraway (2016) who ask us to 'stay with the trouble' (in this case the trouble is complete ecological collapse) and to get our 'hands dirty' if survival and the continuation of existence in the face of this destruction and crisis is going to happen. Tsing (2015, 2018) echoes the idea of survival through collaboration (sometimes with destructive forces) in order to 'preserve liveable communities and ecologies' (Tsing 2018, p. 73). Staying proximate to the messy structures of oppression and to the 'trouble', is not only useful, but essential in this context. In Australian urban geography, Natalie Osborne (2019) in her vital essay for *Geographical Research* explores the importance of care ethics to the existence, survival, and continuation of progressive feminist politics (in a context where revolution, and transformation are no longer on the table) in the face political and ecological violence. For Osborne (2019) the spaces of feminist organising she is involved with, that are structured upon a feminist ethic of care constitute a refuge, if not spaces of possibility for progressive, inclusive, and caring politics in the face of violence and destruction. Osborne (2019) shows us that by recognising and witnessing the already existing presence and practise of care ethics in the world around us, we are opening (or giving life to) still possible worlds that have not been destroyed by political and ecological violence (though they might be shaped by them), and which are still 'worth having'. Recognising these worlds, she says, is challenging the oppressive mono-realism of western capitalist thinking. This thesis contributes to the task of witnessing already existing care ethics and practices in the face of oppressive and violent politics and provides important empirical examples to this practical and realistic, if not hopeful politics.

The work presented in this thesis also contributes to very recent research agenda emerging from Australian urban geography that approaches care as a socio-material good, the capacity for which is made possible through sociomaterial, temporal, and spatial assemblages (Power 2019). This emerging agenda stems from what Amin (2014) identifies as human geography's 'infrastructural turn', through which ideas like Klinenberg's (2018) 'social infrastructure' have also been developed. Most relevant for this thesis is work by Power and Mee (2019) which brings together infrastructural and care thinking to reveal housing as an 'infrastructure of care', using an expanded notion of infrastructure to better illuminate the way in which care occurs across urban space, and the way in which sociomaterial actors like housing and housing systems, are essential for the capacity to preform care (care of the social, care of others, and care of the self). This important thinking is expanded upon in work by Power (2019) that utilises assemblage theory and develops the theory of 'caring-with' to highlight the different actors (human and non-human) that come together to make care possible.

This work highlights that many of the actors that constitute the capacity to care are inhospitable to care (or make care practices hard, or are not designed to facilitate care practices). This work importantly reaffirms care as an issue of concern for the social (Lawson 2007), brings to the fore important considerations regarding the role and responsibility of the state when thinking about care, and highlights the importance of looking at nonhuman urban actors in this space. Power and Mee's (2019) work on infrastructures of care, and Power's (2019) work on the assemblage of caring capacities touches on and includes room for a further exploration of non-state organisations as important actors in an emergent politics of care in the urban, as this thesis has begun to do. In highlighting the way in which the capacity to care emerges through spaces and relationships not designed to care, or designed as antithetical to care practices, it shares similarities with the finding of this thesis which has highlighted the care ethics of organisation in the context of state policies and normative frameworks of citizenship that do not offer care. The work presented in this thesis contributes to the task of revealing and grasping the disparate forms, actors, and objects that make care possible in an 'unequal world' (Power 2019).

8.3.1 Future research

Exploring complex relationships

In this final section I wish to outline several directions for future research on non-state organisations involved in service delivery. Firstly, future research that looks more directly at the relationships between non-state organisations in this sector could expand upon the knowledge and findings presented in this thesis. A major insight that emerged from this research has been the importance of connections and relationships between organisations, as well as between individuals who work within the refugee settlement sector. These connections and relationships are important for the capacity of organisations to create and sustain the programs they run, both through formal partnerships to secure federal government contracts, and more informal collaboration around particular events and programs as well as the sharing of resources, knowledge, and to some extent staff. While this research was able to appreciate the importance of relationships between organisations within the sector, a more comprehensive study of the details and politics of inter-organisational relationships was not possible in the scope of this single project. The findings from this research however, lay important groundwork for research that investigates these relationships. Indeed, findings around the importance of social connections in the practices and in the values of organisations presented in this thesis provide much needed context to understand the way organisations approach relationships and collaborations. Exploring the role of care ethics within the relationships between organisations will be important for better understanding the position and capacity for care ethics within organisational and bureaucratic contexts and more broadly in urban contexts. Furthermore, highlighting the relationships between organisations is important for furthering the conceptualisations of organisations as an essential caring infrastructure in urban space as the contributions from this research preposes. Understanding these organisations as relational as this thesis has done, is important to future work that can incorporate the relationships between organisations across the sector.

In recognition of the importance of productive relationships between actors within the sector that this thesis reveals, future research has great potential to enlist and engage organisations in future work through shared research agendas. Such collaboration can also produce valuable research outcomes for organisations, providing incentive for

involvement which is essential in a busy, poorly funded, and precarious sector in which participation in external research may be forgone for more pressing commitments and demands.

Amplifying service-user voices

Another important avenue for future research involves engaging with the experiences and knowledge of the service user communities who are involved with organisations in the settlement sector. This research was able to focus on the work of organisations as understood and presented through the view of participants from inside such organisations. While this focus afforded the research capacity to fully investigate the values, ethics, and philosophies present in the discourses offered by participants regarding the practices of organisations, it was not able to focus on the experiences of people from refugee backgrounds who are involved with these organisations. Future research should therefore examine the role of organisations within this sector including their position in the construction of citizenship and their practise of care ethics through engaging with individuals who are service users involved with settlement sector organisations. Engaging with service users would provide valuable insight into the work of non-state organisations and the experiences of citizenship and care within the Australian context and further illuminate the radical potential of engaging with care ethics as set out in the above section. The research so far has provided a valuable foundation to continue this research agenda and expand the voices and experiences which it is able to amplify and learn with.

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Appendix A – Plain language statement



Research Project Refuge and care in the city: organisational structures of support for humanitarian migrants in Melbourne, Australia

PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET

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Project Overview

This project, entitled *Refuge and Care in the city: organisational structures of support for humanitarian migrants in Melbourne, Australia*, is being undertaken by researchers in the School of Geography at the University of Melbourne. The project and the interviews that you have been invited to participate in today have been approved by the Human Research Ethics Committee.

The aim of the research is to explore the diverse organisations that provide services, support, and resources to humanitarian migrants in Melbourne's suburbs. We are interested in the way in which these diverse groups/ organisations provide care to this population and the role that the relationships between these groups/organisations play in providing such care.

The results of this research will be written in a final doctoral thesis and in academic journal articles. The anonymity of interviewees will be protected throughout all stages of the project, including the final written reports and papers.

Your Participation in the Project

This interview will take no more than an hour. We would like to ask a range of questions about the philosophies, commitments and values underpinning the practices of care of the organisation you are involved in, and the relationships between your organisation and other organisations and institutions including local, state, and federal government departments/ offices. With your permission we will record the interview for the purposes of analysing the results at a later date.

Your responses will be kept confidential and the audio file of the interview will be stored at the University of Melbourne in a secure location. In the final report, your name will be omitted and you will be referred to by a pseudonym and your organisation position/role only. Due to the small sample size, however, you may still be identifiable by someone familiar with your organisation or work. We will make every attempt to exclude comments or quotes that could identify you, however in some cases this may be unavoidable. There is a chance that, under Australian law, responses and data can be subpoenaed and be subject to freedom of information requests, however we do not think that is likely for this project. Once the thesis arising from this research has been completed, a brief summary of the findings will be made available by researchers upon application. It is also possible that the results will be presented at academic conferences and in refereed academic publications. The data will be kept securely in the School of Geography for five years from the date of publication, before being destroyed.

Your participation in this interview is completely voluntary and you can stop the interview or withdraw from the research at any stage without needing to give a reason. If you agree to participate, please indicate that you have read and understood this information by signing the accompanying consent form.

Questions or Complaints

This research project has been approved by the Human Research Ethics Committee of The University of Melbourne. If you have any concerns or complaints about the conduct of this research project, which you do not wish to discuss with the research team, you should contact the Manager, Human Research Ethics, Office for Research Ethics and Integrity, University of Melbourne, VIC 3010. Tel: +61 3 8344 2073 or Fax: +61 3 9347 6739 or Email: HumanEthics-complaints@unimelb.edu.au. All complaints will be treated confidentially. In any correspondence please provide the name of the research team or the name or ethics ID number of the research project

Appendix B - Consent form



Research Project Refuge and care in the city: organisational structures of support for humanitarian migrants in Melbourne, Australia

Consent Form

Name of investigator(s): Prof Ruth Fincher (Responsible Researcher) Thea Hewitt (Associated researcher)

Name of participant:

1. I consent to participate in this project, the details of which have been explained to me, and I have been provided with a written plain language statement to keep.
2. I understand that after I sign and return this consent form it will be retained by the researcher.
3. I understand that my participation will involve participation in an interviews and I agree that the researcher may use the results as described in the plain language statement.
4. I acknowledge that:
 - (a) the possible effects of participating in the interview have been explained to my satisfaction;
 - (b) I have been informed that I am free to withdraw from the project at any time without explanation or prejudice and to withdraw any unprocessed data I have provided;
 - (c) the project is for the purpose of research;
 - (d) I have been informed that the confidentiality of the information I provide will be safeguarded subject to any legal requirements;
 - (e) I have been informed that with my consent the interview will be audio recorded and I understand that the audio files will be stored electronically and will be destroyed after five years;
 - (f) I am aware that my name will be omitted and I will be referred to by a pseudonym and my organisation position/role in any publications or presentations arising from the research;
 - (g) I have been informed that a copy of the research findings will be made available to me upon application, should I agree to this.

I consent to participating in this interview **Yes** **No** (please tick)

Participant signature: Date:

Appendix C – Interview guide

As my interviews were semi-structured the below questions were used as a guide and prompt. This allowed space for interviewees to inform some of the direction and focus of the interviews themselves

Refuge and care in the city: organisational structures of support for humanitarian migrants in Melbourne Australia

Principle Researcher: Thea Hewitt

School of Geography, The University of Melbourne

Section 1 – Practices

Q1. Can you tell me a bit about (the org) and your role here?

- Job title/role? How long have you been here? Have you worked in similar organisations before?

Q2. What are the services you provide to refugee and asylum seeker groups?

- Can you explain that program for me? (Run through for each relevant)
- Who is involved/ what are the criteria for taking part/accessing?
- Where does it take place?
- How is it funded?
- What's the goal?
- What couldn't it run without?/what would improve it?

Q3. Thinking about (a specific program) what is your role/involvement in this?

- Thinking of this week (a typical week), what are the tasks or activities you would do as part of this role?
- Challenges and dilemmas
 - "It seems like a lot of your role is responding to different needs/issues/situations as they arise – is that right?" – example of one of these
 - "was there any particular situations or challenges that arose this week/recently?" (volunteers/space/funding)
 - "It sounds like there is a lot of problem solving on your part – is that correct?" – "what was one of these problems that you encountered recently?"

- is this a common challenge?
- What did you do in response? (why?, is this your usual response, do you have to do this often)

Q4. You provide (whatever services), are there times when the support you offer exceeds this?

- Are there times you want to do more?
- How do you manage to do this? Does this happen often?
- Do you think there is a need for this kind of extra support to be recognised? More formally provided? Is there capacity to do this?
- Why do you think this kind of extra support is needed? (Gap in other services? other constraints? Other context of this population in Australia? Did it used to be different)

Q5. What other settlement support do you see this population needing?

- Why is this something you don't offer? (Restrictions around this)
- Are there organisations that provide this? Do you work with them/refer people to them

Q6. Does the political climate (and broader context of humanitarian settlement in Aust.) impact or shape the support/services/programs you offer? (at federal level, state level and local level)

- How so? Example of how it impacts
- Has it changed over the last few years? examples of how it has changed (examples of impact on specific programs)
- Do you think it has had an impact on the settlement 'sector' more broadly? (what kinds of changes have you seen)
- Does the broader context shape the kinds of programs/services/support you provide? Examples of this
- Does it influence or shape your relationships or collaboration with other organisations? examples of this
 - Has this changed?

Q7. Typology – thinking about what we have discussed, I would think the work of (your org) fits in this/these category/ies, are there other services/things you are involved with that we haven't discussed?

- Examples of whatever it is.

Section 2 – Values

Q8. Do you think there are certain values that inform the work you/ the org do? (get them to give a name to them or describe them best they can)

- What makes you say this? Can you give an example of where you might be able to see this? What makes you say this/describe it like this?
- Do you think this is a value held more broadly by the organisation? Is it an individual value?
- Where do you think this value comes from?
- Do you feel like it is supported by the organisation? Is it easy to act with this value? Are there difficulties in keeping [whatever value] a priority/central in your work?
- How did you learn the values of the organisation? (Explicit conversations or statements, through mentoring, observation of other people and their practices, part of evaluation and review processes)
- Do you think there are conflicting values in the organisation? (do you have an example of this? What makes you say that? How do you seem them as conflicting?) – keep conflicting values in mind, point any out if they seem conflicting.

Q9. Are these values specific to the work you do with refugee and asylum seeker communities?

- Why? /Why not?
- Do you think different/other values inform work/programs/services that are specifically offered to Refugee and Asylum seeker communities?

Use formal organisational values if they have nothing to say/if they bring them up
(Values = certain principals / ethics that you try to uphold or follow through this work)

Section 3 – Relationships with other organisations

Q10. Plotting/listing organisations they work with on sheet – prompt for Govt. departments, funding sources, partners on programs, information sharing, groups that do similar things, groups that do different things....

Q11. What role does collaboration with other organisation play in your work?

- It's essential/pain in the arse – can you give me an example of how it is/ is there a specific relationship or collaboration that you are thinking off?
- Something you would not be able to do without collaboration?
- Get at the nature of this collaboration (Is it a partnership for project/funding, referrals, information sharing)

Q12. We discussed earlier the values that inform this work – do you think there are organisations working in this sector that have values/practices different to yours here?

- Do you have an example of that? What make you say that?
- Does this difference produce a tension or distance between your organisations? or within the sector? Does it stop you working with them?

Q13. Do you feel as though you are in competition with other organisations? (ge. Over funding, or for clients)

- How does this affect collaborations with other organisations?
- Do collaborations make you more competitive?

Q14. Has the role/importance of these collaborations changed in any way in recent years/in the broader political –economic climate?

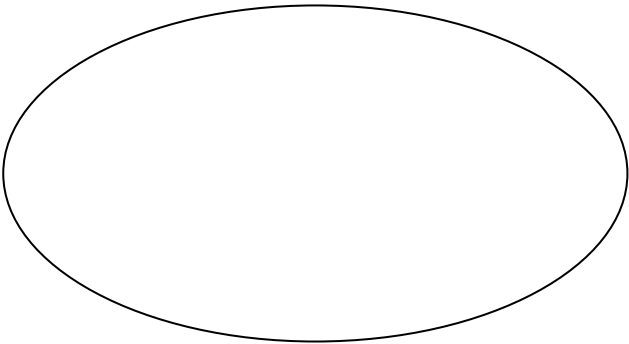
- What makes you say this, how was it different before, can you give me an example of how it has changed?

Q15. Are you part of any networks of organisations in the area?

- Can you tell me about this group (who are the other members)
- What's the purpose of the network?
- Whose initiative is it? Who runs it?
- Do you think it's useful being involved in this group? Do you have an example of a time it has been useful (or a nuisance – whatever they answer)

Service delivery for government programs	Capacity and community building	Resources (inc. spaces)	Advocacy, advice, and information	Funding for other groups and programs	Other services programs etc.
Eg. ☐ Humanitarian Settlement Services ☐ Asylum Seeker Assistance Scheme ☐ Housing services	Eg. ☐ English classes ☐ Employment and training, ☐ Mentoring, ☐ Leadership skills workshops ☐ Entrepreneurial/business workshops	Eg. ☐ Material aid ☐ Food banks, ☐ Meeting space for community/faith groups ☐ Internet access and/or work spaces	Eg. ☐ Legal assistance ☐ Immigration advice ☐ Campaigning ☐ Fundraising ☐ Awareness raising	Eg. ☐ Grants available for community/ethnic/faith groups	

Relationships and collaborations



Appendix D – List of Participants

Pseudonym	Organisation and Position/Role	Date of Interview
Philipa	Maribyrnong City Council- Multicultural engagement officer	15/6/16
Marisa	Maribyrnong City Council Library Services - Outreach Librarian	28/7/16
Addison	Maribyrnong City Council Library Services - Library manager	28/7/16
Maxwell	Maribyrnong City Council - Diversity Planner	2/8/16
Ioana	Maribyrnong City Council - FILLS Project officer	3/10/16
Daniel	Phoenix youth centre - Youth Officer	14/10/16
Tamara	Hume City Council - Coordinator Community Capacity Building	7/7/16
Rafaela	Hume City Council - Community Development Officer	7/7/16
Elizabeth	Hume City Council - Community Hubs Coordinator	29/11/16
Sylvia	Dianella Community Health - Population Health Team leader	9/11/16
Marta	Brotherhood of St. Laurence - Senior Manager, Refugees, Immigration & Multiculturalism	2/12/16
Ferne	VICSEGNewfutures - Senior social worker & Programs Coordinator	1/12/16
Marika	VICSEGNewfutures - Cross Cultural Training & Programs Coordinator	20/1/16
David	Edmund Rice Refugee centre - Coordinator	4/10/16
Rosina	Migrant resource centre north west - Migration Agent	15/11/16
Isla	Migrant resource centre north west - Migration Agent	15/11/16
Saniya	Jesuit social services - Coordinator, Settlement Program	21/11/16

Cecilia	West Welcome Wagon - Vice President	29/11/16
Conall	AMES - Asylum Seeker Program team manager	20/2/17
Alicia	Brotherhood of St. Laurence - Refugee Child Outreach Program	16/2/17
Olivia	Brotherhood of St. Laurence - Youth settlement employment programs	16/2/17
Sophia	Foundation house - Coordinator	2/3/17
Asher	Centre for Multicultural Youth - Team Leader	1/3/17
Michelle	Brotherhood of St. Laurence	6/3/17
Prakash	Brotherhood of St. Laurence	6/3/17
Jacqueline	Yarra City Council - Community Planner, Multicultural Affairs and Neighbourhood Houses	4/4/17
Sandra	Yarra City Council - Community Planner, Multicultural Affairs and Neighbourhood Houses	4/4/17
Amy	CoHealth - Refugee health team & Yarra Settlement Forum Facilitator	14/4/17
Ellena	Yarra council - People and Culture Special Projects Coordinator	24/4/17
Yasmine	CoHealth - Refugee health team	3/5/17
Alex	Yarra city council - Coordinator, Youth & Middle Years	15/5/17
Mariam	Sutherland adult education	18/7/17
Cosmo	Joining the Dots	27/7/17
Beatrice	Salvation Army - Manager, Asylum Seeker & Refugee Service	4/8/17