An Exploration of Key Informant Perspectives on Factors influencing Settlement of Male Hazara Youth who migrated to Melbourne as Unaccompanied Minors

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Abstract

Background: Globally, there has been an extraordinary growth in refugees and asylum-seekers in the past two decades. Australia experienced a dramatic increase in boat-arrivals in 2008–2013, with many being Afghan Hazara including unaccompanied asylum-seeker minors (UAMs). Global and Australian studies highlight the significance of providing UAMs with appropriate settlement services during their adjustment period, yet few ethno-specific studies have to date sought service provider perspectives on support provided to male Hazara UAMs pre-18 years and former UAMs (fUAMs) post-18 years.

Methods: This qualitative study addressed this research gap using ecological systems theory and social networks theory in a dual-sector case study design to explore the perceptions of professional case workers (n=6) and voluntary English language teachers (n=6). Based on key informant views, this study focused on the expectations and experiences of male Hazara UAMs' compared to fUAMs' select settlement services during their early adjustment period (2015–2016) in Melbourne, Australia and how this support influences their settlement and wellbeing.

Results: The findings indicate UAMs' three-part migration trajectory (from Afghanistan, via transit countries to Australia) was perceived to be driven by classic push and pull factors and shaped by family separation. Following arrival, Australia's immigration and settlement policies determined the type and level of support provision, with UAMs in community detention receiving maximum services while fUAMs in mainstream community being offered highly reduced services and temporary visas. English language was perceived to have strong influence on their early adjustment, and different forms of social networks could promote their socioeconomic participation. Despite UAMs experiencing potential risks pre-arrival, protective factors post-arrival, especially support services, could rebuild their resilience.

Conclusion: This study has implications for asylum-seeker and settlement policies, casework practice, and researchers to leverage settlement process and wellbeing outcomes of this group of unaccompanied youths in Australia.

Statement of Authorship

Except where reference is made in the text of the M.Phil. thesis, this thesis contains no material published elsewhere or extracted in whole or in part from a thesis submitted for the award of any other degree or diploma. No other person's work has been used without due acknowledgment in the main text of the thesis. This thesis has not been submitted for the award of any degree or diploma in any other tertiary institution. The thesis was approved by the Research Higher Degrees Committee.

All research procedures and all materials collected and reported in this thesis were approved by The University of Melbourne's Human Ethics Advisory Group (HEAG approval No.1441663.1).

Name: John Kirwa Tum Kole Date: 01/09/2020

Dedications

I dedicate this thesis to all families who make educational sacrifices to improve their future. Special dedication goes to my dear late mom, Maria Jebokaran Tamining Kole, who worked extremely hard so that we could have an education after our dad, Peter Kiptum Kole, had earlier on succumbed to his military service combat-related injuries which occurred in war.

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Glossary of Abbreviations

Abbreviations	Terms
AHRC	Australian Human Rights Commission
AMES	Adult Multicultural Education Services
ARC	Australian Red Cross
ASRC	Asylum Seeker Resource Centre
BVE	Bridging Visa E
CEAS	Common European Asylum System
CMY	Centre for Multicultural Youth
CROC	Convention on the Rights of the Child
DET	Department of Education and Training
DHHS	Department of Health and Human Services
DIAC	Department of Immigration and Citizenship
DIBP	Department Immigration and Border Protection
DSS	Department of Social Services
EAL	English as an Additional Language
ESL	English as a Second Language
EU	European Union
fUAMs	Former Unaccompanied Asylum-Seeker Minors
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
IGOC Act	Immigration (Guardianship of Children) Act 1946
MEP	Meaningful Engagement Programme
MYAN	Multicultural Youth Advocacy Network

NGO	Non-Government Organization
OECD	Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
SHEV	Save Haven Enterprise Visa
SHP	Special Humanitarian Programme
TESOL	Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages
TPV	Temporary Protection Visa
TIS	Translating and Interpreting Services
UAMs	Unaccompanied Asylum-Seeker Minors
UN	United Nations
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNICEF	United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund
RCOA	Refugee Council of Australia
VLGs/Cs	Victoria Local Governments/Councils

Chapter 1: Introduction and Research Context

1.1 Introduction

This M.Phil. explored the support services provided to unaccompanied asylum-seeker minors (UAMs) entering Australia, with a potential to promote their wellbeing and effective early settlement as perceived by settlement service providers. UAMs are defined as minors who arrive without parents (Hancilova et al., 2011). According to Pollock et al. (2018, p. 2), wellbeing (despite varied definitions) "refers to the quality of life of people in a society". Effective settlement refers to an individual's re-establishment and integration into a new society (Nunn et al., 2017). Multiple Australian media sources in 2017–2019 reported disproportionate crime rates amongst refugee-origin youth, particularly those of a Sudanese background, a cause of concern during the 2018 Victorian state election (Baxendale, 2019; Day, 2018; Wahlquist, 2018). What is unknown is the extent to which such youths have arrived as UAMs.

Recent United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees policy reports (UNHCR, 2016, 2017, 2018) show steady growth in forcibly displaced people globally in the last seven years, from 45.2 million in 2012, 51.2 million in 2013, 59.5 million in 2014, 65.3 million in 2015, 65.6 in 2016, 68.5 in 2017, and finally 70.8 million in 2018. Due to push and pull factors of migration (Vervliet et al., 2015), Australia has become a highly desirable OECD destination by asylum-seekers (Koser & Marsden, 2013).

Based on analysis of academic and grey literature (Phillips, 2017a), the number of boat-arrivals in Australia steadily increased from nil in 2002–2003 to 133 in 2005–2006, and then declined to 25 in 2007–2008. There was a drastic increase in 2012–2013 to 25,173 before a sharp drop to 7,674 in 2013–2014. Phillips and Spinks (2013) defined boat-arrivals as unauthorised

asylum-seeking people arriving by sea. These fluctuations in numbers have led to public debates and attitudes about unauthorised arrivals (e.g., increased numbers in boat-arrivals), directly resulting in government policies ultimately aimed to stop asylum-seeker flows (McHugh-Dillon, 2015; McAdam & Chong, 2014).

The Department of Immigration and Border Protection (DIBP, 2014a) and Refugee Council of Australia (RCOA, 2016a) policy reports show most recent boat-arrivals in Australia have come from the Middle East, and the great majority were single young males. Table 1.1 shows Afghanistan was the country from which most boat-arrivals originated (12,550), followed by Iran (11,160), and Iraq (2,776) in 2008–2014 (June). Due to wars and persecution, boat-arrivals from Hazara (a minority ethnic group in Afghanistan) have increased since the 1990s (Koser & Marsden, 2013). The sheer scale in these numbers has led to strong advocacy by global bodies (i.e., UNHCR) for the adoption of protective measures, since Australia has long been a signatory to key refugee protection protocols.

Table 1. 1 Australia's Boat-Arrivals from 3 Main Middle East Countries, 2008–2009 to 2017–2018 June

Countries	2008-2009	2009-2010	2010-2011	2011-2012	2012-2013	2013-2014	2014-2015	2015-2016	2016-2017	2017-2018 June	**Total**
Afghanistan	530	2,648	1,610	3,153	3,572	1,037	81	49	-	11	**12,691**
Iran	13	201	1,565	1,547	4,382	3,452	166	255	240	104	**11,925**
Iraq	62	251	560	373	1,099	431	57	37	40	43	**2,953**
Total Applications For 3 Countries	**605**	**3,100**	**3,735**	**5,073**	**9,053**	**4,920**	**304**	**341**	**280**	**158**	**27,569**

Note: Adapted from Department of Home Affairs (DHA) (2017a, 2018a); DIBP (2013a, 2014a, 2015a, 2016a); Asylum Seeker Resource Centre (ASRC) (2013a).

The 1951 Refugee Convention was established to provide durable solutions to displaced people in Europe after WW II (UNHCR, 2011a). Also, the 1967 Protocol was established to resolve issues which had not been in effect in the 1951 Convention, such as asylum-seeker protection (O'Nions, 2014). To govern asylum-seeker resettlement, Australia signed the Convention in 1954 and the 1967 Protocol in 1973, as discussed next.

1.2 UNHCR Conventions on Refugee Obligations

There have been multiple international refugee and asylum-seeker flows in the past century, peaking after WW II and Indochinese War and increasing rapidly since 2001, following the September 2001 World Trade Centre attacks, the USA and allied invasions of Afghanistan and Iraq, and recent civil wars in Syria and Yemen. The global refugee systems established since WW II struggled to provide asylum-seekers with lasting safety, with key protocols being the 1951 Refugee Convention, the 1967 Protocol, followed by regional agreements such as the Organization of African Unity/Africa Union (OAU/AU), the Cartagena Declaration, and the Common European Asylum System (CEAS). Additional information on these protocols to which Australia is a signatory is also provided here.

1.2.1 The 1951 Refugee Convention

Established after WW II, the Refugee Convention provided protection and durable solutions to 1.25 million persecuted European refugees and displaced persons (UNHCR, 2011a). There are three durable solutions for refugees in the Convention: (1) resettlement in a third country, (2) return to their country of origin and, (3) local integration (UNHCR, 2017). Currently, 150 countries have signed the Convention and/or Protocol (Zamfir, 2015). However, obligation to be bound by the Convention is purely voluntary (McAdam & Chong, 2014).

Hatton (2011) highlights a global influx in displaced people has increased challenges for convention member countries. These challenges include entry terms for asylum-seekers, and refugee status determination, with some countries likely to undermine important principles of non-discrimination and non-refoulment (Koser, 2015). Koser (2015) defined non-refoulment as the right of refugees not to be removed to a country where they could face persecution or torture. Based on these principles, member states are required to provide protection to asylum-seekers, except those deemed to be a security threat (terrorism) to the host-countries and convicts of serious crimes (Kerwin, 2016; O'Nions, 2014). Although originally developed with good intentions after WW II, the convention failed to envisage current contextual drivers of migration. Within the Convention, there is narrow definition of a "refugee" by signatory and non-signatory member countries (Maharaj, 2012; Hatton, 2011). As result, the Refugee Convention faces the following challenges (Edwards, 2012; Schoenholtz, 2012):

1. The Convention does not mention asylum-seekers (only promotes their rights) and persecuted people including lesbians, gays, bisexuals, transgenders, queers and intersexes (LGBTQI);
2. A few refugees and asylum-seekers are offered permanent resettlement (102,800 out of 3.1 million in 2017) (UNHCR, 2017);
3. The number of countries detaining or turning back asylum-seekers are on the rise; and
4. The Convention has been viewed as interfering in other countries' territorial authority.

1.2.2 Subsequent Protocol and Regional Instruments

The 1967 Protocol and regional agreements (i.e., OAU/AU, the CEAS) were established to resolve issues overlooked in the 1951 Convention, including protection of asylum-seekers (Zamfir, 2015; O'Nions, 2014; UNHCR, 2011a). Upon signing the 1951 Convention in 1954 and

the 1967 Protocol in 1973, Australia had an obligation to provide protection, services and settlement to asylum-seekers including UAMs and former UAMs (fUAMs) (McAdam & Chong, 2014). However, Australia's response to recent asylum-seeker flows from the Middle East has resulted in punitive legal measures including temporary protection and denial of permanent settlement (Archbold, 2015; Koser, 2015).

Collectively, this section has shown the importance of the Refugee Convention and the 1967 Protocol in trying to find a lasting solution to refugees. However, current refugee and asylum-seeker flows have resulted in some countries adopting restrictive policy regulations that deny them protection and permanent settlement. The growing scale of global asylum-seeker flows, from source countries of the Middle East and receiving countries in Europe and the USA, are discussed next.

1.3 Global Growth in Asylum-Seeker Flows (Excluding the Asia-Pacific Region)

Multiple policy reports (UNHCR, 2013a, 2015a, 2016, 2017, 2018) show a rise in refugee and asylum-seeker populations globally, with the number increasing steadily from 1.2 million in 2013, to 2.8 million in 2016, to 3.1 million in 2017 to 3.5 million in 2018. According to Table 1.2, the number of asylum-seekers from 10 source countries in 2013–2017 was 4,042,300, of which over one million were recorded in 2015–2016. In the Middle East, the highest number of asylum-seekers came from Syria (1,110,100) followed by Afghanistan (757,400) and Iraq (653,000). However, Afghanistan was the leading source of asylum-seekers before 2012 (Achilli, 2015; UNHCR, 2013b). The highest number of asylum-seekers in Central America came from

Venezuela (166,200) and El Salvador (143,200), while those in Africa mainly came from Congo DRC (329,000), Eritrea (262,400), and Nigeria (2017,800).

Table 1. 2 Main Countries of Origin for New Global Asylum-Seekers, 2013–2017

Country of Origin	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	Total
Syria	66,100	170,000	409,300	347,600	117,100	**1,110,100**
Afghanistan	50,200	73,400	271,100	237,800	124,900	**757,400**
Iraq	46,000	99,800	208,600	185,100	113,500	**653,000**
Congo DRC	60,700	48,100	54,800	60,700	104,700	**329,000**
Eritrea	34,900	60,000	60,300	57,400	49,800	**262,400**
Pakistan	33,700	35,000	57,600	58,500	43,400	**228,200**
Nigeria	23,800	32,000	43,600	56,400	52,000	**207,800**
Iran	23,200	22,500	42,400	61,800	35,100	**185,000**
Venezuela	1,100	4,100	10,200	34,200	116,600	**166,200**
El Salvador	6,600	11,600	22,700	42,900	59,400	**143,200**
Total	**346,300**	**556,500**	**1,180,600**	**1,142,400**	**816,500**	**4,042,300**

Note: Data was sourced from UNHCR (2017, p. 43).

Migration of asylum-seekers is a complex process comprising push and pull factors. The push factors include persistent wars, conflicts, and death/persecution (James & Mayblin, 2016). The pull factors to destination countries include the presence of the same ethnic communities; better economic conditions; and perceived probability of being granted protection (Eurostat, 2016). However, their protection may be affected by a rise in host-nations' security concerns, leading to restrictive migration measures (Appleby, 2017).

This section presents analyses of factors driving asylum-seekers out from the main source regions of the Middle East including Afghanistan, the scale of refugee and asylum-seeker flows and the policy responses in Europe and the USA.

1.3.1 The Middle East

Since 2001, the Middle East has experienced military interventions by the USA and Western powers, in addition to protracted sectarian wars and a rise of terrorist groups, leading to millions of refugees and asylum-seekers fleeing (Schueftan, 2016; Reese, 2013). As a result, the Middle Eastern region has become the main asylum-seeker source with the main asylum-seeker source countries in the Middle East being Syria, Afghanistan and Iraq (UNHCR, 2014a, 2015ab, 2017). The UNHCR (2017) report revealed that Syria contributed 6.3 million followed by Afghanistan with 2.6 million, and Pakistan with 1.4 million refugees in 2017. The vast majority of these refugees sought protection within the Middle East and in Western countries including Germany, the UK and Australia.

An NGO report (South Eastern Region Migrant Resource Centre (SERMRC), 2010) and Ibrahimi (2017) show ethnic groups in Afghanistan. Figure 1.1 shows Afghan ethnic groups include Pashtun (42%), Tajik (27%), Hazara (9%), Uzbek (9%), Aimak (4%), Turkmen (3%), Baloch (2%), and other (4%). Reports (UNHCR, 2017; Echavez et al., 2014) show the drivers of Afghan migration to overseas countries have been highly complex. In recent years, the majority of Afghan asylum-seekers have been Hazara youth, many being male UAMs (Correa-Velez et al., 2014).

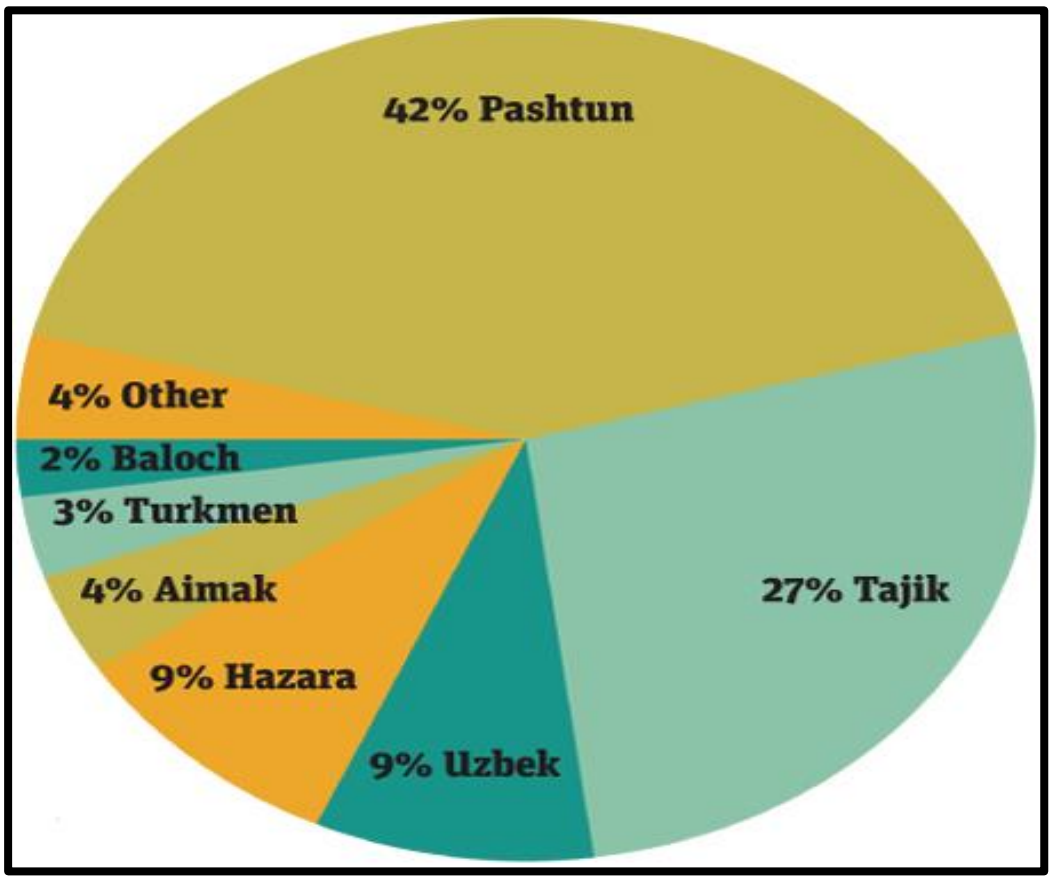

Figure 1. 1. Ethnolinguistic groups in Afghanistan.
Sourced from N. Ibrahimi (2017, p.6).

1.3.1.1 Scale and cause of Afghan asylum-seeker flows including youth

Although Afghans have had a long presence in Australia, their inflows started in the 1990s because of war, poverty, and religio-political persecution (e.g., during Mujahideen in 1992–1996, and the Taliban in 1996–2001) (Koser & Marsden, 2013; Jones & Kenny, 2010). According to the Australian Census reports (ABS, 2001, 2006, 2011, 2016), the number of Afghan-born people in Australia increased from 12,296 in 2001 to 16,751 in 2006, finally 28,599 in 2011, before almost doubling to 46,800 in 2016. In Victoria, their numbers were 9,946 in 2011 and 18,116 in 2016 (DIBP, 2014b). Reports (DIPB, 2014bc; Phillips, 2012) demonstrated Hazara constitute most of the Afghans in Australia, majority being young men.

1.3.1.2 Male Hazara youth: Why the most prominent?

Over the past decade, there has been an increase in numbers of Afghan boat-arrivals coming to Australia, with many being Hazara single young men (Department of Immigration and Citizenship (DIAC), 2013a; Rodriguez-Jimenez & Gifford, 2010). Multiple qualitative studies (Saikal, 2012a, b; Lange et al., 2007; Sparrow, 2005) have claimed the Hazara were a highly persecuted and marginalised ethnic group in Afghanistan. Thus, significant numbers of Hazara asylum-seekers fled to Western countries including Australia (Kusmez, 2015; Phillips, 2011).

As demonstrated in Table 1.3, the flows of Hazara people including youth occurred in three phases, 1990–2001, 2007–2010 and 2011–2013. Their migration was mainly to OECD countries including Australia. They preferred Australia because of the large Hazara community (Koser & Marsden, 2013).

Table 1. 3 Three-Phase Migration Flows of Hazara People Including Youth to Australia, 1990–2001 to 2011–2013

Years	Reason for the flows of Hazara people
1990–2001	An influx occurred due to an increase in the Mujahideen and the Taliban governments' persecutions in Afghanistan
2007–2010	A sharp increase resulted from increased insecurity in Afghanistan and generous Labor government policies in Australia
2011–2013	The inflow occurred due to the deteriorating security situation in Afghanistan and Pakistan (Quetta)

Note: Sourced from K. Koser & P. Marsden (2013)

The known push factors for the Hazara (including youth) migration were complex, involving internal and external factors. Their push factors included protracted wars and sectarian conflicts; ethnic discrimination; religiopolitical persecutions; socioeconomic marginalisation and; military conscription of young men in Afghanistan, as well as constant attacks/exclusion in

Pakistan and Iran (Tellis & Eggers, 2017; Koser & Marsden, 2013; Phillips, 2012). Their pull factors for migration overseas, especially Western countries, included perceived welcome of refugees; availability of social networks and family connections; potential economic opportunities; favourable asylum-seeker policies; high refugee recognition rates (about 90% in Australia); and generous welfare systems (e.g., in Australia) (Every, 2015; McAuliffe, 2013; Spinks, 2013). However, the Coalition governments (2001–2007 and 2013–2015) established punitive domestic policies that saw a sharp decline in Hazara migration to Australia (Every, 2015).

Hazara families send their young people alone on the risky journeys overseas, including Australia. Qualitative studies (Correa-Velez et al., 2014; Neve, 2014) stated Hazara families preferred to send only an older male child overseas based on their strength, intelligence, courage and ability to succeed to safer destinations. The families engaged people smugglers who helped unaccompanied young people in their migration process that may involve flights to Malaysia or Indonesia, and then boat travels to Australia (Cassrels, 2014; Suhnan et al., 2012).

Aggregate data on Hazara tends to be unreliable, however it has been shown since 2011 about 20,000 Hazara people have resettled in Australia, with between 10,000 and 12,000 living in Melbourne (Mackenzie & Guntarik, 2015; Adult Migrant English Services (AMES), 2014). In Melbourne, the Hazara settled mostly in eastern suburbs (e.g., Greater Dandenong, Casey, Cardinia) and western suburbs (e.g., Footscray) and regional areas (e.g., Geelong, Mildura) (Rodriguez-Jimenez & Gifford, 2010; Sparrow, 2005). Unemployment rates for Middle Eastern migrants (including Afghan Hazara) is about 33% during the first five years post-arrival in Australia, as indicated by the Daily Telegraph (Bita, 2017).

1.3.2 Europe

Multiple policy and statistical reports (Lau, 2018; Eurostat, 2017; UNHCR, 2016) demonstrated asylum-seeker applications in Europe had drastically increased from 1.2 million in 2013–2014 to over 2 million in 2015–2017. Europe had been a highly sought-after asylum-seeker destination, with Germany followed by Hungary, Sweden and Greece receiving the highest number of people seeking asylum (Rietig & Muller, 2016). Germany has been the single largest recipient of new asylum-seekers, admitting over 1.1 million in 2015 to peak at 1.6 million in 2017, due to overly generous government policy measures (Grote, 2018).

Global policy reports (UNHCR, 2016, 2017) showed the growing scale of asylum-seekers entering Europe arrived mainly from the Middle Eastern and sub-Saharan Africa. The drivers of migration in the Middle East (i.e., Syria, Afghanistan, Iraq) are described earlier (see subsection 1.3.1), while in sub-Saharan Africa (i.e., Somalia, South Sudan, DRC Congo) have been wars, failed states and extreme weather events (Kasozi, 2017). Asylum-seekers entered Europe mainly through the porous and geographically isolated borders of the Mediterranean countries including Greece, and Italy (Phillips, 2015ab; Park, 2014).

The major policy and political changes in many European countries have resulted from recent influx of asylum-seekers and Islamic State-inspired terrorist attacks in some countries such as France and England (Beirens, 2018; Grote, 2018; Davis & Deole, 2017; Garlick, 2015). These changes included asylum-seeker burden-sharing and relocation to other European countries; tight border policies and deportation; and a rise in extreme anti-immigration rhetoric. Despite these changes, evidence showed thousands of asylum-seekers have been offered protection and resettlement in many European countries including Germany (59,500), France (29,900), Italy (22,900), Austria (11,200), Sweden (10,400), and the UK (8,300) (Eurostat, 2018a).

1.3.3 The United States of America

Policy reports (UNHCR, 2017; Chishti & Hipsman, 2015) showed the USA has experienced an upsurge of asylum-seekers, predominantly from Guatemala, El Salvador and Honduras (the Northern Triangle). Their numbers dramatically increased from 88,400 in 2013 to 331,700 in 2017. The Trump administration (2016–2018) has responded by introducing punitive policies including tightened border security and intake of Muslim refugees; increased deportation and; separation of children (Kerwin, 2018; Labrador & Renwick, 2018).

In 2007–2017, the USA admitted 229,883 Muslim refugees (which represented 32%) out of the 708,354 refugees, of which the majority arrived from the Middle East region (Zong & Batalova, 2017; Rosenblum, 2015). In January 2017, the Trump government temporarily banned refugees from Muslim majority nations that included Iraq, Syria, Yemen, Libya and Somalia (Centre for Migration Studies (CMS), 2018).

In summary, this section has shown the Middle East region is the main source of refugees and asylum-seekers, including Hazara youth, who have sought protection in Middle Eastern and Western countries in the past decade. The growth in refugees and asylum-seekers in the Asia-Pacific region is discussed next.

1.4 Growth in Asylum-Seeker Flows in the Asia-Pacific Region

Global policy reports (UN, 2017; UNHCR, 2017) showed the Asia-Pacific region has a long and complex history of mixed migration and had over 13.1 million displaced people, including refugees and asylum-seekers, in 2017. However, 20 out of 45 countries have signed the Refugee Convention and the 1967 Protocol, leaving thousands of asylum-seekers without protection and resettlement in the region. Afghanistan and Myanmar have been the leading refugee producing countries in the region (McAuliffe, 2016).

Asia Pacific countries including Indonesia, Thailand and Malaysia hosted many refugees, however the region has not established regional refugee protection framework (ASRC, 2018). According to McAuliffe (2016), stateless Muslim minority Rohingyas have been fleeing Myanmar, mainly to Bangladesh, because of extreme violence, denial of citizenship and basic services. With few countries in the region providing protection, legal status and resettlement, most asylum-seekers are likely to move to developed countries including Australia.

1.5 Growth in Asylum-Seeker Flows to Australia

1.5.1 Wave 1: Boat people from Vietnam (1975-1981)

After the Vietnam War ended (1965–1975), some authors (Schloenhardt, 2000; Robinson, 1998) indicated approximately 185,700 Vietnamese arrived in Australia in 1975–1998. The Department of Immigration and Citizenship (DIAC, 2011a) report showed Vietnamese boat-arrivals in Australia were in small numbers, increasing steadily from 209 in 1975–1976, to 1,432 in 1977–1978, slowing to 146 in 1981–1982, to nil arrivals in 1982–1989. To deter organised boat voyages to Australia, the Fraser government established policy regulations that included deportation, under *the Migration Amendment Act 1980* (Smit, 2010).

1.5.2 Wave 2: Boat people from Cambodia, Vietnam and China (1976–1999)

The end of the Cold War, leading to change in governments in former socialist countries (e.g., Vietnam) and human rights violations in China, resulted in second wave of boat-arrivals in Australia (Schloenhardt, 2000). The boat-arrivals were mainly from Cambodia, Vietnam and China, with about 3,000 arriving in Australia in 1976–1998 and slowing in 1996–1999. These boat-arrivals led to public anxiety about invasion. The Fraser government negotiated with the Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN) to stop boats leaving for Australia and also resettled those found to be ‘genuine’ refugees (Smit, 2010). The *Migration Legislation Amendment*

Act 1989 introduced significant changes to migration policy, including provision of visas to asylum-seekers and imprisonment/fines for people traffickers (DIAC, 2011a; McKay et al., 2011).

1.5.3 Wave 3: Boat-people from the Middle East (1999–2015)

The number of boat-arrivals in Australia increased steadily in 1999–2015, with more varied and complex migratory movements compared to previous arrivals (DIBP, 2015a). The Middle East region has experienced complex sectarian and religious wars, and intervention by Western countries, leading to outflows of desperate asylum-seekers and refugees (Schueftan, 2016). As a result, most boat-arrivals have come mainly from Afghanistan, Syria and Iraq (Weber & Pickering, 2011). Their migration was aided by people smugglers, with their numbers increasing from 12,000 in 1999–2001 to peak at over 30,000 in 2008–2014 (ASRC, 2014a). In 2015, there were about 28,937 boat-arrivals in mainstream community and 2,044 in closed immigration detention, with most of them having been young people under 30 years (DIBP, 2013a, 2015a). Their arrival resulted in a heightened media and public hostility towards them, and successive governments introducing punitive policies, as described earlier (McKay et al., 2011).

In summary, Australia has experienced growth in the asylum-seeker flows occurring in three distinct waves of boat-arrivals in the last four decades, with recent fluctuating flows that have mainly arrived from the Middle Eastern countries including Afghanistan. Australian governments have introduced tough policy measures including temporary visas.

1.5.4 Asylum-seeker temporary protection visas

In recent years, Australia has experienced growth in the flows of asylum-seekers arriving either by plane with valid visas (non-irregular migration arrivals (non-IMAs) or by boat without visas (irregular migration arrivals (IMAs) (DIBP, 2016b; Hugo & Napitupulu, 2015; Refugee Council of Australia (RCOA), 2012). Thus, migration laws have been changed to provide onshore

asylum-seekers with three main legal temporary protection–Bridging Visa E (BVE), Safe Haven Enterprise Visa (SHEV) and Temporary Protection Visa (TPV) (Karlsen & Phillips, 2017a; RCOA, 2015a). The BVE allows asylum-seekers to temporarily reside in Australia lawfully while waiting for refugee status application outcomes (Banki & Katz, 2009). The SHEV is a five-year temporary protection offered to boat-arrivals who qualify for Australia's protection, with the prospect of permanent visas. The three-year TPV has been provided to asylum-seekers since 2014. These three temporary visas come with highly reduced support services, likely to influence asylum-seekers' settlement process and wellbeing (Doherty, 2014; ASRC, 2013a).

Table 1.4 indicates the number of non-IMAs and IMAs protection applications in Australia between 2001–2002 and 2017–2018. During this period, applications of non-IMAs (n=80,777) and proportions (97% in 2014–2015) were high compared to IMAs (n=41,183). There are variable views as to the shifts in Australian policy regarding migration flows. Yet, the literature suggests that focus of the media, and public and political debates have partly led to the establishment of tough border protection policy measures (Tazreiter, 2017). Most IMAs have come from the Middle East, with Table 1.4 showing their numbers sharply declined from 2,222 in 2001–2002, to 21 in 2007–2008 partly due to the Coalition government's strict policies. IMAs began to increase rapidly from 678 in 2008–2009, to 26,845 in 2012–2013 owing in part to the Labor government's generous policies. They slowed from 1,007 in 2013–2014, to 332 in 2017–June 2018 which can be attributed in part to the Coalition government's tough policies. Based on offshore processing policy, IMAs have been transferred offshore to Nauru and Manus Island for processing since 2013.

Table 1. 4 Australia's Onshore Asylum-Seeker Applications, 2001–2002 to 2014–2018 June

Year	Non-IMAs Air Arrivals	% Total Applications	IMAs Boat Arrivals	% Total Applications	Total Asylum Seeker Arrivals
2001–02	7,026	76.0	2,222	24.0	**9,248**
2002–03	4,959	98.8	60	1.2	**5,019**
2003–04	3,485	97.6	87	2.4	**3,572**
2004–05	3,062	95.4	146	4.6	**3,208**
2005–06	3,191	96.9	101	3.1	**3,292**
2006–07	3,723	99.4	23	0.6	**3,746**
2007–08	3,987	99.5	21	0.5	**4,008**
2008–09	5,072	88.0	678	12.0	**5,750**
2009–10	5,981	56.6	4,597	43.4	**10,578**
2010–11	6,335	55.0	5,166	45.0	**11,501**
2011–12	7,063	48.8	7,373	51.2	**14,436**
2012–13	8,480	31.6	18,365	68.4	**26,845**
2013–14	9,688	91.0	1,007	9.0	**10,695**
2014–15	8,587	97.0	261	3.0	**8,848**
2015–16	59	4.3	415	33.0	**474**
2016–17	41	3.1	329	26	**370**
2017–18 (June)	38	2.8	332	25	**370**
Total	**80,777**		**41,183**		**121,960**

Note: Data adapted from DHA (2017b, 2018); DIBP (2013a, 2014a, 2015a, 2016ab).

Australia's domestic migration regulations from 1958 to 2014 was aimed to meet international obligation, control unauthorised boat-arrivals, and protect migrant children's rights, as shown in Table 1.5.

Table 1. 5 Australia's Domestic Migration Regulations of Specific Relevance to Asylum-Seekers and Youths

Year Signed	Legislation	Aim
1954	The 1951 Refugee Convention	To bring into force the 1951 UN Convention relating to the Status of Refugees
1958	The *Migration Act 1958*	To meet international obligation to protect refugees
1973	The 1967 Protocol	To resolve the Refugee Convention's temporal and geographical restrictions including asylum-seeker protection
1994	The *1990 Convention on the Rights of the Child* (CROC)	To protect civil, political, socioeconomic, health and cultural rights of the children (relevant to this thesis)
2002	The *Immigration (Guardianship of Children) Act 1946* (IGOC)	To protect children's rights, with the Minister for Immigration being the official guardian of unaccompanied minors (relevant to this thesis)
2012	The *Migration Legislation Amendment Act 2012*	To transfer asylum-seekers offshore for processing
2014	The *Migration and Maritime Powers Legislation Amendment Bill*	To introduce temporary protection visas (TPVs) for asylum-seekers who arrive in Australia illegally

Note: Adapted from E. Karlsen & J. Phillips (2017ab); M. Crock (2015); J. McAdam and F. Chong (2014).

Established in the next section, the policy context in Australia has become increasingly complex in relation to the scale and sources of asylum-seeker flows, influencing refugee admission and settlement policy. For example, the Vietnam war in 1955–1975 resulted in unprecedented outflows of immigrants to Western countries, including Australia between 1970s and 1990s (Tabar, 2010; Schloenhardt, 2000). The period between 2001 and 2014 marked the start of Middle Eastern asylum-seeker outflows including Syrians and Afghans. Several authors (Tellis & Eggers, 2017; Thrall & Goepner, 2017) showed the September 2001 World Trade Centre attacks resulted

in the USA and allied forces launching military attacks in Afghanistan in late 2001 and in Iraq in 2003, to try and dismantle terrorist groups.

Despite increased war on terror, there has been a rise in insecurity in the Middle East that has led to a dramatic increase in refugee and asylum-seeker flows, with most Western countries, including Australia, becoming concerned at the perceived threat of accepting unfiltered boat-arrivals (Briskman, 2015). Successive Australian Coalition and Labor governments have introduced major immigration and settlement policy changes due to unprecedented flows of asylum-seekers which are summarised in the following three sections.

The Coalition government 2001–2007

The conservative Coalition government, led by John Howard, came into power after defeating Paul Keating's Labor government in the 1996 federal elections (Phillips, 2017bc). In 1999–2007, the Howard government introduced a number of control measures aimed to curb unauthorised boat-arrivals (mainly from Afghanistan and Iraq) and to provide asylum-seekers with temporary protection. These policies were temporary protection visas (with no work rights and family reunion); mandatory immigration detention and; the Pacific Solution, as shown in Table 1.6.

Table 1. 6 Select Howard's Government Policy Measures to Control Unauthorised Boat-Arrivals, 1999–2001

Year/Month	Policy Measure	Rationale
1999 October	Temporary Protection Visa (TPV) policy	This policy enabled asylum-seekers living in the community to be provided with temporary visas
2001	Mandatory Immigration Detention policy (first introduced by Prime Minister Paul Keating in 1992 to deter Indochinese boat-arrivals)	The aim of this policy was to detain asylum-seekers who arrived without visas while their claims were being processed
2001 August	The Pacific Solution policy	Under this policy, boat-arrivals were transferred to overseas processing centres (Manus Island and Nauru)
2001 September	Excision of select offshore Australian territories including Christmas Island	This policy was aimed to curb the flow of boat-arrivals into Australia

Note: Sourced from J. Phillips (2017bc); J. McAdam & F. Chong (2014).

The Labor government 2007–2013

Following its election in late 2007, the Rudd Labor government lifted these punitive measures, and regularised the status of those determined to be genuine refugees (DHA, 2017ab; Karlsen & Phillips, 2017a; McAdam & Chong, 2014). Most analysts agree Labor policy measures have led to a dramatic increase in asylum-seeker boat-arrivals. The Permanent Protection Visas (PPVs) policy was incorporated to give asylum-seekers the same protection and rights granted to Australian permanent residents and thus the Pacific Solution policy and TPVs were abolished.

The period 2008–2013 saw a dramatic upsurge in boat-arrivals which led to increased public discourses. This eventuated into Gillard's Labor government introducing a number of tough policies in 2010–2012 to curb boat-arrivals, as demonstrated in Table 1.7.

Table 1. 7 Gillard's Government Policy Measures Related to Unauthorised Boat-Arrivals, 2010–2012

Year/ Month	Policy Measure	Rationale
2010 **October**	Expansion of community detention (started in 2005) policy	Under this policy, asylum-seekers including UAMs could reside in the community
2012 **August**	Introduction of a "No Advantage" principle	Based on this policy, boat-arrivals who arrived on Australia's excised places (e.g., Christmas Island) on or before 13 August 2013 had their processing delayed
2012 **August**	Re-introduction of the Pacific Solution policy (begun in 2001)	The policy involved transfer of boat-arrivals offshore on Pacific islands (Nauru and PNG) for processing, aimed to control an upsurge in boat-arrivals
2012 **November**	Re-introduction of a Bridging Visa E (BVE) (begun in early 1990s)	The policy allowed asylum-seekers including UAMs/fUAMs to stay lawfully in Australia but without work-rights

Note: Sourced from E. Karlsen and J. Phillips (2017ab).

Prior to the 2013 federal elections, the second Rudd government announced policies that included continuation of the Pacific Solution; resettlement of asylum-seekers; conviction of people smugglers; and deportation of failed asylum-seekers (Karlsen & Phillips, 2017b).

The Coalition government 2013–2015

The Coalition government under Abbot introduced a number of policy measures in 2013–2015 which resulted in dramatic reduction in boat-arrivals. Table 1.8 shows key policy measures including the Pacific Solution, abolition of legal advice, introduction of work rights, temporary protection and Fast Track Visa processing, aimed mainly at stopping boat-arrivals.

Table 1. 8 Abbott's Government Policy Measures Focusing on Unauthorised Boat-Arrivals, 2013–2014

Year/Month	Policy Measure	Rationale
2013 September	The Operation Sovereign Borders (OSB)	This policy involved the Navy safely turning back boats before reaching Australia
2013 September	The Pacific Solution policy was continued	According to this policy, boat-arrivals intercepted at sea were transferred and detained offshore in Nauru and PNG for processing
2014 March	Federal government-funded immigration Advice and Application Assistance Scheme for asylum-seekers was abolished or became strictly limited	Based on this policy, boat-arrivals who arrived in Australia illegally were not eligible for legal assistance for asylum claim (except exceptionally vulnerable UAMs)
2014 September	Introduction of work-rights provided to asylum-seekers (about 32,000) on bridging visas	This policy permitted asylum-seekers to work in Australia
2014 December	Introduction of temporary protection visas (TPVs, SHEV)	The policy allowed asylum-seekers to legally reside in the Australian community as they wait for visa processing, to appeal negative decision of refugee claim or to leave Australia
2014 December	Introduction of Fast Track Visa processing	Under this policy, asylum-seekers arriving after 13 August 2012 and before 1 January 2014 had the processing of their protection visa applications fast tracked

Note: Adapted from E. Karlsen and J. Phillips (2017ab); M. Kenny et al., (2016); and L. Archbold (2015).

Settlement support services for unaccompanied asylum-seeker youths

Young refugees, including UAMs, have ongoing trauma and stress due to exposure to significant adverse pre-migration experiences (e.g., war, violence, persecution) and risky journeys (Centre for Multicultural Youth (CMY), 2013, 2015; Sleijpen et al., 2013). They may also face post-migration challenges (e.g., psychological issues, exclusion) that have negative impact on their growth and community participation, requiring appropriate support services for successful settlement and wellbeing (Lawrence et al., 2016; McFarlane et al., 2011).

The re-settlement policy for UAMs involved a community-based detention program, enabling individuals to live freely in the community, began in June 2005 and expanded in October 2010 (Katz et al., 2013). According to Katz et al., community detention is a federal-funded program whereby organisations provide services to UAM pre-18 years, for positive initial adjustment and wellbeing outcomes. The Operational Framework is used by various organisations and workers as a guide to deliver services, including accommodation and English language.

By contrast, settlement policy for fUAMs post-18 years involved temporary protection and lengthy settlement processes (DIBP, 2015b). fUAMs received reduced services from few organisations, including limited casework support (Kenny et al., 2016; Guerra et al., 2015; Emily, 2014), though arguably if they arrived close to 18-years they would need a higher level of support standard, comparable to support provided to Australia's out-of-home care youths post-18 years (Harvey et al., 2017). The Victorian government has extended these youths' support and care until 21 years (Anderson, 2019; Campo & Commerford, 2016).

The relevance of settlement policy issue

Relevant in predicting successful settlement and wellbeing, this settlement policy will be used to gauge refugee youths entering Australian society. A significant literature, including mixed-method studies (Nunn et al., 2017; Tudsri & Hebbani, 2014) and qualitative studies (Due et al., 2015; Spaaij, 2015), has been developed on the settlement and wellbeing of refugee youth. However, fewer studies have compared how settlement policy changes influence outcomes in UAMs/fUAMs by gender, source-country and location (Cameron et al., 2011). Six studies, five small-sample qualitative studies (Nardone & Correa-Velez, 2015; Neve, 2014; Miller et al., 2013; Iqbal el al., 2012; Phillips, 2011) and a mixed-methods study (Tudsri & Hebbani, 2014) on Afghan Hazara youths exist exploring migration journeys, and what impact support services have on their

integration and wellbeing in society. No study examined the perspectives of service providers on factors influencing UAMs' compared to fUAMs' settlement in early post-arrival years–the focus of the present study.

Twelve key settlement workers' perspectives, from dual-sectors (six professional case workers and six voluntary English teachers) who worked with UAMs pre-18 years-old within community detention and fUAMs post-18 years in the mainstream community, were explored. The study explored perceptions around the six support services offered: English language training, school education, accommodation/housing, employment (for those seeking work), income and casework/management provided to vulnerable unaccompanied young Hazara men whom arrived as minors in Melbourne (2008–2013) and how these services influence their early settlement and wellbeing. The study was conducted in Melbourne, Victoria, ideal due to the number of asylum-seeker youths situated there. Recent reports (Mackenzie & Guntarik, 2015; AMES, 2014) show there are approximately 10,000–12,000 Hazara, including youths, who live in Melbourne.

Structure of thesis

The context of the study, as well as scale of refugee and asylum-seeker growth in Australia comparative to global destinations, will be defined in Chapter 1. Chapter 2 provides a literature review on support services for UAMs' compared to fUAMs' (including Afghan Hazara youth) settlement and wellbeing in Australia and globally, and, this thesis four research questions. Ecological systems theory, social networks theory, as well as case study design and methodology, and thematic analysis are provided in Chapter 3. Within Chapter 4, twelve key informant perspectives are analysed, concerning support services provided to unaccompanied young Hazara men–intensive services given to UAMs pre-18 years and the impact of reduced services for fUAMs

post-18-years–in Australia. Chapter 5 provides a discussion of the research findings and conclusion. The key terms used throughout this research are defined in more detail next.

Definition of key terms

It is essential to define key terms, *Afghan Hazara, unaccompanied asylum-seeker minor, former unaccompanied asylum-seeker minor, asylum-seeker, refugee, resettlement,* and *settlement,* which are used throughout this thesis (see Table 1.9). The terms refugee and asylum-seeker have become highly contested due to the difficulty in distinguishing between the so-called 'genuine' refugees and other undocumented migrants (Maharaj, 2012). In this thesis, the terms 'male' and 'female' asylum-seekers denote only biological aspects of sex and do not capture broader elements of gender (Little, 2016). As used throughout this thesis, UAMs and fUAMs refer to unaccompanied young Hazara men.

Table 1. 9 Definition of Key Words

Key Word	Definition
Afghan Hazara	An ethnic minority group native to Afghanistan who have experienced exploitation and persecution (Saikal, 2012a).
Unaccompanied asylum-seeker minor (UAM)	A person, generally under 18 years old, who travels without a parent or legal guardian to seek for asylum protection (Wade et al., 2012).
Former unaccompanied asylum-seeker minor (fUAM)	A person aged 18 years old and over who is seeking asylum protection (Hancilova et al., 2011).
Asylum-seeker	A person who flees his country due to conflict/war to seek protection as a Convention refugee in another country (Crock, 2015).
Refugee	A person who is outside his/her country of origin and is unable to return owing to a well-founded fear of persecution (McAdam & Chong, 2014).
Resettlement	Involves identification, selection and transfer of refugees from a country of asylum to another country that has granted them permanent settlement (UNHCR, 2011a, 2017).
Settlement	Is a complex and gradual process for refugees to re-establish themselves in a new country (Nunn et al., 2017).

Australia's humanitarian settlement program is discussed next.

1.6 Australia's Humanitarian Settlement Program

1.6.1 Two-tiered humanitarian settlement policy

Australia has a long history of receiving, and offering protection, resettlement and support services to refugees and asylum-seekers, through the two-tiered humanitarian program involving offshore (refugees) and onshore (asylum-seekers) resettlement (RCOA, 2018; Phillips, 2017c). Hawthorne (2012, 2015) noted seven million people were resettled in Australia between 1945 and 2012. Since 1990s, Australia has offered between 12,000 and 13,750 places to refugees and asylum-seekers annually, with slight increases of 20,019 in 2012–2013, 17,555 in 2015–2016 and 16,250 in 2017–2018 (DIBP, 2017). Policy reports (Higgins, 2017; Spinks, 2016) demonstrated the Australian government spends a considerable amount of money on its humanitarian program. For example, the government spent over $1 billion in 2016–2017 and approximately $714 million in 2017–2018 on offshore processing and resettlement. It also spent $1.5 million in 2016–2017 and about $1.2 million in 2017–2018 on onshore asylum-seeker compliance and detention.

Offshore resettlement programs through the UNHCR has generally been high, ranked among the top three countries (i.e., United States, Canada and Australia) offering about 80% of the global resettlement (RCOA, 2018; DIBP, 2017). On the other hand, onshore asylum-seeker settlement policy has involved a long process of temporary protection (Galligan et al., 2014).

1.6.2 Australia's humanitarian policy shifts

Multiple literature reviews (McAdam, 2013; Lumby & Funnell, 2011; Louis et al., 2010) have shown that Australia's Humanitarian Settlement Program policy and practice has changed since the 1990s. There have been variable views as to the shifts in Australian government policy

measures, including factors such as the need to meet international obligation, and recent increased flows of boat-arrivals from the Middle East.

Crock (2015), a leading refugee advocate, suggested Australia's Humanitarian Program needs to respond to both the demand for resettlement and the host country's capacity to help. However, as demonstrated in Table 1.10, there were imbalances in offshore and onshore visa grants between 2013–2014 and 2017–2018, which relatively reduced the number of places for asylum-seekers.

Table 1. 10 Australia's Humanitarian Settlement Program, 2013–2014 to 2017–2018

Year	Total Visa Grants	Offshore Refugees	Onshore Asylum-seekers
2013–2014	13,500	11,000	2,500
2015–2016	17,555	15,552	2,003
2016–2017	13,750	11,000	2,750
2017–2018	16,250	14,825	1,425

Note: Adapted from DIBP (2013bc, 2017); RCOA (2019).

Australian governments have a sovereign right to make decisions on the number of humanitarian intake. However, human rights (e.g., Australian Human Rights Commission (AHRC) and refugee (e.g., RCOA) organisations have raised concerns around tighter policy measures on asylum-seekers because they were viewed as unfair and discriminative to people deserving protection and settlement (AHRC, 2013; RCOA, 2008).

1.6.3 Onshore and offshore youth settlement support services

Multiple NGO reports (RCOA, 2018; AMES, 2015ab, 2016a) identified the structure of targeted programs the Australian government has set up to support offshore and onshore youths, to promote their early adjustment and wellbeing outcomes. Through the Humanitarian Settlement Program (HSP), offshore refugee youths are provided with intensive support services (Department

of Social Services (DSS), 2018). As shown in Table 1.11, onshore UAMs pre-18 years in community detention are provided with federally-funded full support services including casework, school education, English language training, accommodation, and the Meaningful Engagement Program (MEP). Onshore fUAMs post-18 years in the mainstream community (on temporary visas) are offered highly reduced support including casework, English language training, transport and healthcare mainly in non-government organisations (RCOA, 2015ab; ASRC, 2012).

Table 1. 11 Australia's Structure of Onshore UAMs' and fUAMs' Support Services

UAMs Pre-18 Years	fUAMs Post-18 Years
Federally-funded intensive support services (community detention)	**Highly reduced support services (mainstream community)**
Full professional casework and carer support	Minimal casework support
Full time school and education resources in mainstream schools	Highly reduced vocational education and training
Full English language training in language centres and government schools	Highly reduced English language training in poorly resourced NGOs, few days/hours of attendance and volunteer tutors
Full accommodation support in suitable and furnished group-homes and 24-hour support	Limited housing and accommodation support through housing agencies
Provided with a living allowance and financial skills, but no work rights but offered financial management skills	Minimal income assistance (at 89% of Centrelink benefits). Have work rights since 2014
Formal social networks through the Meaningful Engagement Program (MEP) (in activities such as sports, leisure and cultural connections)	No formal social network support, mainly informal networks (through friends and social media)
Full transport support (i.e., vans/cars and myki cards)	Reduced transport support including driver's license training
Full access to healthcare (i.e., general practitioners, medicines, counselling)	Have healthcare support through Medicare but have to purchase own medicines

Note: Adapted from DSS (2018); RCOA (2015, 2018); AMES (2015ac); Jesuit Social Services (2015); Buckmaster & Guppy (2014); Katz et al. (2013).

The next section is a discussion of Australia' current obligations to refugees and asylum-seekers including youths.

1.7 Australia's Current Obligations to Refugee/Asylum-Seeker Applicants (Including Youth)

1.7.1 Australia's protection of refugees and asylum-seekers

Australia signed the 1951 Refugee Convention on 22 January 1954 and the 1967 Protocol on 13 December 1973, requiring recognition of rights for people seeking its protection irrespective of their manner of arrival (UNHCR, 2011b). As a result, Australia has responsibility to protect all asylum-seekers who satisfy refugee definition and warrant complimentary protection, health, identity and security requirements (DIBP, 2014b). Australia is expected not to deport people if they are likely to face human rights violations (the non-refoulement principle) (Phillips & Spinks, 2013a).

The Asylum Seeker Resource Centre and the Australian Human Rights Commission strongly advocate the Australian government not to deny protection to asylum-seekers, irrespective of their mode of entry or visa status (ASRC, 2013bc; AHRC, 2012ab). However, the recent increase of boat-arrivals has led to public concern surrounding security and border protection, with both the Coalition and Labor governments introducing a range of punitive domestic asylum-seeker policy measures in response, as described earlier (Phillips, 2017bcd; AHRC, 2015; Koser, 2015). Although these policies have greatly reduced boat-arrivals, they have attracted criticisms from human rights and refugee advocates who state these policies could erode Australia's international image; not resolve the asylum-seeker crisis in the long run (Koser, 2015; Sulaiman-Hill et al., 2011); and have very serious negative impacts on asylum-seekers' wellbeing (ASRC, 2014b; Australian Red Cross (ARC), 2013).

Government policy reports (DHA, 2017b; DIBP, 2016b) have demonstrated asylum-seekers have arrived mainly from Middle Eastern countries, including Afghanistan, Iraq, Iran and Syria. The reports have also showed asylum-seeker numbers increased steadily in 2008–2013 (to about 30,000) because of the Labor government's generous policy measures. Their numbers rapidly declined in 2013–2017 due to the Coalition government's strict asylum-seeker policy measures, however their protection rates were high, ranging between 88% and 98% (DHA, 2018b).

However, recent decades have coincided with growing concern surrounding scale of refugee flows, particularly unauthorised boat-arrivals. Legal reviews and policy reports (Allard, 2018; Zetter, 2015; O'Nions, 2014) have demonstrated difficulties facing the Refugee Convention emanate from member countries including Australia. First, some member countries have refused to honour their legal responsibility (as stated in the Convention), denying refugees and asylum-seekers protection and settlement which they deserve. Second, increasingly countries have begun to doubt the potential for the Convention to resolve the global demand for protection and settlement.

1.7.2 Settlement challenges for adult refugees, asylum-seekers and Hazara boat-arrivals in Australia

Adult refugees

There is a large body of literature that makes clear offshore adult refugees in Australia could receive intensive settlement support services, to promote their early adjustment and wellbeing outcomes, but may also experience settlement challenges. Many qualitative studies (Flatau et al., 2015; Fozdar & Hartley, 2014; Shelter, 2014) indicated that they may experience a lack of stable housing (Tually et al., 2012) and high rates of unemployment owing partly to barriers in labour market and social capital (Curry et al., 2018; Correa-Velez et al., 2013; Abdelkarim &

Grace, 2012). Their poor English language skills could affect their educational progress (Hebbani et al., 2012; Taylor, 2008). In addition, they may experience physical and mental healthcare issues (McBride et al., 2016; Fozdar & Hartley, 2013) partly due to factors such as culturally insensitive care and communication difficulties (Suphanchaimat et al., 2015). Further, their difficulties in informal and formal social networks could be due to perceived racism, discrimination and low trust in the host community (Culos et al., 2020; Curry et al., 2018; Fozdar & Hartley, 2013), as well as lack of social inclusion (Fozdar, 2013) and a sense of belonging (Baak, 2019; Hatoss, 2012; Mansouri et al., 2009). Furthermore, their acculturation issues stem possibly from poor community participation (Correa-Velez et al., 2015; Dandy & Pe-Pua, 2015; Fozdar & Hartley, 2013), and cultural and gender role differences (Culos et al., 2020; Hebbani et al., 2012), influencing their integration process in new society.

Adult asylum-seekers

There is an extensive literature that clearly indicates onshore adult asylums-seekers (including the over 30,000 living in the community) in Australia were likely to be provided with highly reduced support services and temporary settlement which could have negative effects on their early settlement and wellbeing outcomes. For instance, several qualitative authors (Fair et al., 2018; Flatau et al., 2015; Yeung, 2014) suggested that they may not access housing support services, and physical and mental health care services, despite potentially suffering from past traumatic events and health literacy issues (Fair et al., 2018; McBride et al., 2016; Manchikanti et al., 2015), which could affect their adjustment process. Additionally, they could have poor English language skills and disrupted education pre-arrival; yet they may not be eligible for free English language lessons provided by the Adult Migrant English Program (AMEP), relying on non-profit or community based organisations. Further, they may be denied work rights, access to Centrelink

payments and mainstream federal employment services, and may face exploitation in the local labour market (Correa-Velez et al., 2015; Hugo 2014), affecting their socioeconomic and community participation.

Furthermore, literature indicated that asylum-seekers could experience educational and migration challenges, and social exclusion. For instance, they may not access further education and training, with universities likely to deny them scholarships (White, 2017). Owing to tough government migration policy, they may not be provided with legal support services, family reunification and permanent visas, leaving them in limbo and unable to plan their future (Kaldor Centre for International Refugee Law, 2018; Li et al., 2016; Mankowski, 2014). Moreover, negative media, public and political discourses, poor attitudes and beliefs of host community, and cultural and religious differences may partly explain their social exclusion, and poor networks and community participation (Pedersen & Hartley, 2015; Laughland-Booÿ et al., 2014; Pedersen et al., 2011), impacting on their integration process.

Adult Hazara boat-arrivals

According to a growing body of literature, adult Hazara boat-arrivals in Australia may receive limited support services which could lead to settlement challenges (similar to other asylum-seekers). Multiple qualitative authors (Collins et al., 2017; Cheng et al., 2015; Tudsri & Hebbani, 2014; Lange et al., 2007) have continued to indicate that the vast majority of Hazara arrive with low levels of English language skills and a lack of prior formal education which may have profound effects on their educational, employment and social networks post-arrival, yet their support services were likely to be highly reduced. Also, although they could have experienced trauma, persecution and torture in Afghanistan and difficulties in transit countries (Phillips, 2011; Omeri et al., 2006), they may not access adequate health care support (Kheradyar & Couch, 2019)

which could affect their health and wellbeing post-arrival. Further, a leading refugee advocacy organisation (Refugee Action Coalition, 2016) suggested that Hazara people without formal citizenship statuses and on temporary protection visas were likely to be forcibly deported back home after failed appeals from refugee determination process (Cheng et al., 2015; Mackenzie & Guntarik, 2015). Furthermore, Hazara could be associated with terrorism (Tudsri & Hebbani, 2015) and lack of understanding local host culture and place, which may lead to their social exclusion, marginalisation and community participation difficulties (Mackenzie & Guntarik, 2015; Rodan & Lange, 2008; Maley, 2001), influencing their initial integration and wellbeing.

The increase in refugee and asylum-seeker flows have constituted significant numbers of children, including UAMs, as discussed next.

1.8 Trends in Global Applications from Unaccompanied Youth

Multiple global policy reports (UNHCR, 2014a, 2015a, 2016, 2017) showed children including UAMs pre-18 years formed more than half of refugee populations in 2014–2017, of which many were males of diverse ethnic groups (Correa-Velez et al., 2014). The United Nations Children's Fund report (UNICEF, 2017) suggested the drivers of migration for unaccompanied young people includes conflicts, domestic violence, child marriages and forced conscriptions in their home countries, and family re-union, and better opportunities abroad. Most UAMs come from sub-Saharan Africa, the Middle East and Central America (accounting for 40% to 50% of migrant youth pre-18 years), with most claims lodged in Europe, the USA and Australia in 2017 (UNHCR, 2017). Due to various factors, UAMs present a significant humanitarian, legal and policy challenge to receiving countries (Correa-Velez et al., 2014).

1.8.1 Scale and source of flows

Despite limited data, many global policy reports (UNHCR, 2013a, 2014ab, 2015a, 2016, 2017) estimated the proportion of children, including UAMs pre-18 years, increased from 41% in 2009, to 51% in 2014–2016, and to 52% in 2017, with a significant proportion seeking protection and refugee claims in industrialised countries. The number of UAMs pre-18 years who applied for asylum in 80 countries increased dramatically from 66,0000 in 2010–2011 to about 300,000 in 2015–2016 and had halved to 173,800 in 2016–2017. Evidence showed the majority received positive refugee recognition, at an average rate of 80–90% (UNICEF, 2017; Carlson & Gallagher, 2015).

Statistical and policy reports (Eurostat, 2016, 2018b; UNHCR, 2013a) estimated in 2008–2017 UAMs accounted for 15% of total asylum applicants in the EU, with many being males (86% in 2018). Figure 1.2 shows that UAM applications in EU countries were between 10,000 and 13,000 per year in 2008–2013 and quadrupled from 23,100 in 2014 to 95,200 in 2015. These applications halved from 63,200 in 2016 to 31,400 in 2017 to 19,700 in 2018 (Eurostat, 2018b). The highest number of UAMs were received in 2014–2017, with most UAMs who arrived in the EU having come from Syria, Afghanistan and sub-Saharan Africa (UNHCR, 2014b, 2017).

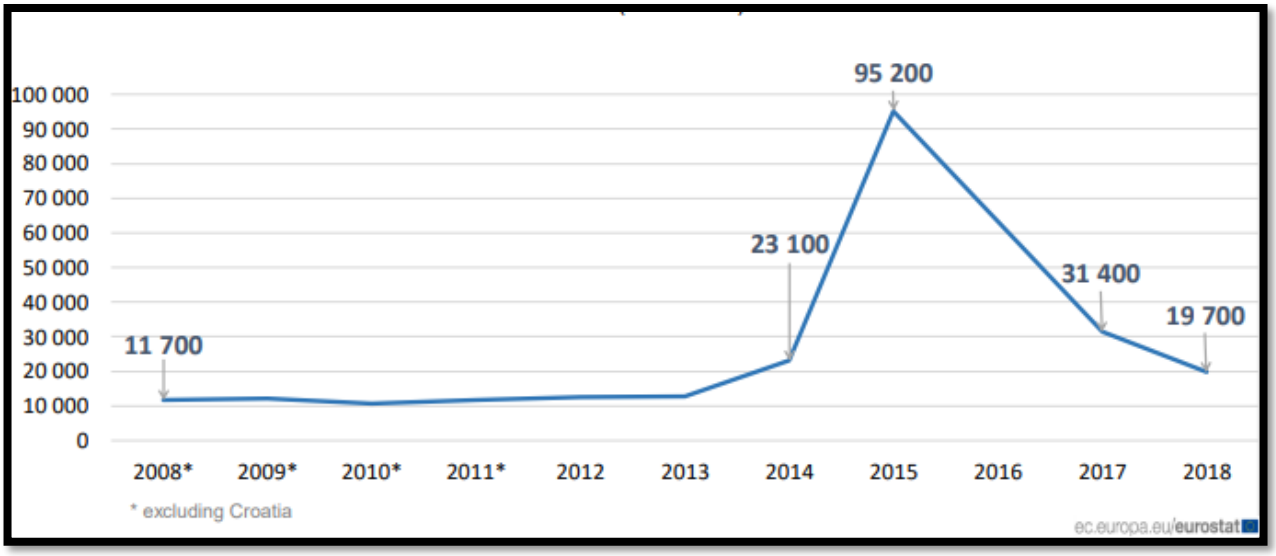

Figure 1. 2. Asylum applicants considered to be unaccompanied minors in the EU member states, *2008–2018.
Sourced from Eurostat (2018b, p.1).

North America has continued to record a dramatic increase in UAM refugee claims, the majority being males (Carlson & Gallagher, 2015; Gozdziak, 2015). Policy reports (Chishti et al., 2019; Zong et al., 2018; Zong & Batalova, 2016) showed UAM numbers in the USA rose rapidly from 4,059 in 2011, to 10,443 in 2012, to 35,000 in 2013, to 66,127 in 2014, to 100,000 in 2015, before reducing drastically to 23,553 in 2016, to 14,444 in 2017, with a slight increase to15,000 in 2018. Most UAMs received in the North American region were mainly from the Northern Triangle, escaping drug cartels, poverty, and violence (Rosenblum, 2015; UNHCR, 2012a). Trump's government policy of separating children from parents/guardians and placing them in temporary emergency shelters, to deter an increase in family arrivals, has increased the number of UAMs in the USA (Amnesty International, 2019; Chishti et al., 2019; Hermann, 2018).

Overall, the UAMs' scale of migration has continued to rise unabated (including Hazara youth). Being vulnerable and separated from families, it is important for host-countries to provide support and settlement for their successful adjustment and wellbeing. Global growth in UAM

migration is also reflected in Australia which is a signatory of the Refugee Convention and the Protocol, as discussed next.

1.9 Trends in Applications from Unaccompanied Youth in Australia

1.9.1 Scale and flows of unaccompanied youth

Children including UAMs have always featured in the Australian history of migration (Crock, 2006, 2015; Neumann, 2015; Holden, 2000), reflecting the global trend noted earlier. For instance, in 1980–1990, many refugee children (including UAMs) were from Vietnam, Cambodia, and China. In 2011, 600,000 young people were overseas-born, of which 48,000 were refugee youth (Multicultural Youth Advocacy Network (MYAN), 2016). In recent years, the majority of children have been males (AHRC, 2014) who have arrived from the Middle East (i.e., Afghanistan, Iraq) fleeing sectarian and religious wars, and Africa (i.e., Somalia, Eritrea) because of failed states and persecution (Correa-Velez et al., 2014; Reese, 2013).

As shown in Table 1.12, the total number of asylum-seeker children in closed immigration detention (detention facilities where boat-arrivals are held) and community detention (where asylum-seekers including UAMs are held as they wait for refugee determination) was 11,019 between 2008–2009 and 2015–2016. The total number of children in closed immigration detention was almost three time (n=8,252) that of UAMs in community detention (n=2,767), which breaches Australia's international obligation and may cause significant mental health and developmental issues (Mares, 2016). Table 1.12 indicates UAMs significantly increased from 119 in 2008–2009, to peak at 3,061 in 2012–2013, reducing drastically from 2,131 in 2013–2014 to 239 in 2015–2016.

Table 1. 12 Australia's Asylum-Seeker Children in Closed Immigration and Community Detention, 2008–2009 to 2015–2016

Financial Year	Children/Minors	Unaccompanied minors	Total
2008–2009	78	41	119
2009–2010	740	432	1,172
2010–2011	1,082	470	1,552
2011–2012	1,603	889	2,492
2012–2013	2,710	351	3,061
2013–2014	1,556	575	2,131
2014–2015	249	4	253
2015–2016	234	<5	239
Total	**8,252**	**2,767**	**11,019**

Note: Data was adapted from J. Phillips (2017d); DIBP (2013a, 2014d, 2016a); M. Crock (2015); AHRC (2014).

1.10 Australia's Settlement Policy for Newly–Arrived Youth

1.10.1 National youth settlement framework policy

Gifford and Kenny (2015) stated newly-arrived refugee youth may experience complex migration and settlement challenges which impact on their early adjustment and wellbeing. The Multicultural Youth Advocacy Network (Australia's national body representing the interests of multicultural youth) developed the National Youth Settlement Framework (NYSF) to guide provision of targeted services (i.e., healthcare, education) to diverse refugee youths including UAMs (MYAN, 2016). During 2008–2013, Australia received 20,676 immigrant youth aged 12–24 years, of which slightly more than half (51%) were UAMs pre-18 years who were placed in community detention (Department of Health & Human Services (DHHS), 2014; MYAN, 2014). The UNHCR settlement requires Australia to provide newly-arrived immigrant youth with standard basic reception and support services (UNHCR, 2017; Edwards, 2006). Australia's settlement policy for UAMs involves guardianship and intensive federally-funded support services (Katz et al., 2013), which is similar to Australian out-of-home care youths (Beauchamp, 2014).

However, independent fUAMs post-18 years in the mainstream community post-care on TPVs are offered highly reduced support services (RCOA, 2014a, 2016b).

1.10.2 Asylum-seeking youth settlement support policy

Australia's settlement support policy is complex, offering different types of services to offshore and onshore immigrant youths based on their visa category and time of arrival (Crock, 2015; Fleay et al., 2013). A policy report (RCOA 2014b) showed Australia's settlement policy for UAMs has been influenced by three major policy measures. First, a significant settlement policy occurred with the establishment of community detention in June 2005 (expanded in 2010), through the *Migration Amendment (Detention Arrangements) Act 2005*, which declared children were to be placed in closed immigration detention as a last resort. Since then, the policy for vulnerable UAMs pre-18 years involves placement in group-houses, with full support services (Katz et al., 2013).

Second, the *Immigration (Guardianship of Children) Act 1946* which resulted in the Minister for Immigration becoming the legal guardian (delegated to service provider organisations) of UAMs pre-18 years until they turn 18 years (Silverstein, 2016; Guerra et al., 2015). Third, in 1990 Australia signed the *Convention on the Rights of the Child* (CROC) *1989* which required the government to provide care and support to children including UAMs (Stern, 2010). However, the Minister is responsible for placing them in mandatory immigration detention which could lead to their poor settlement outcomes (RCOA, 2014a, 2015a).

There are variable perspectives the shifts in Australian government policy regarding migration flows. For instance, the shifts in migration policy for asylum-seekers, including fUAMs post-18 years, in the mainstream community can partly be explained by factors such as increase in unauthorised boat-arrivals, border security issues, fear of terrorism (Phillips, 2017b; Fleay &

Briskman, 2013), as well as negative media, public and political discourses (McKay et al., 2011). They are likely to be provided with temporary protection visas, be send offshore for processing, or deported (DSS, 2014). In addition, fUAMs on TPVs could be provided with highly reduced services which could result in their homelessness and exclusion (RCOA, 2015a; Nunn et al., 2014).

1.10.3 Asylum-seeking youth settlement policy challenges

In Australia, refugee youth settlement has been influenced by UNHCR approaches and by the Australian government (Gifford & Kenny, 2015). Australia has a standard settlement policy for supporting newly-arrived unaccompanied youths (MYAN, 2014). Despite this, several studies (VicHealth, 2017; Piper et al., 2015; Galligan et al., 2014) stated contracted settlement providers could face challenges that may affect delivery of support services including inadequate service coordination; competition between different service providers; shifts in government settlement policy; and refugee youth settlement difficulties.

The next section presents Australia's settlement policy for asylum-seekers, including unaccompanied youth, and provision of support services.

1.11 The Three–Level Government Settlement Policy

As established, government and NGO policy reports (DSS, 2015a, 2018a; RCOA, 2008) demonstrated Australia's settlement policy involves provision of different types of support services to eligible refugees and asylum-seekers including English language training and accommodation, to promote their socioeconomic participation and settlement. This settlement policy is structured into three levels of government: the Commonwealth government, state/territory governments and, local governments/councils (Galligan et al., 2014).

1.11.1 The Australian Commonwealth government

Galligan et al. (2014) highlighted Commonwealth government steers and monitors settlement policy, funding settlement support service organisations. The National Settlement Framework is a policy structure that is used by the three-tiers of government (commonwealth, states/territories and local governments/councils) to coordinate, plan and deliver settlement services to newly-arrived migrants, through service providers and community organisations (DSS, 2012; DIAC, 2008).

The National Settlement Framework assists settlement support service provision to refugees and asylum-seekers including UAMs/fUAMs on arrival and in the long-term in partnership with the three levels of government (DSS, 2015ab). The Commonwealth government (through DIBP and DSS) contracts settlement service providers, non-profit organisations, and ethno-specific organisations (e.g., the Australian Red Cross, Anglicare) (Phillips, 2013; DSS, 2012). Settlement service providers assess newly-arrived UAMs'/fUAMs' settlement needs and challenges, giving them appropriate support services (Galligan et al., 2014; DIAC, 2008).

According to Katz et al. (2013), most UAMs in community detention were males, aged 15–17 years. Table 1.13 indicates in 2015–2017, the number of children aged under 18 years was 826, of which male children (n=504) were more than female children (n=322). Also, the distribution of these children in community detention shows Victoria had the highest (n=295) while Tasmania received the lowest (n=03).

Table 1. 13 Australia's Asylum-Seeker Children (Including Unaccompanied) in Community Under Residence Determination by State/Territory, 2015–2017

State/Territory	Male Children Under 18 Years			Female Children Under 18 Years			Total
	2015	2016	2017	2015	2016	2017	
Victoria	103	45	37	47	35	28	**295**
New South Wales	56	42	22	36	27	15	**198**
Queensland	50	35	34	33	21	19	**192**
South Australia	17	07	05	20	12	07	**68**
Western Australia	28	06	05	10	05	05	**59**
Australian Capital Territory	04	05	—	02	00	—	**11**
Tasmania	03	—	—	00	—	—	**03**
Total	**261**	**140**	**103**	**148**	**100**	**74**	**826**

Note: Data was adapted from DHA (2017a); DIBP (2015a, 2016a).

1.11.2 The state/territory governments

Australian state and territory governments work with settlement agencies to provide services to refugees and asylum-seekers including UAMs and fUAMs (DSS, 2012). The setting for this study was Victoria, which experienced an increase in refugees and asylum-seekers including UAMs/fUAMs during 2008–2013 (DHHS, 2015). Several government reports (DHHS, 2014, 2015, 2016) revealed in 2012–2014, Victoria received boat-arrivals mainly from Afghanistan, Iraq and Iran. By 15 August 2016, there were about 11,000 asylum-seekers with TPVs in Victoria, representing about 38% of the national total. The reports added the majority of asylum-seekers settled in the suburbs of Melbourne–Greater Dandenong, Hume, Casey, Brimbank, Maroondah and Wyndham.

A state government report (Victoria Auditor-General's Office (VAGO), 2014) stated the Victoria government settlement policy for newly-arrived migrants, including UAMs/fUAMs, is coordinated through the Office of Multicultural Affairs and Citizenship (OMAC), the Settlement

Coordination Unit (SCU) and the Victorian Multicultural Commission (VMC) (VMC, 2015). The government delegates guardianship of UAMs pre-18 years to the Department of Human Services and Refugee Minor Program until they turn 18 years old, with a possible extension of 12 months post-care, to improve their settlement and wellbeing outcomes (DHHS, 2016; CMY, 2010a).

1.11.3 The local governments/councils

The Victoria Local Governments/Councils (VLGs/Cs) ensure mainstream support services can be accessed by eligible refugees and asylum-seekers, facilitating their sociocultural adaptation, community participation, and wellbeing (DSS, 2012). The VLGs/Cs, in consultation with the state government, establish and implement local settlement programs. However, the role of VLGs/Cs on settlement varies from one local government/council area to the other, with improvement of settlement of refugees and asylum-seekers (i.e., UAMs/fUAMs) at VLGs/Cs level being assisted by the Municipal Association of Victoria and the Victorian Multicultural Commission (Galligan et al., 2014).

Galligan et al. (2014) states the VLGs/Cs promote settlement of newly-arrived refugees and asylum-seekers by providing translating and interpreting services (TIS) and making government services more accessible to them. The VLGs/Cs consult with community settlement organizations during the provision of support services. Further, at the VLGs/Cs level, there are 23 Local Settlement Planning Committees which plan and co-ordinate settlement service provision (Demopoulos & Prattis, 2014; Pagonis, 2014).

Local government reports (Greater Dandenong, 2015ab) showed, in 2005–2014, the City of Greater Dandenong resettled and provided services to the largest number of refugees and asylum-seekers including UAMs/fUAMs compared to all VLGs/Cs in Victoria, accounting for

about 8,000 resettled. However, the lack of accurate data and increased demand for services has reduced its ability to plan and deliver support.

In 2011, there were 28,597 Afghan-born people in Australia (DIAC, 2011bc). Despite a lack of reliable demographic statistics, about 10,000–12,000 Hazara, including youths, live in Melbourne, with the vast majority having settled in eastern and western suburbs of Melbourne (Mackenzie & Guntarik, 2015; AMES, 2014).

1.12 Summary of the Background

In summary, this chapter established global and Australian context of refugees and asylum-seekers. It also demonstrated challenges experienced regarding settlement to these people, especially during recent global influx that has led to increased need for resettlement places. Among OECD countries, Australia has a long history of refugee settlement with an annual intake of about 13,000. Successive Australian governments have frequently made changes to immigration policy which can be attributed in part to factors such as increase in the flows of unauthorised boat-arrivals, border security, and negative media, public and political debates, despite variable views regarding shifts in policy. Asylum-seeker boat-arrivals were likely to experience major settlement challenges post-arrival. Afghanistan remains one of the top countries of boat-arrivals, many being unaccompanied young Hazara men who have settled mainly in metropolitan Melbourne, Victoria–which is the focus of this study. Settlement policy for vulnerable UAMs involves provision of full federally-funded support services in community detention aimed to promote their initial settlement and wellbeing outcomes. By contrast, fUAMs, who are considered adults and to have developed personal agency and community networks, are offered greatly reduced support services.

Chapter 2: Literature Review of UAMs' and fUAMs' Settlement Support Services

2.1 Introduction

Chapter 1 provided background to the study involving global and Australian contexts of refugee and asylum-seeker settlement. It also showed Australia's frequent legislative and policy shifts in immigration and settlement–due to an increase in asylum-seeker flows–with relevance to UAMs who mostly arrive from Afghanistan (the focus of the present study). Further, it established a key issue to address–most UAMs pre-18 years (the majority of whom were male Afghan Hazara) receive full federally-funded support services. In line with what is offered to Australian former out-of-home care youths, fUAMs post-18 years by contrast are offered greatly reduced support services. This does not reflect punitive immigration measures designed to stop 'unauthorised' asylum-seeker flows. Rather, it has always been the case in recent decades in Australia, with 18 years and over considered to be an adult age. Recent government policy change suggests support for young people in care system ends at 21 years in Victoria and 25 years in all other Australian states and territories (Campo & Commerford, 2016).

This chapter will review and critically analyse a range of global compared to Australian literature, principally from the past decade, to identify relevant themes related to UAMs' and fUAMs' protective and risk factors for their settlement and wellbeing (see Appendix F and G). It is important to note the literature defines the particular needs and challenges of refugee youth. At the same time, decades of research indicated relative resilience (capacity to recover from adverse traumatic experiences (Hariharan & Rana, 2017)) of many refugee groups, both globally and within Australia.

Successive researchers have demonstrated risk factors such as cumulative exposure to traumatic events in pre-migration and in transit countries can exert a negative impact on minors' psychological wellbeing outcomes (Missbach, 2019). However, stable support service provision and positive settlement policies in the host-country can also have a protective effect on their early settlement (Fazel et al., 2012). However, refugee youth's subjective wellbeing (defined as an individual's health and quality of life (Dodge et al., 2012) is predicted by their age, service provision, and level of social inclusion (Correa-Velez et al., 2010).

This chapter will identify existing literature gaps and methodological limitations, leading to definitions of the research purpose and M.Phil. research questions. It also makes a case for the relevance of exploring key informant perspectives on perceived settlement processes.

2.2 Literature Review Strategy, Limitations and Context

The review drew upon peer-reviewed and grey literature in English, noting this involves potential bias and an incomplete evidence base. The review involved (1) recent unaccompanied youths, whose country of origin was Mexico and Central America in North America, and the Middle East and Africa in Europe and Australia, in the context of global and Australia's shifting legal and immigration policies, and (2) earlier Indochinese minors when negative public perception of asylum-seekers and border security were not major issues in Australia. To capture these minors' protective and risk factors, the researcher carried out a detailed review of recent international and Australian literature (2001–2016) which was the main focus and a summary of findings (1979–2010) on early Indochinese minors to compare with recent minors, mainly from the Middle East including Afghanistan.

A range of key words related to the topic were first identified and defined in Chapter 1. These key words were combined using Boolean logic and the search was limited to studies

published in English and based on UAMs/fUAMs in destination Western countries (i.e., North America, Europe, Australia).

To cover the breath of the literature, English academic databases—including Scopus, ProQuest, PsychINFO, Informit, Global Health (EBSCO), Medline, PubMed and SocINDEX datasets—were searched electronically. Also, Google Scholar search engine and online repositories, including reference lists from related studies, were inspected for additional literature. Additionally, relevant grey literature (e.g., statistical reports) were searched. Experts in related field were consulted to locate additional studies: Dr. Qais Alemi from Loma Linda University (Afghan refugee psychological health); Associate Prof. Andre Renzaho from the University of Western Sydney (migration, social disadvantage, and health); and Prof. Robert Schweitzer from Queensland University of Technology (refugee post-migration challenges). All abstracts of potentially relevant papers were read, and full texts were obtained.

2.2.1 Literature identification process

The period 2001–2016 refers to a time Middle Eastern, Latino and African origin UAMs/fUAMs arrived in Western countries. The literature identification process from electronic databases, expert advice, and hand searches, is shown in Figure 2.1. The review of global (n=167) and Australian (n=127) literature found academic studies in peer-reviewed journals in the fields of psychology, education, social science, sociology, law, social work, and health. The types of studies included empirical literature, policy reports, meta-analyses, perspectives, comments, discussion papers and editorials.

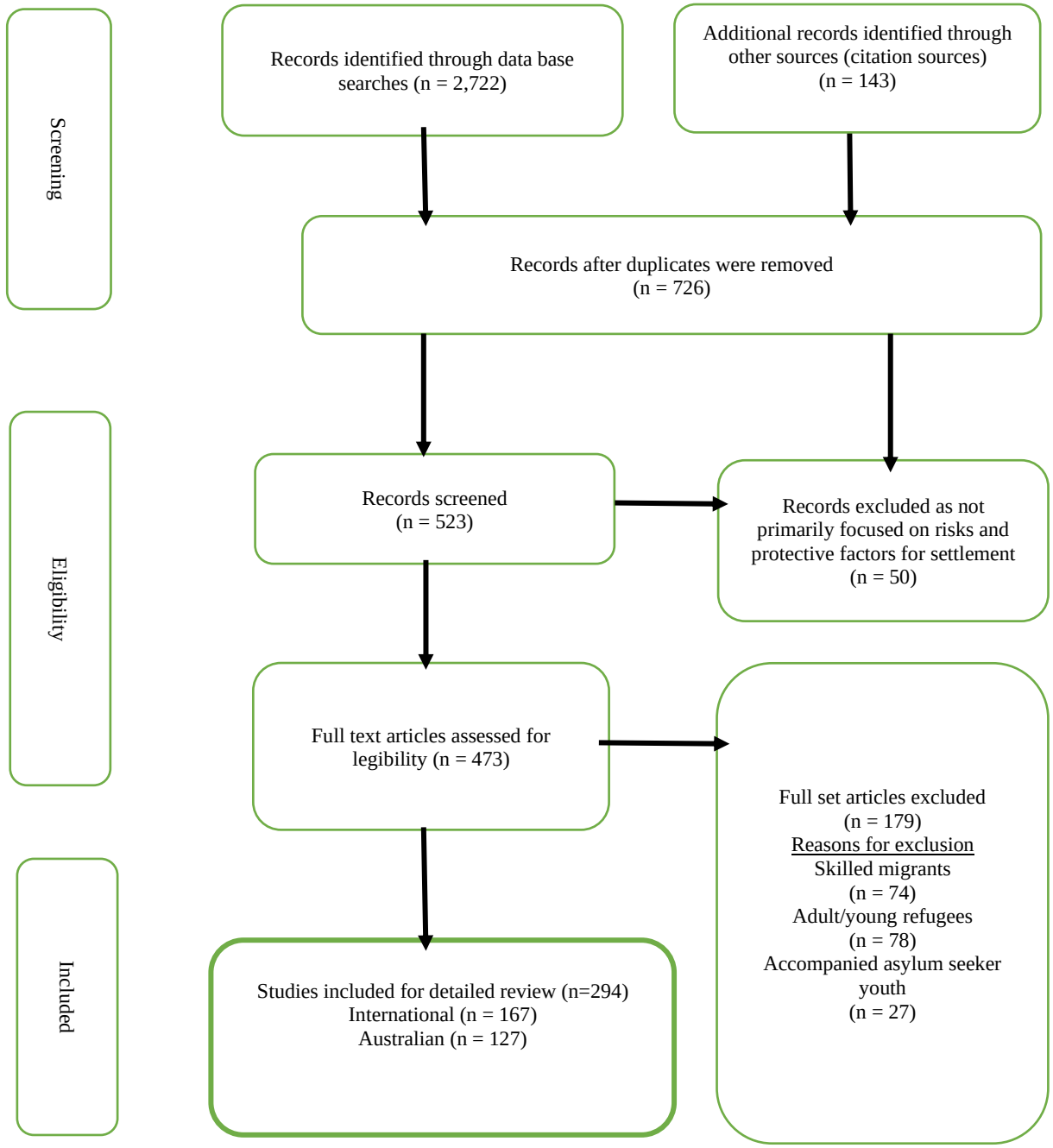

Figure 2. 1. Literature review framework.

The process of identifying sub-themes/themes from relevant literature involved content analysis process. I critically read through each relevant peer reviewed and grey paper for information related to my topic of research and made note of key words/phrases. Some papers

referred to other papers which were also analysed. These papers were compared and contrasted and were re-read for any information missed because some papers covered more than one relevant topic/theme. Repeated words/phrases indicated recurring sub-themes/themes and their relationships. Also, any cross-cutting theme was either made into a primary theme or was integrated into other themes. Further, I created a detailed outline to organise emerged themes and their sources. Finally, I drafted this into a thematic literature review that involved body paragraphs and sections addressing various sub-themes/themes in the literature, and how these relate to each other.

Table 2.1 shows description of the importance of nine themes identified in the global and Australian literature on settlement support services provided to UAMs pre-18 years in foster care and fUAMs post-18 years in mainstream community (including Hazara youth), with many factors identified in the same paper. These themes were perceived risk of criminal and anti-social behaviour; housing and accommodation support; education and training support; social welfare support; psychological healthcare support; legal support and protection; income and employment support; social network support; and host-country language support.

Table 2. 1 Themes in the Global and Australian Literature on Support Services for UAMs Compared to fUAMs

Themes	Description of Support Services
Perceived risk of criminal and anti-social behaviour	This involves support provided to unaccompanied youths to reduce their risk for committing crime and behaviours likely to cause distress to others, enhancing their settlement outcomes
Housing and accommodation support	This involves support provided to unaccompanied youths to access stable and suitable accommodation and housing in the community which could enhance their initial adjustment process and social functioning
Education and training support	This refers to support given to unaccompanied youths to enrol, attend and receive instructions and training in schools/institutions, developing new skills, and boosting their productivity and settlement outcomes
Social welfare support	This entails case worker/carer support given to unaccompanied youths to access and use services and supports, facilitating their development of personal agency and adjustment process
Psychological healthcare support	This entails support provided to unaccompanied youths to enable them to access effective and culturally-appropriate mental health services (e.g., trauma counselling services) which may promote their adjustment process and wellbeing outcomes
Legal support and protection	This refers to support provided to unaccompanied youths such as guardianship and access to free legal aid to help in their applications of temporary/permanent visas which could improving their settlement process
Income and employment support	This involves provision of a regular income, budgeting skills, and job-readiness skills to unaccompanied youths which could increase their productivity and access to job market
Social network support	This refers to support provided to unaccompanied youths allowing them to access meaningful engagement activities (e.g., sports) and ethnic/Australian community connections, for better community participation and cultural adaptation
Host-country language support	This refers to support provided to unaccompanied youths to access country-specific languages which could promote their further education and community participation in new country

Note: Sourced from M. Crock (2015); I. Katz et al. (2103)

2.2.2 Limitations of existing evidence

A key methodological point to make, in terms of literature scan, is that great majority of studies were based on small qualitative samples (1–38) in highly specific sites (see Appendix F and G). This limits the generalisability of any research findings. Overall, the available literature had some strengths and limitations involving methodologies and outcomes of minors'

demographic criteria including their age, level of education, countries of origin/language and cultural/ethnic background. The global literature had many qualitative studies (n=77) which were mostly carried out in Europe and literature review studies (n=68) carried out in North America. While qualitative studies mostly used interviews, observation and focus groups, quantitative studies used questionnaires and surveys, and mixed methods studies used questionnaires and interviews. Most studies identified participants' countries of origin, showing that the vast majority in North America arrived from Mexico, and Central America (Guatemala, El Salvador, Honduras) and those in Europe came from the Middle East (e.g., Afghanistan) and Africa (e.g., Ethiopia, Eritrea, Somalia). While qualitative studies had small sample sizes that ranged between 1 and 150 and age that ranged between 7 and 26 years and above, quantitative studies had larger samples sizes that ranged between 276 and 34,650 and age that ranged between 8 to 24 years and above.

The Australian literature was mostly qualitative studies (n=73) and literature reviews (n=68), with many having been carried out in major states of NSW and Victoria. Many studies identified participants' main countries of origin (e.g., Afghanistan, Sri Lanka, Pakistan, Iran). The most common methods in qualitative studies were interviews and observations, in quantitative studies were questionnaires and in mixed methods studies were questionnaires and interviews. The vast majority of research studies were qualitative studies that had small sample sizes ranging from 3 to 38, and ages ranging from 9 years to 30 years and above. While quantitative studies had relatively large sample sizes that ranged between 70 to 7,702 and ages ranging from 14 years to 30 years and above, mixed methods studies had sample sizes between 97 and 587 and ages between 12 and 24 years.

However, some research studies did not clearly define theoretical frameworks used, and UAMs' and fUAMs' demographic outcomes (e.g., gender, age, language, ethnicity/culture and level of education). Further, information regarding sample sizes, and source country was often unclear, a problem extending to large-scale broader geographical studies. Authors were also typically unclear about ethical considerations regarding data collection, and in the data analysis process. Overall, only few global (e.g., Socha et al., 2016; Ni Raghallaigh, 2011) and Australian (e.g., Nardone & Correa-Velez, 2015; Mansouri & Skrbis, 2013) studies were of high quality–they had clear sample characteristics, and data collection and analysis processes.

The literature indicated UAMs' support services were dependent on host-countries' settlement policies and were provided by voluntary/private organisations in North America and local authorities/municipalities in many EU countries. In Australia, minors were provided with support through federally-funded service provider organisations. Generally, minors aged under 18 years tended to receive maximum support in various placements including foster care, however their support becomes modest on reaching young adulthood or post-care

Of relevance to the current M.Phil. thesis, while many papers referred to UAMs/fUAMs, very few had sought key informant perceptions as part of the research process (e.g., Obondo et al., 2016; Gozdziak, 2015; Miller et al., 2013). This constitutes a potentially valuable dimension, which forms the basis of my own research.

2.2.3. A key contextual factor

I had previously worked for four years at a Technical and Further Education (TAFE) institution in regional Victoria where my role involved teaching English as an Additional Language (EAL) and essential employability skills to immigrants (the vast majority were asylum-seeker youths). Also, I have recently worked as a case worker for a period of three years at a major

religious NGO based in Victoria and my role included assessing asylum-seeker client (including UAMs) needs and linking them to support services for effective early settlement and wellbeing. The following services seemed to be important for UAMs: stable and suitable accommodation and housing to enhance their early adjustment; host-country language (English language) to promote their education and community participation; income and employment skills to enhance their socioeconomic participation; social welfare support to promote their service provision and agency and; social networks to promote their social integration. Within this context, I estimate I provided intervention placement and targeted settlement support to about 110 UAMs while they were in community detention, a program that provided stable group-home accommodation and support. I had the opportunity to observe processes designed to facilitate UAMs' connection to community and services. My role also involved substantial ongoing involvement with fUAMs. Given this, the M.Phil. research process encouraged me to focus on key informant perceptions.

2.3 Risk and Protective Factors (2017–2020) for UAMs'/fUAMs' Effective Settlement and Wellbeing

Previous literature reviews to inform research design and to prepare research questions focused up to 2016 because this is the time that I carried out the empirical research on UAMs' and fUAMs' effective support services. The extended literature search and review to 2017–2020 was to capture any policy changes regarding UAMs' support service provision. The literature review identified additional 37 studies in Europe, 18 studies in North America and 6 studies in Australia, on UAMs' and fUAMs' effective settlement and wellbeing. These were mostly small scale sample qualitative studies (e.g., Avrushin & Vidal de Haymes, 2018; Rucker et al., 2017) and literature reviews (e.g., Berger Cardoso et al., 2019; Hedlund & Salmonsson, 2018) from similar source countries. The vast majority of international studies were carried out in the USA (e.g., Crea et al.,

2018a) and the UK (e.g., Ehntholt et al., 2018), possibly because of recent high flows of immigrants including UAMs. These studies focused broadly on themes (e.g., accommodation, host-country language, education, and healthcare), and identified settlement challenges for UAMs to include high school dropout rates and acculturation issues and for fUAMs such as transition difficulties post-care. Australian studies indicated settlement difficulties for UAMs included strict regulations in foster care and fUAMs were found to be resilient despite reduced support post-care. Only two studies in the UK explored Afghan UAMs' migration choices (Meloni, 2020) and their transition process post-care (Chase, 2020). Overall, only few global (e.g., Crea et al., 2018b; Norredam et al., 2018) and Australian (e.g., Zwi et al., 2018) studies were of high quality–they had clear sample characteristics, and data collection and analysis processes.

2.4 Risk and Protective Factors (2001–2016) for UAMs'/fUAMs' Effective Settlement and Wellbeing

Reviewed global literature and Australian literature involving analysed studies from 2001 to 2016 that identified nine themes that emerged as critical for UAMs'/fUAMs' early settlement and wellbeing: (1) perceived risk of criminal and anti-social behaviour, (2) housing and accommodation, (3) education and training, (4) social welfare, (5) psychological healthcare, (6) legal support and protection, (7) income and employment, (8) social network, and (9) host-country language. Also, Australian literature involved earlier Indochinese minors (1970s–1980s), to compare support provided to them and recent minors from the Middle East, including Afghanistan.

Table 2.2 shows the nine themes identified in the analysed literature as important settlement services for UAMs and fUAMs, of which five themes appeared to be important based on researcher's casework experiences with UAMs and fUAMs.

Table 2. 2 Themes that Emerged from Literature and Researcher

Literature	Researcher
Perceived risk for criminal and anti-social behaviour	Housing and accommodation support
Housing and accommodation support	Host-country language support (English language)
Education and training support	Income and employment support
Social welfare support	Social welfare support
Psychological healthcare support	Social network support
Legal support and protection	
Income and employment support	
Social network support	
Host-country language support	

To be described next are perceived risk and protective factors of UAMs and fUAMs from analysis of international (n=167) and Australian (n=127) literature.

2.4.1 Perceived risk of criminal and anti-social behaviour (n=55)

International literature **(n=30)**

Studies in Europe and North America have suggested immigrant and refugee youths (including UAMs) were likely to commit fewer offenses and become victims of violence, despite a perceived high risk of crime. European literature suggested development of crime prevention policies including improvement of cultural integration and leisure activities (Fraser & Piacentini, 2014; Oriol-Granado et al., 2014; Wright, 2014; Sveinsson, 2012; Carlsson & Decker, 2005). North American studies recommended several crime prevention strategies including early recognition of criminal behaviour, legal education support, and improved socio-economic status (Bertrand et al., 2013; Rossiter & Rossiter, 2009ab; Delgado et al., 2005; Wortley & Tanner, 2005). Similarly, other studies found youth anti-social behaviours could be reduced by their positive cultural identity and social competencies (Sersli et al., 2010); a sense of belonging and community connections; safe neighbourhood; and respectful policing (LaBoucane-Benson et al., 2009; Hanniman, 2008; Choi et al., 2005).

Despite reviewed studies concluding that immigrant and refugee youths (including fUAMs) were perceived to be at risk of criminal and anti-social behaviours, they committed fewer offences and were victims of violence. European literature found potential challenges that could lead to their crime were a lack of family ties, and drug use (Damm & Dustmann, 2014; Poynting & Mason, 2007). Multiple studies indicated, despite these challenges, these youths were likely to commit minor offences (Abunimah & Blower, 2010; Bokhari, 2008; Goodman & Ruggiero, 2008; Youth Justice Board, 2005).

Multiple North American studies found that immigrant and refugee youths (i.e., fUAMs) could become victims of violence (Gibson & Miller, 2010), with their crimes being associated with poor neighbourhood context, police racial/ethnic profiling, and gang membership (Goodrum et al., 2015; Heidbrink, 2013a; Racine, 2011; Bhabha & Finch, 2006). Youth crimes were also linked to limited knowledge of laws and proficiency in host-country language; and distrust for authority (Bryan & Denov, 2011; Wortley & Owusu-Bempah, 2011; Penn et al., 2006). However, immigrant youth (i.e., fUAMs) were more likely to commit the lowest crimes overall (Vaughn et al., 2014).

***Australian literature* (n=25)**

Reviewed literature in Australia indicates that immigrant and refugee youths (including UAMs) had low rates of crime and were more likely to be victims of violence, despite being at risk of crimes. These youths (i.e., UAMs) provided with alternative pathways, including religious connections and prevention of discrimination, could have reduced criminal behaviours (Katz et al., 2013; Bartels, 2011; Office of Multicultural Interests (OMI), 2009). Several studies recommend crime prevention strategies including culturally-sensitive policing practices, community consultations (Miller et al., 2013; Paxton et al., 2011; Collins & Reid, 2009; White, 2008), and

provision of legal education (CMY, 2014a, 2013, 2015; White, 2009). Other studies suggested diversion strategies including strong cultural values, social inclusion, and sports programs (Bull et al., 2011; Browne & Renzaho, 2010; Chau, 2007; Kennedy & Goren, 2007).

There was contradicting evidence on fUAMs' criminal engagement and rates of crimes. For example, immigrant and refugee youths' (i.e., fUAMs) perceived criminal behaviours could be linked to negative political and media debates, socio-economic disadvantages, and public fear of Middle Eastern/Muslim youths (Collins & Reid, 2009; Collins, 2007). However, there was a very small number of alleged overseas-born youth offenders (8% or 2,221) compared to large numbers of Australian-born youths (77% or 22,329), aged 10–24 years old from 2011–2012 in Victoria (CMY, 2014a).

Additionally, immigrant and refugee youths (including fUAMs) could experience high rates of victimisation (McHugh-Dillon, 2015; Mackay et al., 2012; Poynting & Mason, 2007; Johnson, 2005), resulting from their engagement with police, and the justice system that led to racial profiling, and unwarranted searching (CMY, 2014a; Baur, 2006). Other factors were difficulties with the complex legal system and mental health issues (Katz et al., 2013; Ozolins, 2009; White, 2008; Dixon & Maher, 2002).

2.4.2 Housing and accommodation support (n=53)

International literature (n=32)

Globally, literature indicated UAMs were likely to be provided with varying accommodations. In most EU states, UAMs were placed in foster family care run by local authorities/municipalities (Söderqvist, 2014; Mullally, 2011; Mynott & Humphries, 2001). France, the Netherlands, and the UK had relatively good foster care practices including matching children with families and carers (Lyamouri-Bajja, 2014; Wright, 2014; Sirriyeh, 2008). Studies

recommended accommodation support for youths aged 18–24 years old to improve their adjustment and wellbeing (Ahrens, 2013; Wade, 2011; Carter et al., 2008; Broad & Robbins, 2005). In North America, generally UAMs (under 16 or 18 years) in USA had come from Central America and Mexico (Chavez-Duenas et al., 2014; Byrne & Miller, 2012) and those in Canada either crossed the US-Canada border or arrived from Colombia, Nigeria and Pakistan (Murdie & Logan, 2011; Wouk et al., 2006). They were likely to be placed in a variety of accommodation (e.g., residential, foster care) run by private/voluntary/religious organisations (Socha et al., 2016; Orgocka, 2012; Ali, 2006).

Nonetheless, studies demonstrated fUAMs could face accommodation difficulties and homelessness. In most EU states, immigrant youths (i.e., fUAMs) may experience unaffordable accommodation (Hancilova et al., 2011; Parliament Assembly, 2011), and insecure housing post-care (Busch-Geertsema et al., 2014; Hopkins & Hill, 2010; Carter et al., 2008; Wade et al., 2005). They could become homeless due to unemployment, and overcrowding (Lundberg & Dahlquist, 2012; Shalayeva et al., 2011; Lay & Papadopoulos, 2008). However, Quilgars (2010) in Europe indicated a lack of high-quality studies on youth (i.e., fUAMs) homelessness. In North America, most fUAMs were likely to live in inferior/temporary accommodation post-care (Skrikas, 2014; Byrne, 2008; Elgersma, 2007).

Australian literature **(n=21)**

In Australia, a substantial number of studies have explored housing difficulties and homelessness among immigrant and refugee youths, though some authors state there is a modest literature regarding this (e.g., Couch, 2013; Khoo et al., 2012). UAMs pre-18 years in community detention were offered full accommodated in group-homes, with 24-hour care (Katz et al., 2013; Marshall et al., 2013; RCOA, 2013). These types of accommodations were based on physical

dimensions and access to support services. However, UAMs needed to be given transition preparation on the types of accommodations and how to access them (Jenkinson et al., 2016; Miller et al., 2013), improving their stability and adjustment post-care (CMY, 2015; Barrie & Mendes, 2011; Miller & Irizarry, 2010).

Studies concluded fUAMs were at high risk of homelessness because of inadequate accommodation support policies. Authors (Jenkinson et al., 2016; Flatau et al., 2015) indicated immigrant and refugee youths (i.e., fUAMs) in the mainstream community could have limited accommodation support. According to estimates, they had about 6–10 times greater risk of homelessness compared to Australian youths (CMY, 2013; Coventry, 2002). These youths could experience risk for homelessness due to a lack of culturally-appropriate accommodation support, financial difficulties (CMY, 2015; Miller & Irizarry, 2010), and unawareness of rental markets (CMY, 2014a; MYAN, 2012; Liddy et al., 2010; Toure, 2008). Other challenges were discrimination by real estate agents, limited English proficiency, and poor mental health (Couch, 2011a; Paxton et al., 2011; Ben-Moshe et al., 2008).

2.4.3 Education and training support (n=53)

International literature (n=34)

The literature in Europe and North America indicated UAMs were generally provided with full educational support, with access based on minors' age and country-specific policies. European studies confirmed UAMs received full access to education until 21 years of age in Sweden, 26 in Austria, and 16 in Norway and the UK, with the Netherlands having the most organized education system (Lyamouri-Bajja, 2014). Many European studies suggested provision of education could improve UAMs' transition to employment (British Council, 2016; Save the Children, 2006; Mynott & Humphries, 2001); better their intercultural competence (Obondo et al., 2016;

Çelikaksoy & Wadensjö, 2015; Popov & Sturesson, 2015); and increase their psychosocial wellbeing and integration (de Wal Pastoor, 2015). Studies also proposed mainstream schooling improved their educational pathways (Rania et al., 2014; Hopkins & Hill, 2010; Arnot & Pinson, 2005) and safe school environments led to their successful learning (Wade et al., 2012; Bean et al., 2006). While North American studies indicated UAMs accessed education support until 16 or 18 years, this support could vary based on the US states and Canadian regional policies (Amthor & Roxas, 2016; Denov & Blanchet-Cohen, 2016; Skrikas, 2014). Other North American studies recommended provision of educational resources, tutoring, and culturally appropriate curricula (Gozdziak, 2015; Carlson et al., 2012; Elgersma, 2007; Ali, 2006).

Yet, educational support for fUAMs in Europe and North America was likely to become reduced and access to school varied post-18 years. European studies identified several challenges experienced by fUAMs in the EU, with those in the UK paying international student fees and those in the Netherlands not likely to be enrolled in high schools (Hancilova et al. 2011). fUAMs in other EU countries (i.e., the UK, Sweden, Belgium) could experience inadequate reception at school (Manco & Alen, 2012), and inappropriate class placements (Derluyn & Broekaert, 2008; Wade et al., 2005). They could also experience linguistic difficulties, and interrupted schooling (Nilsson & Bunar, 2015; Muller, 2014; Parliamentary Assembly, 2011; Stevenson & Willott, 2007). In North America, educational challenges for fUAMs' included inadequate resources; social isolation (US Department of Education, 2014; Shakya et al., 2012; Elgersma, 2007); financial difficulties; and discrimination (Rossiter et al., 2015; Denov & Bryan, 2010).

Australian literature **(n=19)**

In Australia, generally UAMs pre-18 years were provided with full access to educational support, similar to Australian out-of-home care youths. The literature reviews affirmed UAMs

received educational support that could improve their resilience and integration (Block et al., 2014; Katz et al., 2013; Zwi & Chaney, 2013). Other studies recommended culturally-appropriate education (Stern, 2010; Hood et al., 2007), and welcoming school environments (Uptin et al., 2013; Taylor & Sidhu, 2012). Further, studies suggested improved homework and literacy programs (Tregale et al., 2015; Paxton et al., 2011; Stern, 2010; Sidhu & Taylor, 2007, 2009).

However, low levels of educational and training support for fUAMs post-18 years could result in their poor integration. Studies that mainly sought key informant (i.e., teachers) perspectives identified fUAMs may have limited level of education and training, varying between states/territories. Their education barriers included inadequate accommodation; poor access to transport; pressure to enter employment (Katz et al., 2013; Ben-Moshe et al., 2008; Mathews, 2008); lack of training pathways; longer times to obtain qualifications and poor English language skills (Miller et al., 2013; Iqbal et al., 2012). Moreover, fUAMs' education and training may lack funding, and curricula, which could lead to poor socioeconomic participation (Pugh et al., 2012; Taylor, 2008).

2.4.4 Social welfare support (n=49)

International literature **(n=30)**

Evidence in Europe and North America demonstrated UAMs were offered intensive social support by welfare workers, including case workers/managers. This support could promote their resourcefulness (defined as an individual's ability to overcome difficulties (Zauszniewski et al., 2006)) and personal agency (defined as an individual's capacity to act independently (Lysaker & Leonhardt, 2012)). The European literature suggested that most UAMs, aged between 15–17, were provided with intensive social welfare support to improve their initial adjustment (Thompson, 2015; Lyamouri-Bajja, 2014; Save the Children, 2006). They were assessed for their needs and

referred to support services (Çelikaksoy & Wadensjö, 2015; Wright, 2014; Mynott & Humphries, 2001), including housing, and educational support (Oriol-Granado et al., 2014; Rania et al., 2014; Edmond & Price, 2012). Social welfare practice tended to assume these UAMs were traumatized and vulnerable victims who needed more support, yet they had personal agency (Liden & Nyhlen, 2015; Robinson 2013; Newbigging, 2010; Kohli, 2007). North American literature stated most UAMs arrived between ages 15–18 (Levinson, 2011; Shier et al., 2011) and were supported to develop strong sense of ethnic identity and cultural connections (Denov & Blanchet-Cohen, 2016; Schlesinger & Devore, 2007). However, these minors were found to be highly resourceful (Denov & Bryan, 2010).

Still, fUAMs were likely to receive reduced social welfare support which may result in risks related to early adjustment process. Multiple European studies (Bo, 2015; Larkin, 2015; Wright, 2014; Chantler, 2012; Mullally, 2011; Ferguson & Woodward, 2009; Wade et al., 2005, 2011) have established provision of social welfare could be negatively impacted by fUAMs' unresolved immigration status; insufficient social networks; lack of trust; and government control of resources (O'Higgins, 2012; Derluyn & Broekaert, 2008). North American studies suggested social welfare tended to focus on youths' powerlessness and may lack culturally-appropriate workers and translation services (Torrico, 2010; Ali, 2006; Wouk et al., 2006).

Australian literature **(n=19)**

Reviewed studies in Australia indicated UAMs were provided with adequate social welfare support by case workers/managers, to promote their resilience and early adjustment. A literature review study by Barrie and Mendes (2011) suggested a paucity of research on UAMs' experiences in and out of care. Katz et al. (2013) indicated UAMs in care were provided with comprehensive social welfare support. Social welfare utilised human rights, strengths-based and advocacy

principles (Westoby & Ingamells, 2010; Briskman & Cemlyn, 2005). Studies indicated effective social welfare practice could promote youths' psychosocial wellbeing, and access to support services (Kenny & Fiske, 2014; Miller et al., 2013; Clark, 2006; Cemlyn & Briskman, 2003). Studies recommended culturally-inclusive case work/management support that emphasise youths' resourcefulness (Australian Association of Social Workers (AASW), 2016; Alan, 2015; Sawrikar, 2013; Kaur, 2012; Ozolins, 2009).

Still, fUAMs who were considered to be adults were provided with highly reduced social welfare support which could disadvantage their adjustment. Studies indicated welfare workers viewed individual refugee youths (i.e., fUAMs) as vulnerable, neglecting their strengths (Clark, 2006; Bowles, 2005). Social welfare support could be negatively affected by youths' lack of permanent visas (Robinson, 2014; Ingamells & Westoby, 2008); welfare workers' pressure of workload (Westoby & Ingamells, 2010); and a lack of cross-cultural knowledge (Earnest et al., 2015; Nelson et al., 2014; Miller et al., 2013).

2.4.5 Psychological healthcare support (n=48)

International literature (n=24)

In Europe and North America, UAMs were likely to be provided with intensive psychological support by professionals including psychologists and counsellors. European studies suggested UAMs experienced potential trauma and loss pre-arrival (Rania et al., 2014; Sanchez-Cao et al., 2013; Thommessen et al., 2013), with the prevalence of anxiety being 29% and post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) being 66% in Europe (Sanchez-Cao et al., 2012). Studies established UAMs' psychological support varied in different EU countries (Oppedal & Idsoe, 2015; Hancilova et al., 2011). To reduce UAMs' psychological issues, multiple European studies recommended good reception, protection, predictable future (Wal Pastoor, 2015; Mercy Corps,

2015), and culturally-competent caregiving (de Chase, 2013; Furia, 2012; Lundberg & Dahlquist, 2012; Ni Raghallaigh, 2011; Rigby, 2011). North American studies indicated refugee youths (i.e., UAMs) exhibited high levels of PTSD and depression (which ranged from 16% to 64% in Canada), with their psychological support tending to vary in American states and Canadian regions (Beiser & Hou, 2016; Skrikas, 2014; Tyrer & Fazel, 2014). To ease UAMs' pre- and post-migration challenges, studies recommended psychological support provided in safe environments (Fernandez et al., 2015; Aldarondo & Becker, 2011; Kirmayer et al., 2011).

However, despite potential trauma and vulnerabilities, the literature indicated fUAMs were resilient and had inner strengths. European studies indicated that these immigrant and refugee youths (i.e., fUAMs) could receive reduced psychological support, and face unfamiliar healthcare systems (Eide & Hjern, 2013; Hancilova et al., 2011; Derluyn & Broekaert, 2008). Yet, most youths had positive coping strategies (i.e., optimism, emotional competency) (Bronstein & Montgomery, 2011; Seglem et al., 2011; Derluyn et al., 2009) which could reduce psychological issues. North American studies indicated fUAMs may experience low uptake of psychological services due to culturo-linguistic difficulties (Fernandez et al., 2015; George at al., 2015; Kirmayer et al., 2011). However, positive political and sociocultural support may lead to their recovery and resilience (Pieloch et al., 2016).

Australian literature **(n=24)**

UAMs in Australia were offered psychological support to mitigate pre- and post-arrival challenges, promoting their adjustment and wellbeing. Multiple studies suggested UAMs had experienced potential traumatic experiences, including wars and persecution pre-arrival and were vulnerable due to asylum-seeking and settlement challenges post-arrival (Khawaja & Stein, 2016; Katz et al., 2013) and mental health issues (Garakasha, 2014; Murray et al., 2008; Momartin et al.,

2006; Martin & Hutchinson, 2005). Studies indicated rates of psychological issues varied extensively (from 3% to 96% for anxiety and from 3% to 75% for PTSD) (Zwi & Chaney, 2013). UAMs received psychological support to promote their early adjustment (Katz et al.,2013), with other studies recommending development of positive health-seeking behaviour, and use of interpreter services (CMY, 2015; Miller et al., 2013; Henley & Robinson, 2011; De Anstiss et al., 2009; Brough et al., 2003).

Nevertheless, fUAMs experienced potential contextual challenges that could result in their dysfunction and psychological issues. For instance, migrant and refugee youths (i.e., fUAMs) could receive reduced psychological support, due to policy measures (Hood et al., 2007; Davidson et al., 2004). Their psychological issues could be exacerbated by exclusion, stigma, and racism; and inadequate resources (Colucci et al., 2014; Dudley et al., 2012; Paxton et al., 2011; Mares et al., 2002). Yet, most immigrant youths (i.e., fUAMs) had positive coping skills (Earnest et al., 2015; Ziaian et al., 2012; Phillips, 2011), promoting their resilience and wellbeing (CMY, 2013, 2014b).

2.4.6 Legal support services and protection (n=45)

International literature (n=30)

In Europe and North America, UAMs were provided with legal support and protection but this depended on policies in European and North American countries. Multiple European studies suggested legal policies varied in the EU countries, with UAMs generally provided with guardianship, and child-specific legal support (Barbulescu & Grugel, 2016; Hedlund & Cederborg, 2015; Vervliet et al., 2015; Gladwell & Elwyn, 2012; Lundberg & Dahlquist, 2012). Due to precariousness, UAMs needed asylum-seeking protection and rights (Thommessen et al., 2015; Söderqvist et al., 2015; Gladwell, 2013; Furia, 2012; Broad & Robins, 2005). North American

literature indicated varied guardianship support and legal structure for UAMs in the USA and Canada (Gozdziak, 2015; Chavez-Duenas et al., 2014; Heidbrink, 2013b; Haddal, 2008; Martin & Curran, 2007).

In contrast, fUAMs post-18 years were likely to experience legal and immigration restrictions that could affect their integration. Reviewed literature showed most EU states had divergent, but generally restrictive legal regulations (Muller, 2014; Hancilova et al., 2011; Mullally, 2011) that could deny family re-unification and refugee status, and deport them (Robinson & Williams, 2015; Gladwell, 2013; Wade, 2011; Kanics et al., 2010). In North America, multiple studies indicated fUAMs could be detained (especially in America), and be denied legal representation and visas (Racine, 2011; Young & McKenna, 2010; Bhabha & Schmidt, 2008; Uehling, 2008; Piwowarczyk, 2006; Kumin & Chaikel, 2002). Other challenges included their poor understanding of migration laws and services (Denov & Blanchet-Cohen, 2016; Rossiter et al, 2015; Bryan & Denov, 2011).

Australian literature (n=15)

UAMs in Australia were provided with guardianship and legal protection, promoting their early adjustment. Reviewed literature indicated UAMs were provided with legal guardianship and placed in community detention which excluded them from inhumane immigration detention (Katz et al., 2013; Crock, 2006; Martin & Hutchinson, 2005). Multiple studies recommended UAMs to be provided with family re-unification (Marshall et al., 2013; Zwi & Chaney, 2013; Paxton et al., 2011; Stern, 2010), knowledge of the legal system, and permanent settlement, promoting their integration (Kenny & Fiske, 2014; Miller & Irizarry, 2010).

However, fUAMs were likely to receive limited legal services that could result in lengthy refugee determination, deportation, and precarity. Multiple studies indicated asylum-seekers (i.e.,

fUAMs) were offered reduced legal services and protection (Crock & Kenny, 2012; Stern, 2010; Cemlyn & Briskman, 2003), and were subjected to deterrent asylum-seeker policies, leaving them in legal limbo (Dudley et al., 2012; Crock, 2008). They could also face negative political and media representation, Islamophobia, and resentment from the public (Miller et al., 2013; MYAN, 2012; Klocker, 2004).

2.4.7 Income and employment support (n=43)

International literature (n=23)

UAMs in Europe and North America were provided with income support to improve their early adjustment, despite this varying based on European and North American country-specific policies. European studies pointed out UAMs were provided with allowances to reduce vulnerability, with different labour regulations across countries (British Council, 2016; Atkins, 2015; Muller, 2014; Söderqvist, 2014). UAMs had limited access to employment in the UK and Belgium (Hancilova et al., 2011; Mougne, 2010). Studies recommended provision of work permits (Mercy Corps, 2015; Rania et al., 2014); and career preparation (Çelikaksoy & Wadensjö, 2015; Lyamouri-Bajja, 2014). North American studies indicated UAMs with no work-rights could receive financial support (Gozdziak, 2015; Skrikas, 2014), recommending support for voluntary work participation (Denov & Bryan, 2014; Wilkinson et al., 2010; Wilkinson, 2008).

Nevertheless, fUAMs could encounter many barriers leading to poor employment and adjustment outcomes. Reviewed European literature indicated employment support for fUAMs varied based on country-specific policies (Lyamouri-Bajja, 2014; Parliamentary Assembly, 2011). Many studies showed they could face employment barriers including inadequate qualifications; perceived discrimination; unresolved refugee statuses; and poor social networks (Shalayeva et al., 2011; Wade, 2011; Wade et al., 2005; Wallin & Ahlstrom, 2005). North American studies reported

fUAMs' employment difficulties included a lack of social security number (the USA), and workplace exploitation (Socha et al., 2016; Rossiter et al., 2015).

Australian literature **(n=20)**

UAMs in Australia were provided with adequate allowances but may require financial and employment skills to increase their socioeconomic participation. Studies showed UAMs had no work-rights but received allowance benefit enough to meet their daily needs (slightly less than that provided to local out-of-home care youths), and could carry out volunteer work (Katz et al., 2013; Marshall et al., 2013). Multiple studies recommended provision of financial literacy skills (Hartley & Fleay, 2014; MYAN, 2013; Miller & Irizarry, 2010); employment-focused mentoring; and work-study programs (CMY,2013, 2015; Nunn et al., 2014; Jakubowicz et al., 2014; Olliff, 2010).

By contrast, fUAMs had varied work-rights depending on visa type, and generally reduced income and employment support which could result in poor socioeconomic participation. Research studies (Jakubowicz et al., 2014; Thapa & Gorgens, 2006) demonstrated that immigrant youths (i.e., fUAMs) received reduced allowances (set at 89% of Centrelink benefit) compared to local youths; limited employment support; and a higher unemployment rate than national averages. Other studies indicated employment challenges included perceived discrimination; and lack of English language skills, youth-specific employment pathways, and transport support (Borrell, 2016; Beadle, 2014; CMY, 2014c; Couch, 2011b; Kyle et al., 2004). Moreover, they may face financial challenges due to financial exploitation, and overseas remittances (Miller et al., 2013; Paxton et al., 2011; Mehraby, 2002).

2.4.8 Host-country language support (n=43)

International literature **(n=22)**

In Europe and North America, UAMs were provided with host-country language support, but the level differed in European and North American countries. Reviewed European studies suggested UAMs were provided with host-country language support which varied based on specific-country policies (Lyamouri-Bajja, 2014; Hancilova et al., 2011). Other studies recommended improved access to language education support to promote UAMs' socio-cultural integration and academic success (British Council, 2016; Obondo et al., 2016; Rania et al., 2014; Cooke, 2008). North American studies showed UAMs were provided with host-country language, involving mainly voluntary organisations in the USA and generous provincial governments in Canada (Gozdziak, 2015; Skrikas, 2014). To improve their language learning, studies suggested recognition of prior learning; use of technology (Martin-Beltran & Peercy, 2014; Ngo, 2009); bilingual instruction (Chin et al., 2013; Pollard-Durodola et al., 2006); and small-group classes (Lee, 2014; Faltis, 2011; McBrien, 2005).

Still, analysed literature identified that host-country language programs became limited for fUAMs in Europe and North America, which could lead to early adjustment challenges. European literature found immigrant youths (i.e., fUAMs) may have reduced host-language support, yet they faced difficulties including limited learning resources, and illiteracy (Hopkins & Hill, 2010; Wallen & Kelly-Holmes, 2006; Leung, 2005). Many North American studies demonstrated fUAMs had limited and varying levels of host-country language support and resources, with challenges including high student dropout rates (Canizales, 2013; Anisef et al., 2010; Ngo, 2009; McEachron & Bhatti, 2005).

Australian literature **(n=21)**

UAMs in Australia were provided with full English language support to promote their academic progress and community participation. Analysed literature indicated immigrant and refugee youths (including UAMs) received intensive English language training to better school and integration outcomes (Bansel et al., 2016; Due et al., 2016; Katz et al., 2013). Research studies recommended identification of their literacy needs, effective teaching strategies, and age-related language training (Windle & Miller, 2010, 2012; Paxton et al., 2011; Moore et al., 2008). Moreover, they may also require opportunity to practice English language (Jenkinson et al., 2016; CMY, 2015; Tudsri & Hebbani, 2015; Due & Riggs, 2009; Gibbons, 2008); and English language training in mainstream schools (Ben-Moshe, Bertone & Grossman, 2008).

However, fUAMs' access to English language support was limited which was likely to affect their integration. Reviewed studies showed English language support for asylum-seeker youths (i.e., fUAMs) became limited due to policy restrictions (Nicholas, 2015; Woods, 2009), with challenges including school disengagement; lack of motivation and prior learning; unsuitable texts; and a shortage of language teachers (Windle & Miller, 2012; Chegwidden & Thompson, 2008; Mathews, 2008). Further, they may experience culturally inappropriate English language curricula; and pressure to dropout (Paxton et al., 2011; Stern, 2010; Taylor, 2008). Moreover, they could experience lack of youth-specific English language programs (Miller et al., 2013; Harding & Wigglesworth, 2005). Yet, more research was needed on their transitions from English language classes into mainstream education (de Heer et al., 2016).

2.4.9 Social network support (n=43)

International literature **(n=22)**

UAMs in Europe and North America were generally provided with different levels of social network support, based on European and North American country-specific policies. Reviewed European studies showed UAMs were provided with social network support which varied in different EU countries (Hancilova et al., 2011), providing them with greater access to information, emotional support, and social resources (Smyth et al., 2015; Ahrens, 2013; Deveci, 2012; Wells, 2011). UAMs were supported by caregivers, including case workers, to develop social networks with their own ethnic and host-community groups (Mercy Corps, 2015; Nilsson Folke, 2015; Söderqvist, 2014; Lundberg & Dahlquist, 2012; Wallin & Ahlstrom, 2005). In North America, UAMs received social network support that depended on policies of the USA and Canada, aimed to promote their social skills and relationships (Gozdziak, 2015; Skrikas, 2014) through sports and recreational activities (Denov & Bryan, 2014; Lummert, 2012; Luster et al., 2010).

However, fUAMs regarded to be independent could experience reduced levels of social network support, disadvantaging their initial adjustment. European studies highlighted immigrant youths' (i.e., fUAMs) poor social networks may be due to poor reception, limited language skills (Ni Raghallaigh, 2014; Beirens et al., 2007), and perceived social exclusion post-care (Donini et al., 2016; Stein, 2006). North American studies indicated their potential social network barriers included family separation, and cultural misunderstanding in Canada (Denov & Blanchet-Cohen, 2016) and the USA (Ramos & Marrero, 2015; Canizales, 2013).

Australian literature **(n=21)**

UAMs in Australia were provided with support to develop forms of social networking, promoting sociocultural integration. Reviewed literature suggested migrant youths (including

UAMs) were provided with socio-cultural network support, with their networks occurring in schools and with peers (Katz et al., 2013; Mansouri & Skrbis, 2013). Many studies showed their networks were promoted by participation in sports, recreational activities, and online and religious connections (CMY, 2013, 2015; Johns, 2014; Karimshah et al., 2014; Mansouri & Halafoff, 2014; Marshall et al., 2013). Their networks could also be improved by culturally-inclusive programs, and their trust and sense of belonging (Mansouri & Johns, 2016; Neve, 2014; Evenhuis, 2013; Mansouri et al., 2012).

By contrast, fUAMs considered to be independent were offered limited social network support, leading to poor integration outcomes. Several studies showed migrant and asylum-seeker youths' (i.e., fUAMs) limited network support could lead to social isolation, and poor English language skills (Lawrence et al., 2016; Cameron et al., 2011; Correa-Velez et al., 2010; Hood et al., 2007). Barriers to their network formation included host-country members' fear of Middle Eastern/Muslim youths (Olliff, 2008; Haslam & Pedersen, 2007); and youths' poor access to information; perceived racism, and mistrust (Alam & Imran, 2015; Nardone & Correa-Velez, 2015; CMY, 2014a).

2.4.10 Earlier Indochinese UAMs (1970s–1980s) in Australia (n=12)

Indochinese UAMs were provided with settlement support in foster care and residential arrangements. Reviewed studies demonstrated UAMs were placed mainly in foster care with relatives and group-home care (Smit, 2010; Burley, 1995; Easteal, 1989; Slaytor, 1980). Private organisations and state departments provided them with support services including education, accommodation, family reunion and guardianship (Boua, 1990; Loh, 1985; Zulfacar, 1984, 1987; Lim, 1979). Despite this support, they experienced school dropout, and homelessness (Boua, 1990; Lindsay, 1985; Hawthorne, 1982; Vivian & Lawe-Davis, 1980).

Yet, policy for fUAMs involved reduced support services, with challenges including high unemployment; cultural issues; and psychological problems (Boua,1990). However, they had fewer crime rates compared to local youths (Easteal, 1989).

Summary of key findings of international literature

Analysed literature suggests that European and North American countries' positive policies enabled provision of important support services to UAMs, but fUAMs considered to have agency may receive highly reduced support resulting in contextual challenges including limited host-country language skills and unemployment. However, there are differences in UAMs' and fUAMs' provision and access to support services. (1) Based on minors' age upon arrival, generally UAMs were provided with support services in foster care by municipalities/counties in European countries and by private/voluntary/religious organisations in North America. (2) Their access to support services tended to vary in Europe, the USA and Canada, based on country-specific policies.

Evidence demonstrates some studies did not identify unaccompanied youths' full demographic attributes, country of origin and arrival time. Also, studies did not show the quality of qualitative studies and theoretical approaches used, which could affect the quality of their findings. Despite these, studies suggested, (1) these youths were perceived to have high criminal behaviours (Damm & Dustmann, 2014), but were likely to commit fewer offenses and become victims of violence (Gibson & Miller, 2010). (2) These youths were viewed as experiencing psychological issues due to potential past and recent traumatic experiences, which could divert resources and affect their access to resources they truly needed, yet they were found to be highly resilient and resourceful (Seglem et al., 2011). (3) Due to insufficient data in European studies, there was a lack of high-quality research on youth homelessness (Quilgars, 2010).

Most studies in Europe did not differentiate Afghan UAMs' findings, with evidence suggesting only eight studies focused on Afghan UAMs. Six of these studies were qualitative (Donini et al., 2016; Thommessen et al., 2015; Robinson & Williams, 2015; Gladwell, 2013; Gladwell & Elwyn, 2012; Mougne, 2010) and two were mixed-methods (Vervliet et al., 2015; Bronstein et al., 2013).

Summary of key findings of Australian literature

Evidence shows Australia's policies for unaccompanied youths' support service provision have greatly evolved from earlier experimental support provided to Indochinese UAMs in foster family care and group-homes (1970s–1980s) to present federally-funded support to UAMs arriving from the Middles East, including Afghanistan (2001–2016). Generally, UAMs were likely to receive extensive support services (similar to local out-of-home care minors) in community detention, which greatly diminished for independent fUAMs in the mainstream community. However, there have been shifts in Australia's immigration policy owing in part to factors such as increase in unauthorised boat-arrivals, and issues of security and Islamaphobia (despite variable views about these policy shifts) which are likely to affect their early settlement and wellbeing.

Australian literature indicates studies did not identify full participant demographic attributes, country of origin, and the quality of qualitative studies, nor theoretical approaches used, which could limit the quality of their findings. However, studies identified the following key findings in the support of unaccompanied youths.

1. Despite greater risk of homelessness and unemployment (CMY, 2013; Thapa & Gorges, 2006), these youths had very low crime rates compared to local Australian youths (Collins, 2007).

2. UAMs regarded vulnerable to psychological problems were found to be highly resilient and resourceful, overcoming contextual challenges (Ziaian et al., 2012).
3. More research was required on unaccompanied youths' housing difficulties/ homelessness (Couch, 2013), and access to psychological/mental health services (Colucci et al., 2014), factors that greatly contribute to positive adjustment and wellbeing.

Evidence shows Afghan Hazara minors made up most UAMs arriving in Australia. Only six studies (Nardone & Correa-Velez, 2015; Neve, 2014; Tudsri & Hebbani, 2014; Miller et al., 2013; Iqbal et al., 2012; Phillips, 2011) focused on Afghan UAMs. None of these studies examined perspectives of service providers on UAMs' compared to fUAMs' early settlement support service provision. This lack of focus leads to a lack of robust knowledge of the risk and protective factors related to early settlement and wellbeing of Afghan Hazara UAMs and fUAMs.

Summary of key findings in international and Australian literature

The mainly small-sample global and Australia literature identified large support needs for UAMs/fUAMs, suggesting UAMs pre-18 years were generally provided with full support which became limited for independent fUAMs post-18 years. The nine key support services for these youths were perceived criminal and anti-social behaviour; housing and accommodation; education and training; social welfare; psychological healthcare; legal services and protection; income and employment; social network; and host-country language.

The following were distinct features of analysed literature.

1. Unaccompanied youths were perceived to commit high crimes and anti-social behaviour, yet they had very low crime rates and were victims of violence.
2. They were also viewed to be vulnerable to psychological issues, but most were found to be resilient and resourceful which influenced their adaptation and wellbeing in host-countries.

3. There was limited research on accommodation and access to psychological/mental health services.
4. There were very few studies that focused on key informant views, relevant for this study.
5. There were very few studies that focused on unaccompanied Afghan Hazara youths, despite consisting of most recent minors who arrived in Europe and Australia.

2.5 Conclusion of Literature Review

The paradox in the mostly small-sample global and Australian literature is that it affirms levels of need and the requirement for substantial increased support for UAMs and fUAMs to improve initial adjustment and wellbeing (Söderqvist, 2014; Katz et al., 2013). Despite this, the literature also affirms relative resilience and strengths of these youth groups, in a range of host societies including Canada (Pieloch et al., 2016) and Australia (Ziaian et al., 2012). The purpose of the M.Phil. is to explore a neglected but relevant dimension–the perspectives of key informant service providers to determine effective settlement support of UAMs and fUAMs in Melbourne, Victoria. Nine key themes were explored, which were derived from the analysed literature and from researcher's lived experience as a case worker with UAMs in care and transitioning to independent life (see Chapter 4).

The literature analysis raised several potentially important issues. There is a large body of global and Australian literature, mostly qualitative with small and mixed group samples, by and large identifying unaccompanied youths as a vulnerable group who may experience contextual challenges and adversity (Toly et al., 2014; Davydov et al., 2010). These studies show unaccompanied youths were widely represented in crime and anti-social behaviour, which seems to suggest support provided to them is not working. However, literature suggests provision of more support services was critical, with host OECD countries such as Australia (the focus of my study)

generally providing intensive support to UAMs, which became highly reduced for independent fUAMs. These support services may have resulted in better personal agency and resilience (Robinson, 2013; Ziaian et al., 2012; Seglem et al., 2011), influencing their early adjustment and wellbeing. While the literature focused on their needs and challenges, the socio-contextual outcomes suggest assistance is being provided reasonably well, despite imperfect resourcing and transitioning.

2.5.1 Afghan (Hazara) unaccompanied youths

Afghan Hazara UAMs constitute the single largest asylum-seeking group in Europe and Australia (Donini et al., 2016; MYAN, 2012); yet, studies rarely differentiated in their findings. Only eight international studies focused on lack of child-friendly asylum-seeking processes (Donini et al., 2016; Mougne, 2010); inadequate legal protection (Robinson & Williams, 2015; Gladwell, 2013; Gladwell & Elwyn, 2012); family re-unification (Vervliet et al., 2015); psychological issues (Bronstein et al., 2013); and social welfare support (Thommessen et al., 2015). In Australia, only six studies on Hazara youth exist, finding they experienced difficulties in accessing education and training, affordable accommodation and social networks (Nardone & Correa-Velez, 2015; Miller et al., 2013; Iqbal et al., 2012; Phillips, 2011) and the importance of English language training; and acculturation adjustment (Neve, 2014; Tudsri & Hebbani, 2014). In revelation that over 90% of UAMs (majority Afghan minors) settled in Australia (Stern, 2010), there is need for more research focusing on factors that influence Hazara UAMs' resilience.

2.5.2 Reviewed literature evidence gaps and methodological issues

There is a large literature on refugee and asylum-seeker youth both globally and in Australia. The literature review identified the following evidence gaps and methodological issues:

1. Shortage of research on UAM experiences in and out of foster care (Barrie & Mendes, 2011) and specifically, their transitions from language learning into mainstream education, housing difficulties, and employment outcomes (de Heer et al., 2016; Beadle, 2014; Khoo et al., 2012; Couch, 2011a, 2013; Quilgars, 2010).
2. Some of these studies failed to provide full participant demographic attributes (Hodes et al., 2008), search strategy (Sidhu & Taylor, 2007) and theoretical approaches (Thommessen et al., 2015).
3. Afghan (Hazara) minors made up most UAMs who arrived in Europe (Donini et al., 2016; Mougne, 2010) and Australia (Tudsri & Hebbani, 2014; MYAN, 2013), however:
    - Only eight European studies focused on Afghan (i.e., Hazara) youths (Donini et al., 2016; Thommessen et al., 2015; Robinson & Williams, 2015; Vervliet et al., 2015; Gladwell, 2013; Bronstein et al., 2013; Gladwell & Elwyn, 2012; Mougne, 2010).
    - Only six Australian studies explored early settlement experiences of Afghan youths (Nardone & Correa-Velez, 2015; Neve, 2014; Tudsri & Hebbani, 2014; Miller et al., 2013; Iqbal et al., 2012; Phillips, 2011).
4. There have been limited research studies seeking perspectives of service providers on UAMs compared to fUAMs settlement trajectory in the early post-arrival years in Australia, and Melbourne, Victoria–the focus of the present study–with most research conducted in other countries (Robinson, 2013; Ziaian et al., 2012; Seglem et al., 2011).

2.5.3 The implications for the M.Phil. study

The great majority of UAMs who arrived in Europe and Australia were Afghans, with many being Hazara. The Australian government settles UAMs pre-18 years old under community detention by contracting and funding community-based settlement organizations providing

support services to them. These support services become significantly reduced for fUAMs post-18 years living independently in mainstream community. Little is known about the influence of these support services on unaccompanied young Hazara men's settlement and wellbeing.

2.5.4 Research purpose and questions

Due to the ethical complexities in researching this vulnerable group of Afghan Hazara minors and the student researcher's multiple attempts to contact them without success, the research panel advised to change to key informants. The study went through ethics and it was approved. Due to limited research studies that explored perspectives of service providers on UAMs compared to fUAMs settlement support services during early post-arrival years in Australia, this study seeks to contribute to the field of unaccompanied youths' (i.e., UAMs/fUAMs) settlement and wellbeing.

The purpose of this M.Phil. study is to explore unaccompanied young Afghan Hazara men's experiences of six key settlement support services, derived as main themes from reviewed literature (i.e., accommodation/housing, English language, education and training, employment support, income assistance, casework/management). Using the perspectives of key stakeholders working with male Hazara youths, the four research questions are:

1. How are male Hazara UAMs and fUAMs, who migrated to Melbourne as unaccompanied minors, perceived by professional case workers and voluntary English language teachers to experience the migration trajectory?
2. What are male Hazara UAMs compared to fUAMs perceived expectations and needs of settlement support services at multiple levels in the early adjustment process?
3. What forms of social networks do male Hazara UAMs and fUAMs access post-arrival and how are these networks perceived to affect their early adjustment?

4. What risk and protective factors appear to influence male Hazara youths' early settlement and wellbeing outcomes?

The ecological systems conceptual framework, perspectives from social networks theory and two-sector case study methodology that guides this study will be discussed in the next chapter.

Chapter 3: Theoretical Approach and Methodology

3.1 Introduction

As established at the end of Chapter 2, this study utilises Urie Bronfenbrenner's (1979) ecological systems theory and Hagan's (1994) and Massey et al.'s (1990) perspectives on social networks theory. Using two key informant sectors' views, the study aims to understand the value of support services provided to asylum-seeking youths in Melbourne, Australia. These theoretical approaches are explored on youths' settlement and wellbeing. The study uses an interpretive paradigm, a dual-sector case study design and a case study methodology based on Creswell (2013) and Yin (2014).

3.2 Key Theoretical and Conceptual Frameworks

Evidence from literature in Chapter 2 shows a growing body of research on settlement experiences of UAMs/fUAMs, with a range of studies applying different theoretical frameworks. As shown in Table 3.1 below, I explored five relevant theoretical frameworks that have been widely applied in these studies. Based on the five theories, this study adopts three contextual levels from Bronfenbrenner's (1979) ecological systems theory (i.e., macrosystem, mesosystem and microsystem) and Hagan's (1994) and Massey et al.'s (1990) perspectives on social networks theory.

Table 3. 1 Theoretical Models of Potential Relevance to UAMs' and fUAMs' Settlement and Wellbeing

Definition of theory/approach	Potential relevance to UAMs/fUAMs	Applied example of single study context
Ecological systems approach: **Involves youth development that occurs in five multilayered environments and their interactions over time (Bronfenbrenner, 1979).**	It identifies the importance of refugee youths' social contexts, interactions and changes over time. However, it tends to generalise cultures; emphasise Western meanings of 'childhood', youth adversity and loss; and minimise youths' strength and resilience (Earnest et al., 2006).	Used in a qualitative study that examined psychosocial factors linked to refugee youths' subjective wellbeing in Melbourne (Correa-Velez et al., 2010).
Social networks theory: **Consists of repeated interactions and relationships between an individual and partner(s) as well as how these repeated transactions influence behaviour and action (Wrzus et al., 2013; Hagan, 1994; Massey et al., 1990).**	It considers the value of social network ties and structural patterns that new immigrants use to create communities and access resources. Yet, it fails to acknowledge youth agency, perception and context of action (Kilduff & Brass, 2010).	Employed in a qualitative study that investigated the importance of place and gender in the context of separated asylum-seeking youth network formation in London, UK (Wells, 2011).
Psychosocial concept: **Recognizes the influence of both psychological and sociocultural aspects on a child's lifespan development (Sokol, 2009).**	It recognizes the importance of psychological and sociocultural factors in minors' lives and the demands/conflicts minors must resolve. Nevertheless, it does not explain the evolution of identity throughout minors' lifetimes, it does not explain gender differences, and it is biased towards societies that allow religious and ideological choices (Sokol, 2009; Kroger, 2004).	Used in a qualitative study that explored refugee youths' resettlement experiences and community support in Western Australia (Earnest et al., 2015).
Acculturation theory: **Entails the process of acquiring or retaining both the heritage culture and the receiving culture (Oppedal & Idsoe, 2015).**	It identifies that UAMs in multiple cultural contexts want to belong and to be culturally competent with the support of the dominant culture, their family and their friends. Still, it failed to consider UAMs' cultural differences (Schwartz et al., 2010).	Employed in a quantitative study that explored the influence of social support on immigrant UAMs' acculturation and mental health in Norway (Oppedal & Idsoe, 2015).
Transition pathways model: **Indicates transitions that minors make from residential/foster care into mainstream community as emerging adults (Wade & Dixon, 2006)**	It shows that youths leaving foster care were at risk for social marginalisation and material disadvantage. However, youth transition pathways are complex, tending to move from dependence to independence (Harder et al., 2011).	Used in a qualitative study that investigated employment and housing among youths after foster care in the UK (Wade & Dixon, 2006).

For the purpose of this thesis, ecological systems theory was chosen because the study's key informants engage more with the three conceptual levels in the theory–the macrosystem

(government settlement policies), mesosystem (service delivery) and microsystem (youths' experiences and responses to services). These three levels are highly relevant because they identify the contexts of support in social welfare and English language education. The social networks theory was selected to show how key informants use unaccompanied asylum-seeker youths' networks to provide support. Using these two theoretical approaches, this study employs key informant perspectives to understand individual UAM/fUAM support resources in Melbourne.

3.3 Theoretical Background

3.3.1 Ecological systems theory

American psychologist Urie Bronfenbrenner (1979) formulated ecological systems theory to show children's developmental processes over time. Based on his seminal work, *The Ecology of Human development: Experiments by Nature and Design*, Bronfenbrenner identified youths' relationships and interactions within their socio-environmental contexts (ecosystems) influence one other and youths' lives (Santrock, 2012). As shown in Figure 3.1, these contexts occur in five ecosystems: microsystem, mesosystem, exosystem, macrosystem, and chronosystem/time (Kail & Cavanaugh, 2013).

Several authors described the five ecological contexts (Kail & Cavanaugh, 2013; Santrock, 2012; Bronfenbrenner, 1979, 1994). The microsystem is the most immediate context where a young person lives and interacts with people and institutions. The mesosystem is associated with interactions that take place between two or more contexts in which a young person lives. The exosystem comprises two or more contexts that may indirectly affect a young person. The macrosystem is characterised by the broadest environmental context involving a young person and places. The chronosystem is an important feature of time that influences an individual youth's life-span and his/her environment (Vander Zanden et al., 2012). Qualitative studies that used ecological

systems theory suggest the importance of understanding immigrant youths' environments/systems, and how these affect them (Pedersen et al., 2008). Refugee and immigrant youths have varied needs and challenges, and service provider organisations need to consider their social contexts, including school, family and the host/ethnic community (Correa-Velez et al., 2010). For example, schools provide a context for hope, safety and friendships (Earnest et al., 2006).

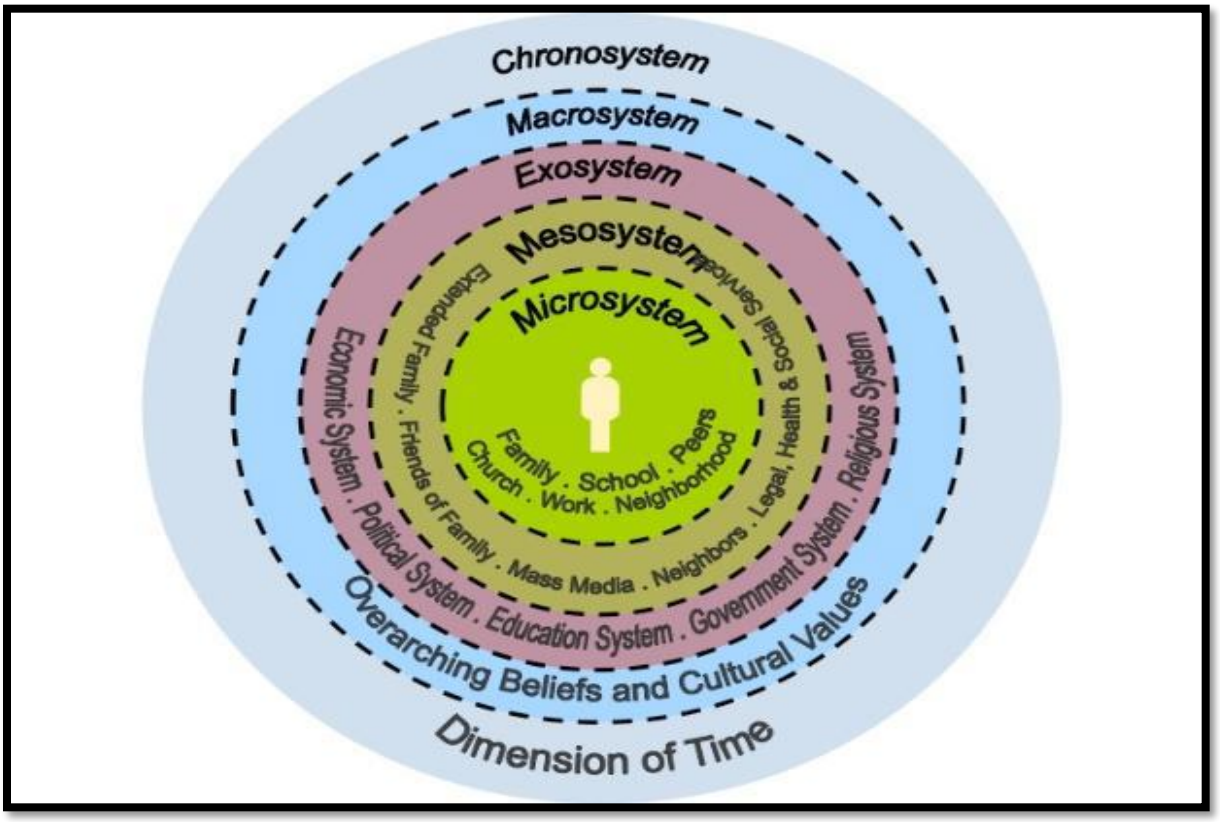

Figure 3. 1. Bronfenbrenner's ecological model.
Sourced from Interplay: Which Dimensions Affect Education, Widener University.

This two-sector case study uses three contextual levels from ecological systems theory: macrosystem, mesosystem and microsystem as shown in Figure 3.2, relevant to key informants' provision of services to UAMs and fUAMs.

3.3.1.1 Macrosystem

As the broadest environmental context, Bronfenbrenner (1994) states the macrosystem involves youths' cultural values/beliefs, as well as government policies and systems, "in which

microsystem, mesosystem, and exosystem are embedded" (Kail & Cavanaugh, 2013, p.16). Shifting and strict government immigration policies and regulations may ultimately affect UAMs'/fUAMs' contextual support conditions, ultimately affecting their provision of support, acculturation process, and integration into the new society (Earnest et al., 2006).

3.3.1.2 Mesosystem

According to Kail & Cavanaugh (2013), the mesosystem contextual level involves interactions between microsystems (e.g., guardians/family, schools, and social welfare). For instance, case workers are actively involved in youths' lives in and out of foster care, including supporting them to access available services (i.e., school, healthcare, sports). However, government policies may restrict services available to youths, which could negatively affect their early adjustment and psychological wellbeing.

3.3.1.3 Microsystem

The microsystem is the most immediate environment or context which youths live and interact with other people (family/guardians, case workers, peers) and institutions (schools), influencing their behaviours and actions (Kail & Cavanaugh, 2013; Pedersen et al., 2008). For example, teachers in schools may provide youths with education that give them safety and hope for better future, improving their settlement and wellbeing outcomes (Vander Zanden et al., 2012; Earnest et al., 2010; Bronfenbrenner, 1979).

In summary, these three ecological systems may be useful for my research questions to understand multilayered environmental contexts in which key informants provide UAMs/fUAMs with support services. The three contexts may be relevant to explore key informant interactions with other people and service organisations and how these contexts can hinder or foster youths in

gaining necessary support. For effective support, key informants must pay closer attention to individual youth's needs and their interactions within these contexts.

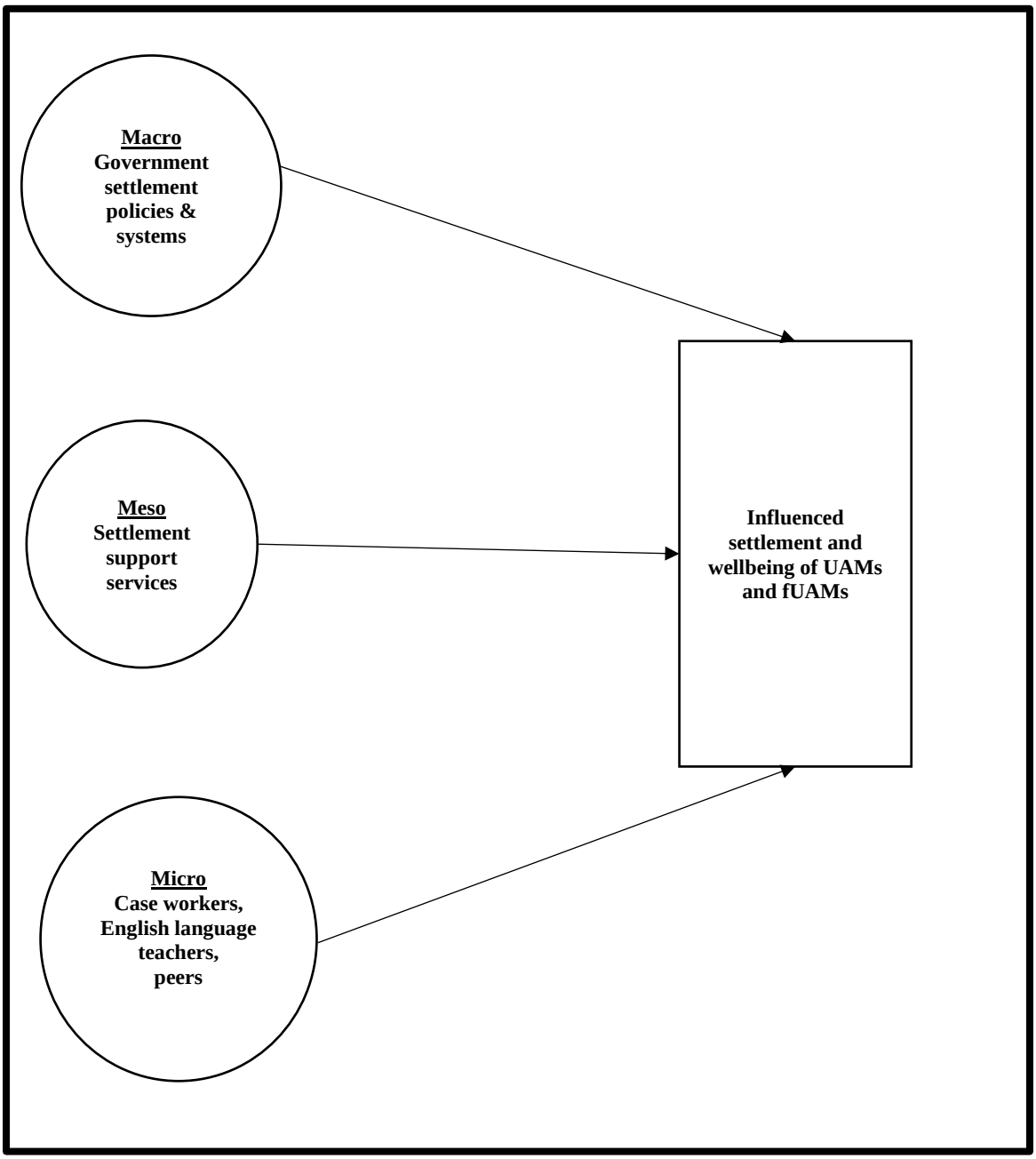

Figure 3. 2. Three contextual levels of support.

3.3.2 Social networks theory

Social networks theory focuses on individuals' formal and informal social relationships (ties) and interactions with others in their networks in society (Wrzus et al., 2013; Wells, 2011; Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992), and how these mutual connections influence behaviours and actions (Curran & Curran, 2014; Cottrell, 2013). The quantity of resources depends on the size of physical space and social network structures facilitated by individual actions, relying upon expectations, trust, acceptable behaviour, and information channels (Putman, 2000; Coleman, 1988; Bourdieu, 1986).

Researchers have applied social networks theory to contemporary migration and settlement. For instance, Hagan's (1994) work, *Deciding to be Legal: Maya Community in Houston,* shows the importance of social networks among newly-arrived immigrants. Massey et al. (1990), in *Return to Aztlan: The Social Process of International Migration from Western Mexico,* observe that with time, newly-arrived immigrants in the USA develop social ties that provide secure contexts for socioeconomic resources, necessary for positive adjustment and wellbeing in new society.

Recent researchers have shown that social networks of newly-arrived immigrants including youths can be influenced by factors such as dynamic interactions of individuals and context of support (Ryan & D'Angelo, 2019), as well as their gender and age; culture; network structures and ties; and shared communities of origin (Mansouri & Skrbis, 2013; Wells, 2011). This M.Phil. study employs key informants—namely, professional case workers and voluntary English language teachers—who work with newly-arrived UAMs and fUAMs to understand how social networks influence this particular group's migration process and access to support services.

3.3.2.1 Social network structures

Research studies indicated social network structures are important in connecting newly-arrived immigrants, former immigrants and host-country citizens, helping to build their ties and trust (Sabatini, 2009; Liccardi et al., 2007). These relationships are also developed over time and contexts (Ryan & D'Angelo, 2018). Figure 3.3 shows network structures in the flow of interaction and information, which could improve newly-arrived immigrants' adaptation. Massey et.al. (1990) noted migration depended on individuals' motivation, and strategies employed (e.g., people smugglers). Newly-arrived immigrants developed communities of people from similar countries of origin and formed network structures through strong ties.

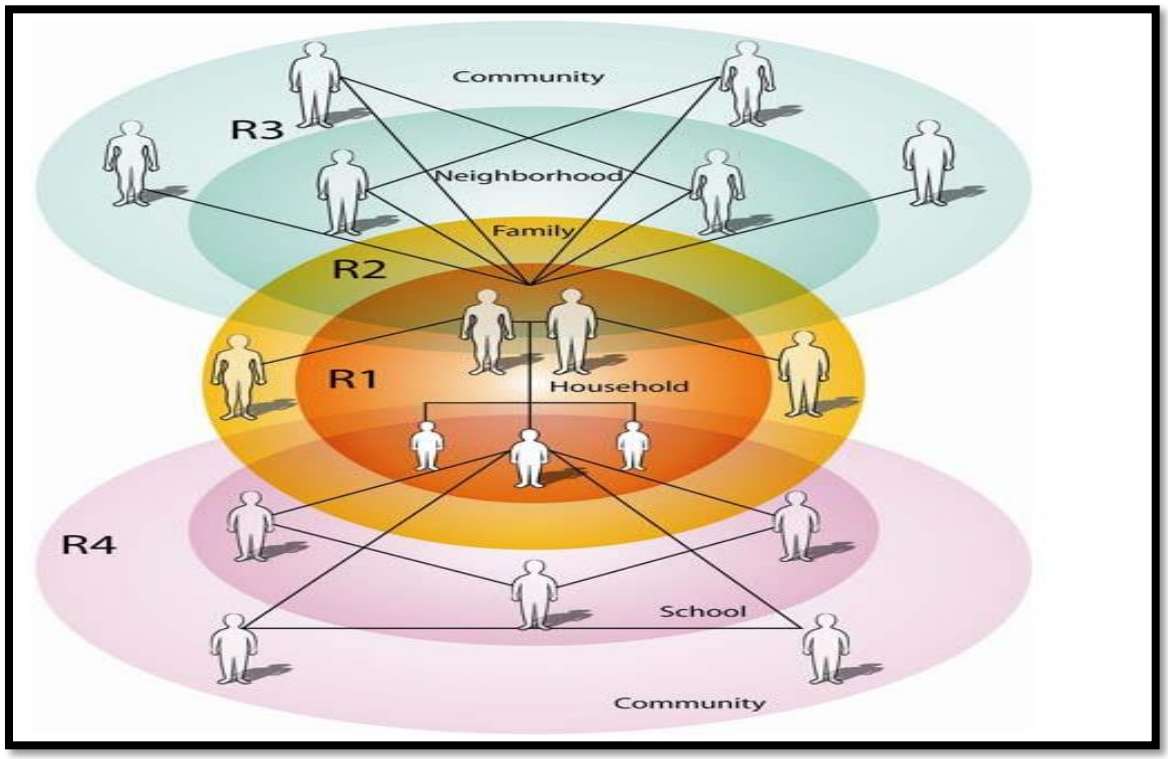

Figure 3. 3. Social network structures.
Sourced from L. Koehly and A. Loscalzo (2009, p.3).

Newly-arrived immigrants may use network structures to gain services from other people and institutions. In a qualitative study of refugees including UAMs (n=8) in London, Wells (2011) found network structures connected them to resources, facilitating their resilience and wellbeing.

Multiple studies (Flores-Yeffal, 2013; Aguilera & Massey, 2003; Massey & Zentano, 2000; Hagan,1998; Massey, 1987) showed immigrants' network structures may result in successful community participation and integration in new country.

3.3.2.2 Strong and weak ties

Strong and weak ties are important in interpersonal interactions and relationships, to gain information, resources and moral support (Massey & Aysa, 2005). Figure 3.4 shows the influence of strong and weak ties. Strong maximal ties in the inner circle (e.g., caregivers, peers) involve mutual, consistent and stable interactions, with strong emotional effect and trust (Fonseca et al., 2014; Wrzus et al., 2013). Yet, strong ties tend to overlap and are rarely bridged, limiting the flow of information and resources outside the social group (Lin, 2001).

However, Smith (2012) suggested weak proximal ties occurring outside the inner circle require little effort to maintain and involve less interaction and stability. For instance, individuals can help strangers they perceive to have similarities in appearance, attitude, personality, and identity. Despite having potentially reduced interactions and mistrust, weak ties are surprisingly strong helping individuals to develop effective bridges to new information and offer better opportunities and diverse interactions, boosting their social capital, mobility and acculturation process (Wrzus et al., 2013; Fuhse, 2012). In their mixed-methods study of social networks of immigrant youths, Mansouri and Skrbis (2013) show immigrant youths may build strong and weak ties, but these could be interfered with by poor cross-cultural engagement and migration policy restrictions (Collyer, 2005).

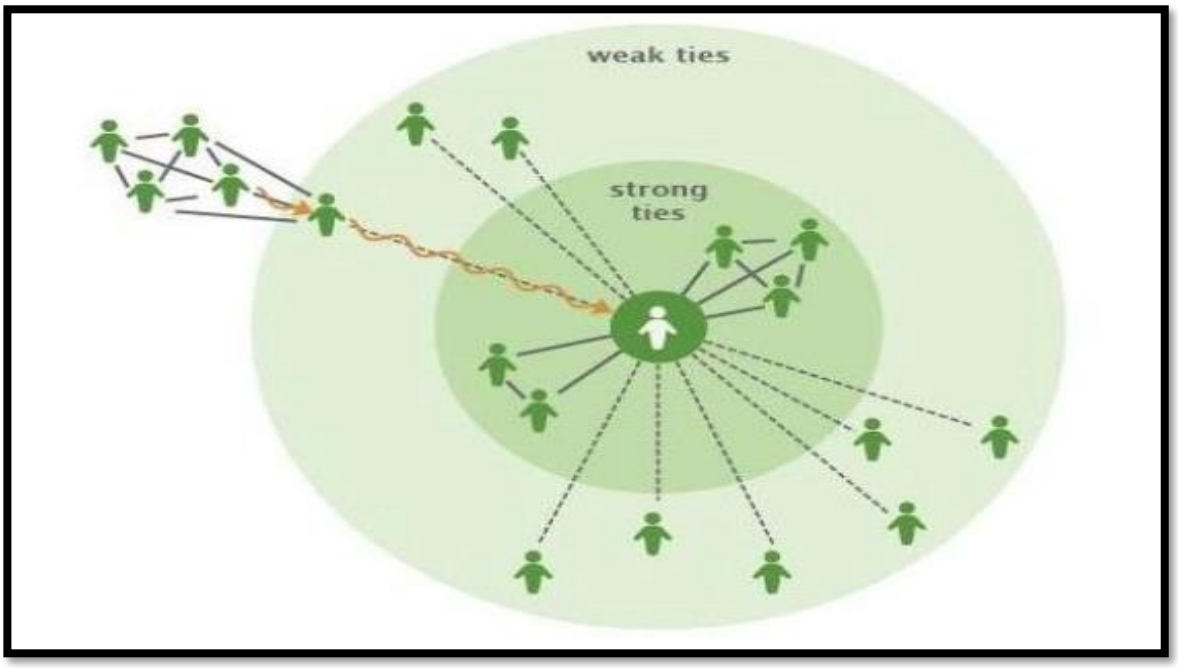

Figure 3. 4. Weak ties and strong ties.
Sourced from S. Fant (2013). Social network theory and analysis (slide 10).

3.3.2.3 Shared community of origin and culture

Studies suggested shared community of origin was important in providing newly-arrived immigrants with meaningful social ties and access to resources (van Meeteren & Pereira, 2013, 2016; Hagan, 1994). Through trusted relationships, newly-arrived immigrants may obtain assistance from co-ethnic community members (Flores-Yeffal, 2014; Kandel & Massey, 2002).

Literature shows that shared culture and religion are important for newly-arrived immigrants' (e.g., UAMs/fUAMs) identity and solidarity (Everton, 2015; DiMaggio, 2011). Newly-arrived immigrants utilised shared culture (e.g., language, identity) during social interaction and relationships, by seeking familiar ties and avoiding unfamiliar ones (Fuhse, 2015; Pachucki & Breiger, 2010; Vaisey & Lizardo, 2010).

3.3.2.4 Gender and age

Social network structures tend to be based on gender and age. For instance, Hagan (1998) argued male immigrant network structures are based on shared group activities, while female immigrant network structures tend to be mature but weak, and less group-oriented. Similarly, Mansouri and Skrbis (2013) observed that most newly-arrived immigrant youths (e.g., UAMs/fUAMs) are highly connected to peers of similar age, with the size of their social networks increasing based on the need for knowledge and information. However, newly-arrived immigrant adult networks tend to decrease, limited to emotional rather than informational goals (Wrzus et al., 2013).

3.3.2.5 Barriers to and enablers of social networks

A large body of literature shows immigrant young people's social networks could be hindered by factors such as negative media, public and political discourses (Eberl et al., 2018; Massey et al., 2016); lack of trust and cultural exclusion; and inadequate education and language skills (Fonseca et al., 2014; Dahinden, 2013; Mansouri & Skrbis, 2013; Poros, 2011). However, social networks could be improved through caregiver support and advocacy, and youths' personal agency and resourcefulness (Robinson, 2013; Ziaian et al., 2012).

In summary, the social network theory considers newly-arrived immigrant youths to be highly mobile. Social network structures and ties are important for examining key informant perspectives on UAMs'/fUAMs' interactions with a network of support partners, including service providers and community members, which could hinder or promote their support. For effective service provision, it is important for key informants to understand youths' forms, types and qualities of social networks within the multilayered contexts of new society.

3.4 Summary of the Theoretical Frameworks

This study employed three contextual levels of Bronfenbrenner's ecological systems theory and the social networks approach. Bronfenbrenner's (1979, 1994) three contextual levels of his ecological systems theory are useful for understanding male Hazara UAMs' pre-18 years contexts of support provision in community detention and their transition process to independence post-18 years in the mainstream community. Hagan's (1994) and Massey et al.'s (1990) ideas are highly relevant for this study, to understand unaccompanied young Hazara men's access to services through effectively utilising existing social networks. The interplay between socioecological contexts and social networks may determine how youths access services.

Using key informant perspectives, this study investigated the value of six settlement support services–accommodation/housing, English language, education and training, employment, income assistance and casework/management–offered to unaccompanied youths who arrived as minors in Melbourne. Considering issues raised by these theorists and scholars, this study used 12 key informants to shed light on the four questions (see Chapter 2).

3.5 Research Design and Methodology

3.5.1 Introduction

This study used key findings from the literature and researchers' professional experience to devise its research questions (see Chapter 2). Similarly, the study applied a non-positivist interpretive/constructive paradigm and a qualitative case study methodology drawn particularly from Creswell (2013) and Yin (2012, 2014). The aim was to analyse dual-sector case units in order to understand the diverse perspectives of key stakeholders who provided support services to unaccompanied young Hazara men in Melbourne.

3.5.2 Interpretivist paradigm

A paradigm is a set of beliefs that directs research action, informing and shaping qualitative research (Creswell, 2013). The study uses an interpretivist/constructivist paradigm as a lens for conducting qualitative research (Crotty, 1998), which is characterised by researcher's immersion, empathy, intention, motivation and understanding of the participants' perspectives (Welch et al., 2011). The small sample study explores subjective views of 12 key informants who work with UAMs/fUAMs and their interpretation of the data (Creswell, 2007), to understand and explain support service provision in Melbourne.

Social scientists doubt efficacy of natural science methods in studying social issues (Silverman, 2015; Goodsell, 2013). Contemporary social scientists acknowledge that participant information is subjective, involving feelings, opinions and tastes (ontology); not separate from social-world events (epistemology); and more concerned with relevance than with rigour (axiological) (Ponelis, 2015; Creswell, 2007).

The aim of research questions, Creswell (2007) argues, is to understand specific issues and conditions in society related to inequality, gender and identity. For example, both participants and researcher bring their own explanations of support services provided to UAMs and fUAMs. The researcher must respect the participants' values and attitudes, and the research setting by suspending prior assumptions, because events/behaviours that appear similar may have different meanings in different periods or cultures (Elliott & Lukes, 2008; Mackenzie & Knipe, 2006). Interpretivism is particularly useful for this dual-sector case study design and case study methodology designed to interpret key informants' perspectives on the value of unaccompanied young Hazara men's support services.

3.5.3 Case study methodology

Creswell (2013) views the case study as a methodology and a product of inquiry. The case study design can be used when: the aim is to answer *how*, *why* and *what* questions; behaviour of the participants cannot be controlled; contextual conditions are relevant to the study; and boundaries between the phenomenon and the context are unclear (Yin, 2003, 2009; Baxter & Jack, 2008). Studies have consistently highlighted the importance of the context of the case (Simons, 2014; Creswell, 2007; Merriam, 1988). Case studies can be designed either as single-case or multiple-case, depending on research issue. Berg (2007) identified three main case study designs.

- An exploratory design aims to explore a phenomenon of interest to the researcher and begins before the main study.
- The descriptive design is carried out to describe natural phenomena and to formulate a theory to support the study.
- An explanatory design aims to explain a phenomenon that has not been studied in-depth.

An example of an exploratory case study was conducted by Earnest et al. (2006) to examine psychosocial wellbeing from the perspectives of refugee adolescents in four government schools in Perth, Western Australia. This dual-sector case study was conducted with 45 students (aged 13–20 years) from Intensive English Centres (IEC) within government schools. All students entered Australia in the last 2 years under refugee/special humanitarian visa category. In addition, 12 key informant interviews were conducted with IEC staff and support workers, appropriate government departments and community services. The aims of the study were: first, to investigate perceptions and anxieties about escape, flight, migration, resettlement, acculturation and future goals; and second, to identify the multiple stressors that refugee adolescents and youth have to cope with during the process of acculturation. Here the researchers conversed about everyday experiences at

school, struggles with language and skill acquisition and formation of emerging identities. Finally, recommendations for school-based strategies to promote psychosocial wellbeing among refugee adolescents were outlined and areas requiring further research were identified. The current exploratory case study uses three ecological contextual levels, social networks theory, and the functions of social welfare and English language education to explore the factors for UAMs' and fUAMs' settlement and wellbeing.

Authors (Berg, 2007; Pal, 2005) have suggested key strengths of case studies were: they pave the way for insights for further studies; since objectivity is a slippery term in qualitative studies, the case study is associated with replication; they provide knowledge about specific individuals/groups or events; and they can be used to understand policy decisions and inform practice. Yet, case studies have limitations including challenges to decide scope of the case and objectivity; to generalize findings; and to explain why one interpretation is better than another (Welch et al., 2011). In this case study, the piloting of questions was carried out to identify the scope of the study and to refine the focus (van Teijlingen & Hundley, 2010). The findings were not designed for generalizations beyond the case itself. However, the diverse key informant views were used to understand the value of the support provided to male Hazara UAMs and fUAMs during their early settlement (Creswell, 2013).

3.5.4 Data collection and unit of analysis

This small sample study employed a dual-sector case study design, involving functions and roles of 12 key informants working with unaccompanied asylum-seeking young people, as well as a thematic analysis. The rationale was that these support sectors represent different perspectives within the asylum-seeking youth settlement program (Creswell, 2013). Six professional case workers were recruited from a variety of government organisations that provided support services

to UAMs/fUAMs, which are typical of government contracted and funded organisations. Five professional case workers worked in different community and faith organisations while one worked in a major national charity organisation. Professional case workers provided holistic support to asylum-seeking youths to improve their settlement and wellbeing outcomes (Kholi, 2006). On the other hand, six English language teachers were recruited from one non-government organisation (NGO), which is atypical of other government supported organisations providing English language training to immigrants, and which lacked government funding and employed volunteer teachers. Voluntary English language teachers, who taught for limited hours, provided English language training to asylum-seekers including fUAMs aimed at promoting their integration into mainstream Australian society, and academic achievement (de Heer et al., 2016; Woods, 2009).

This study sought views of professional case workers and voluntary English language teachers to contribute to the researchers' understanding their experiences of and responses to support services (Baxter & Jack, 2008). Most of these settlement support organisations were found in the western, southern and eastern suburbs of Melbourne and Victoria's regional towns (Mackenzie & Guntarik, 2015; Rodriguez-Jimenez & Gifford, 2010). By using Melbourne as the research setting, the study included a number of key settlement workers to give diverse insights into the issue (Creswell, 2007).

The study aimed to capture a broad perspective about unaccompanied young Hazara men who migrated to Melbourne between 2008–2013 and their support needs, service utilisation, and early adjustment in relation to the six key settlement services. The study involved single-stage interviews with key informants about their views of the intensive support provided to UAMs pre-18 years old in community detention and the significantly reduced support to fUAMs post-18 years

old in the mainstream community. The research questions (Appendix C) were informed by the aims of the research and the current gaps in the literature. As established in chapters 1 and 2, the methodology was informed by existing secondary data concerning UAM and fUAM policies to provide a contextual background, as well as questions and insights (Bowen, 2009).

3.5.4.1 Key informants

Recruitment strategy

The researcher selected participants and sites based on their ability to provide an understanding of the research problem (Creswell, 2007). The researcher recruited 12 key informants who provided support services to UAMs/fUAMs in Melbourne. Based on a web-search and two years' work with refugee youths, the researcher contacted organisations in Melbourne providing services to immigrant youths to identify key informants who had worked with UAMs/fUAMs for over a year and were aware of present issues. After identifying these organisations, the researcher requested permission to visit these sites. He introduced himself and met potential informants to build rapport (Creswell, 2013). The researcher selected key informants based on purposive sampling (snowball). The researcher first located potential key informants, requested anonymous participation and asked them to suggest others with similar characteristics (Appendix A).

Key informants came from those working in both community detention and mainstream community, to ensure a more balanced perspective and cross-case analysis (Creswell, 2013). The researcher also ensured key informants had the capacity to provide informed consent to participate (Appendix B). The 12 key informants were six professional case workers and six voluntary English language teachers (see Chapter 4). There were eight males and four females; six were Australian-born, five were skilled migrants and one a former asylum-seeker. They were involved in the

provision of support services to current and former UAMs including the Hazara. They had a total of 52.2 years of work experience, with a range of 6.8 years and an average of 4.4 years of work experience in their professions.

Rationale for small sample

The rationale for a small sample was based on a qualitative approach and with consideration of time, financial constraints and participants' availability (Mason, 2010). Also, qualitative research studies consistently show recruiting a small sample of information-rich participants is more suitable for deep inquiry into the settings and perspectives of subcultures than is selecting many people with little information (Creswell, 2013). Surveys would not be suitable because of possible inadequate responses and lack of trust (Silverman, 2011). Thus, qualitative case study methods are appropriate because they are designed to satisfy both rigour and trustworthiness. Based on this, interviews with 12 key informants enabled the researcher to establish continuing relationships with the participants. Detailed individual interviews were carried out by asking a range of clearly worded questions. This small sample made it possible for the researcher to collect and generate rich data, until saturation was reached (Mason, 2010).

Interview procedure

After consent was obtained, interviews were carried out using a semi-structured interview guide consisting of 25 questions. Piloting was conducted with two key informants, to refine and test the adequacy of research protocol and analysis techniques, resource requirements, research process and feasibility of full study (van Teijlingen & Hundley, 2010). Interviews of 12 key informants took 45–60 minutes, in public locations chosen by them, exploring their views on the perceived value of previous support services, the preparation to transition out into independent living (UAMs pre-18 years) and the perception of current support services (fUAMs post-18 years)

and, how these services influenced youths' settlement and wellbeing. Interviews were audio-taped for clarity and full qualitative transcription. For participants who did not wish to be taped, detailed notes were taken either during or after the interview.

An effective case study researcher must ask good and flexible questions; listen well; and be sensitive to contradictions (Yin, 2009; Creswell, 2007). The list of interview questions guided the interview process and were points of reference for the researcher regarding information required from key informants. These questions were modified during data collection to gain in-depth perspectives from key informants.

Data analysis

The data was collected and analysed simultaneously, which involved a thematic analysis of the data (Silverman, 2015; Meriam, 1988). Based on interpretivist traditions, data analysis involved transcribing digital recordings verbatim and linking transcribed data to the questions and memos to ensure a closer look at the data and rival explanations (Yin, 2009). Transcribed data were then analysed using qualitative thematic analysis procedures (Guest et al., 2012). The data were divided into meaningful segments through inductive coding. A short list of tentative codes was combined with broader categories to identify meaningful themes for the final narrative. The data was then represented in prose, figures and tables (Creswell, 2013).

3.6 Achieving Rigour in Case Study Research

The four important conditions that must be considered to boost the quality of case study are reliability, internal validity, construct validity and external validity (Silverman, 2015; Yin, 2009). Throughout data collection and analysis, steps were taken to ensure quality of the method and findings. Silverman (2011, 2015) indicated that the concepts of validity and reliability are criticised for representing a positivist model of checking research rigour, seeking a singular reality.

Contrary to positivist stance of singular reality, this research study, based on the interpretivist epistemological stance, acknowledges the possibility of understanding key informant subjective meanings of the social world through the meaning of words (Schwandt, 2000).

Guba and Lincoln (1994) suggested knowledge is value-mediated and the value of the researcher influences the inquiry. This calls for examination of researcher's positionality and reflexive engagement in the field. As an insider/outsider, the researcher was conscious of his previous role as a case worker of UAMs and his current role as a researcher. By considering how these may influence the research process, the researcher acknowledged possible tensions from different social positions and actively used reflexive memos, recording ongoing experiences, reactions and emerging awareness of any assumptions (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009; Yin, 2009; Baxter & Jack, 2008).

3.7 Research Limitations and Scope

This study had limitations. First, the asylum-seeker policy has been changing, and the researcher adjusted the study design to account for these changes including strict border protection, offshore resettlement policies that resulted in fewer asylum-seekers, including UAMs, arriving in Australia and introduction of TPV policy with work-rights. Second, this small-sample qualitative case study was based on the views of 12 key informants on male Hazara unaccompanied youths who arrived in Australia as minors. Therefore, the findings cannot be extrapolated to female UAMs and fUAMs, asylum-seeking youths from other ethnic communities, or those whose refugee claims were unsuccessful. Third, all English teachers were recruited from one NGO providing English language to asylum-seekers including fUAMs. However, findings from this study are designed to contribute to the research gaps and inform policy decisions. They also provide a detailed view of

the particular problems facing male Hazara youths relevant to their adjustment and wellbeing in Australian society (Silverman, 2015).

The scope of this study was just in Melbourne and was based on six professional case workers and six voluntary English language teachers who were chosen because they had worked for more than one year with UAMs pre-18 years in community detention and fUAMs post-18 years who were living independently. These asylum-seeking youths were in their early settlement period (2008–2013) and lived in Melbourne. To understand the support experiences of these young people, 12 key informants were interviewed, and a range of publicly available secondary data were collected and analysed.

3.8 Research Ethics

To conduct this study, the researcher obtained approval from The University of Melbourne, Human Ethics Advisory Group (HEAG) and Human Ethics Sub-Committee (HESC) (Ethics ID:1441663.1).

3.8.1 Plain language statement and informed consent

The 12 key informants were recruited via emails and telephone calls, which invited them to participate in the study. Prior to the start of interviews, the researcher provided key informants with a plain language statement (Appendix D) and a consent form (Appendix B), which disclosed the purpose of the study and the researcher's role. They were given time to read the forms and ask the researcher questions. As key informants worked with disadvantaged immigrant youths, the researcher had to build trust by establishing rapport, disclosing the purpose of study and exploring their expectations before the study began. All key informants were interviewed at a time and place of their choosing (Creswell, 2007).

3.8.2 Confidentiality and anonymity

The researcher ensured the highest level of confidentiality for key informants, given they worked with youths whose refugee statuses were a sensitive political and policy issue. The M.Phil. candidate and the supervisory committee were the only people who had access to interview data. No key informant names were used; pseudonyms were used in the dissemination of the study results. Key informants were made aware that research presentations, reports and publications would not contain any identifiable data. All flash drives, audio, and printed materials were kept in a secure filling cabinet at the University of Melbourne for a period of seven years before being destroyed. The consent forms were kept in a separate cabinet.

3.8.3 Risks and benefits

Key informants in this research study involved minimal risk. However, because some key informants may have come to Australia as asylum-seekers/refugees/immigrants, they may not have resolved their past traumatic experiences (Zwi & Chaney, 2013). Their participation in interviews was likely to bring up unhappy memories/emotions, which the researcher was aware of and sensitive to during the interview.

International and Australian literature strongly affirm the importance of providing effective support to vulnerable refugee and asylum-seeking youth, so they might participate fully in society. The study is designed to inform a governmental contractual settlement policy and the current youth settlement support practice model. It is the hope that this study's findings will make useful contributions to the Commonwealth and state governments, service provider organisations and, UAMs and fUAMs themselves, which male Hazara minors form the majority in Australia.

3.8.4 Compensation and conflict of interest

All key informants who agreed to participate in the study were not offered compensation for their time and contributions. Also, the researcher made reasonable efforts to maintain neutrality.

3.9 Summary of Theoretical Approaches and Methodology

As established, the study used two highly relevant theoretical approaches: Bronfenbrenner's (1979) ecological systems (macrosystem, mesosystem and microsystem levels) and Hagan's (1994) and Massey et al.'s (1990) ideas on social networks theory. The aim was to understand divergent perspectives on youths' socioecological and contextual levels of support, as well as use of networks to improve their support provisions. An interpretive paradigm, a case study methodology, and a dual-sector case study design, with the unit of analysis involving the functions and roles of key informants from social welfare and English language education sectors d, were applied. In-depth interviews were conducted with 12 key informants to understand their roles and functions in the support of unaccompanied young Hazara men within the multilayered and complex contexts of Melbourne. The researcher was cognisant of research quality that involved positionality of the researcher and key informants, the researchers' reflexivity and ethical considerations.

Chapter 4: Data Collection and Thematic Analysis

4.1 Key Informant Data Analysis

4.1.1 Introduction

This study uses ecological systems theory and social networks theory to analyse key informants' data. As discussed in Chapter 3, Bronfenbrenner's (1979) ecological systems theory (microsystem, mesosystem, macrosystem) and Hagan's (1994) and Massey et al.'s (1990) ideas on social networks provide framework for understanding perceptions and experiences of the support services provided to unaccompanied young Hazara men, which may hinder or promote their settlement and wellbeing.

Using the perceptions of 12 key informants (see Table 4.1)– six professional case workers (referred to as case workers) and six voluntary English language teachers (referred to as English teachers)– Chapter 4 presents findings related to the four research questions (as shown in Chapter 2).

4.1.2 Key Informant profiles

The key informants were involved in providing support services to unaccompanied youths, UAMs pre-18 years in community detention and fUAMs post-18 years in mainstream community. The data from 12 key informants involve nine themes. Using the four research questions, the interviews focused on key informant perspectives on unaccompanied young Hazara men's experiences and perceptions of support needs in community detention, their preparation to exit community detention, and their settlement into mainstream community.

Table 4.1 shows key informant profiles of service providers in social welfare and English language education. There were eight males (67%) and four females (33%), with a total of 52.2 years, a range of 6.8 years and an average of 4.4 years of work experience in their professions. All

participants (except one, with unknown qualifications) had relevant training to support refugees and asylum-seekers. Only one participant (Mohser) had arrived in Australia as an asylum-seeker.

Due to restricted access to other organisations, all six English teachers worked in one non-government organisation (NGO) that lacked government funding and had volunteer teachers. The NGO provided English language and employment support to a multiethnic group of asylum-seekers including Afghanis, Iraqis, Pakistanis, and Syrians. Three teachers had qualifications in the certificate in English language teaching to adults (CELTA) and three had graduate qualifications in the teaching English to speakers of other languages (TESOL). Susan and Lynne (pseudonyms) had many years of experience teaching English language in NGOs and government institutions. In contrast, six case workers worked in a variety of organisations that provided support services. Five case workers worked in different government contracted and funded organisations (faith and community-based) and one worked with a major national charity organisation. Four worked with only UAMs and two worked with both UAMs and fUAMs.

The interviews were conducted from March 2016 to June 2017 using snowball sampling of 12 participants. This is an illustrative sample that is only indicative of NGOs and government-funded organisations as well as a narrow range of ethnicity, gender, and expertise. A larger sample would have benefited the results by widening the range of the data and limiting outlier influence.

Table 4. 1 Key Informant Profiles

Participant	Type of Organisation	Language(s) Spoken	Expertise/Training	Youth Group	Years worked/ Type of employment	Identity/ Migration Status
Rita	Government	English/ Zindebele	Case Worker Bachelor of Youth Work	UAMs	7 years Paid/full-time	Skilled migrant (Zimbabwe)
Mzee	Government	English/Iteso	Case Worker Master of Public Health & Master of Arts (Asylum-seeker Policy)	UAMs/ fUAMs	5 years Paid/full-time	Skilled migrant (Uganda)
Mohser	Government	English/ Hazaraghi/ Dari	Case Worker Bachelor of Social Work	UAMs/ fUAMs	7 years Paid/full-time	Asylum-seeker (Afghanistan)
Mark	Government	English/ Kiswahili	Case Worker Diploma in Community Services	UAMs/ fUAMs	3 years Paid/full-time	Skilled migrant (Kenya)
Jairus	Government	English/ Spanish	Case Worker Bachelor of Sports Science	fUAMs	4 years Paid/full-time	Skilled migrant (Brazil)
Jacob	Non-government	English	Case Worker Education unknown	fUAMs	8 years Paid/full-time	Australian
Susan	Non-government	English	English language teacher Bachelor of Education (TESOL)	fUAMs	3 years Volunteer (18 years in government & NGOs)	Australian
Andrew	Non-government	English	English language teacher Certificate IV in CELTA	fUAMs	1.2 years Volunteer	Skilled migrant (Ireland)
Maria	Non-government	English	English language teacher Certificate IV in CELTA	fUAMs	4 years Volunteer	Australian
Carl	Non-government	English	English language teacher Certificate IV in TESOL	fUAMs	5 years Volunteer	Australian
Glen	Non-government	English	English language teacher Certificate IV in CELTA	fUAMs	3 years Volunteer	Australian
Lynne	Non-government	English	English language teacher Bachelor of Education (TESOL)	fUAMs	2 years Volunteer (20 years in government & NGOs)	Australian

Compared to English teachers, professional case workers had more comprehensive information about government policy regarding support services for unaccompanied young Hazara

men. This could be attributed to the fact that English teachers were volunteers working two hours per week while case workers were full-time paid professionals who provided direct support to UAMs and referred fUAMs to a range of services they were eligible to in mainstream community.

4.2 Key Emerging Themes

A thematic analysis process was used to analyse interview data. Two short and long interview transcripts were analysed by the two supervisors and student researcher, to trial coding framework and theme generation. In the first analysis, they compared themes that identified agreements and variations. In the second, their comparison of themes showed a higher level of consensus. The third was carried out by the student researcher, who analysed all 12 interview transcripts.

The student researcher engaged with interview data by critically reading through each interview transcript, to familiarise himself with data, and documented reflective thoughts (memos) and potential codes. He generated initial codes, audited trail of codes presented in a table, and then searched for themes from generated codes. After this, he drew a diagram to show sub-theme/theme connections and kept detailed notes about development of concepts and themes. He reviewed generated themes by referring and checking them with data and, finally he defined and named themes and produced a report of the nine themes that emerged.

Figure 4.1 shows nine themes that emerged were migration trajectory and family separation; legal migration services and protection; accommodations and initial adjustment; English language training; school education and further training; income and employment; healthcare services; social networks; and risk and protective factors (see Appendix E).

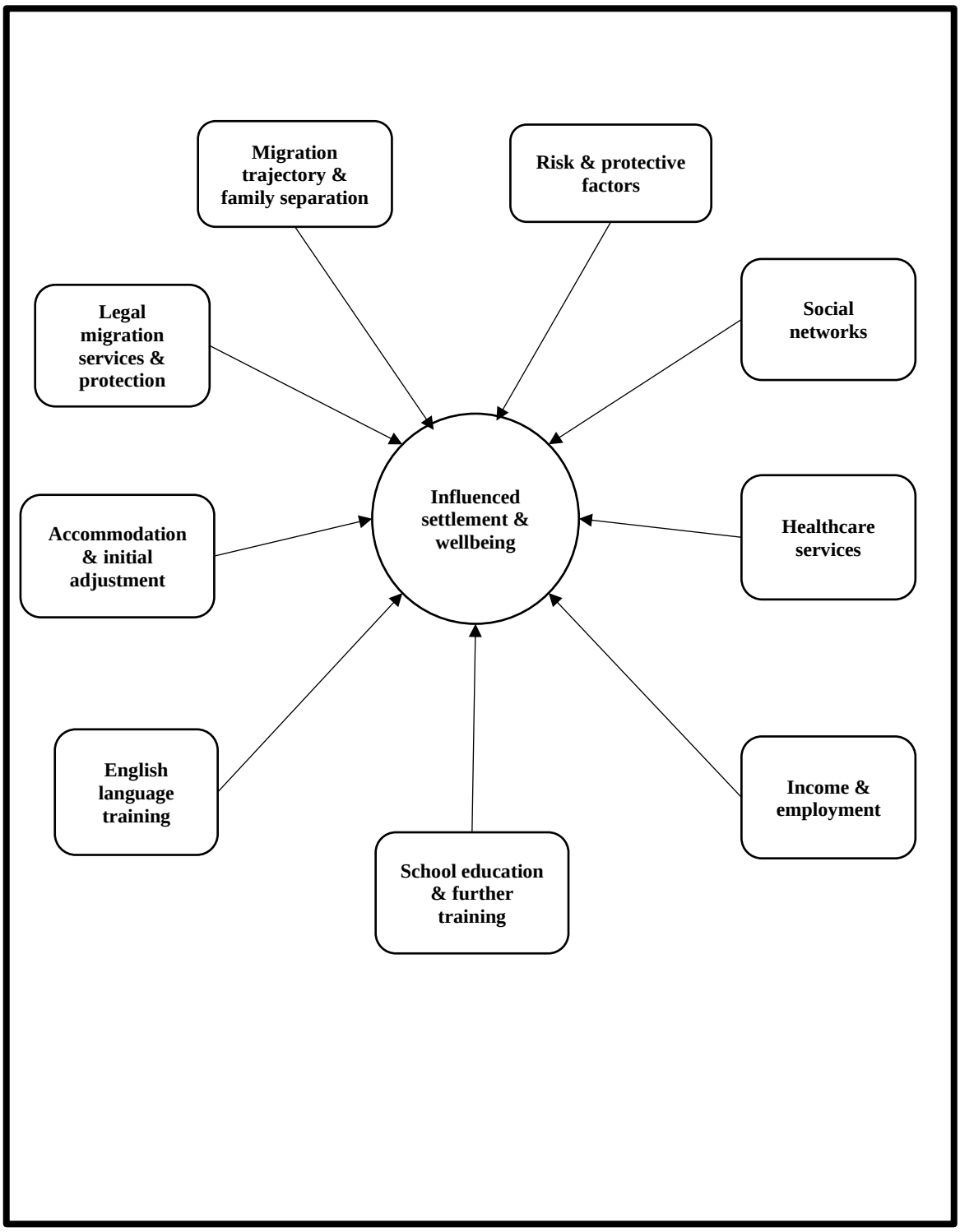

Figure 4. 1. Nine themes that emerged from the analysed data.

4.2.1 Migration trajectory and family separation

The typical migration pattern followed by unaccompanied young Hazara men involved migration from Afghanistan to the transit countries (i.e., Pakistan, Iran, Indonesia) and then to Australia. Minors' motivation to migrate was driven by push factors including wars in Afghanistan and pull factors such as better life in Australia, with family separation resulting in emotional pain. This section answers the first research question: **How are male Hazara UAMs and fUAMs, who migrated to Melbourne as unaccompanied minors, perceived by professional case workers and voluntary English language teachers to experience the migration trajectory**?

There were limited number of key informant comments on this question, especially views from English language teachers. Figure 4.2 shows the key concepts under this theme were pre-migration experiences; transit migration journeys; and pain of family separation.

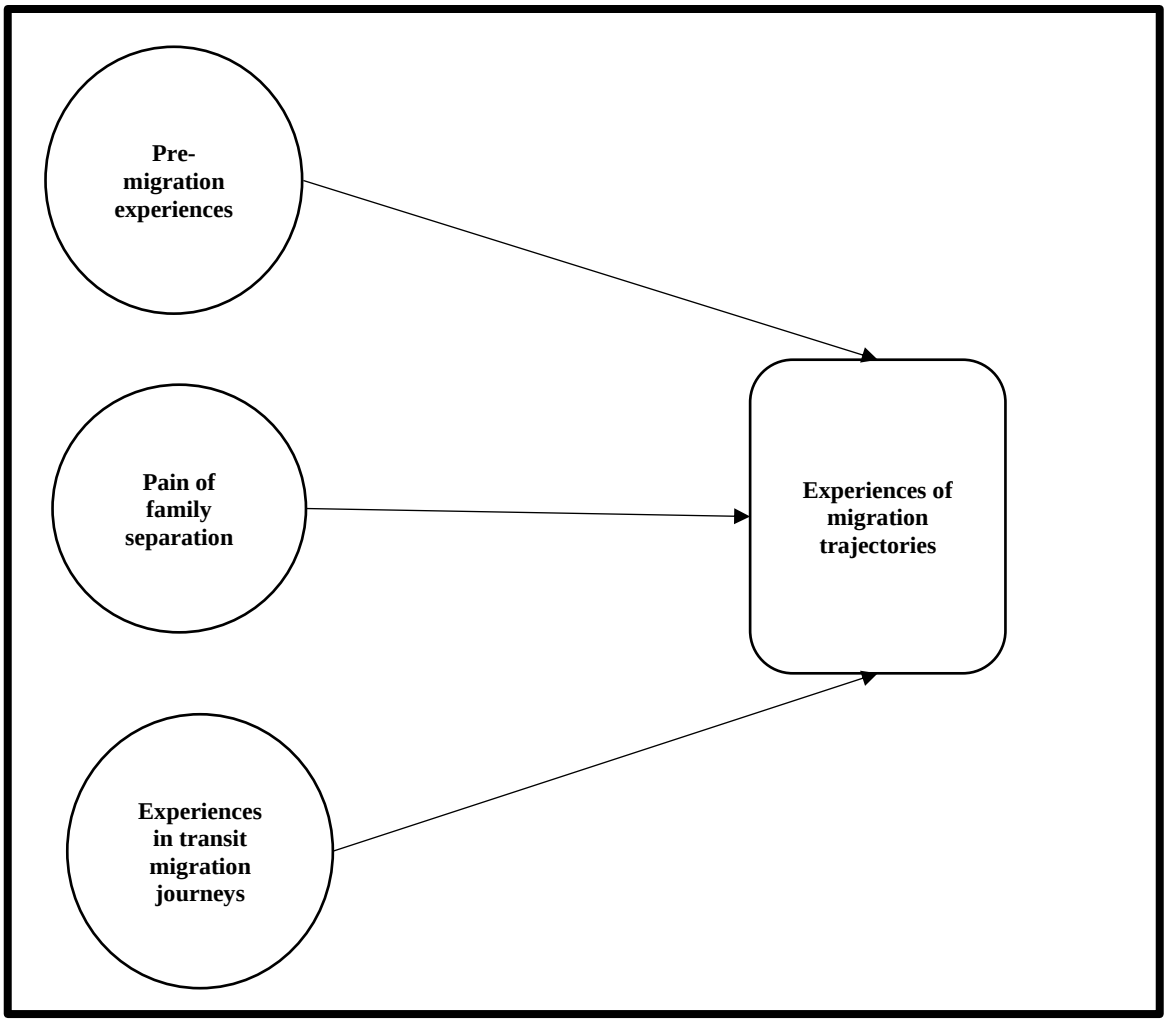

Figure 4. 2. Key concepts related to migration trajectory and family separation.

4.2.1.1 Experiences of pre-arrival and transit migration journeys

Seven key informants reported on push factors and support networks that could have helped unaccompanied young Hazara men migrate from Afghanistan to Australia. They said that the push factors in Afghanistan included discrimination, persecution, and death. Mohser suggested Hazara youths experienced traumatic events including war, poverty and dangerous journey by boats.

Most of them [Hazara youth] had traumatic experiences from the background they came from [Afghanistan], things like war and when they were sailing through by boats while coming to Australia. So, most of them were traumatized. And the difference also depends on the traumatic experiences they were exposed to, pertaining to what made them to flee

their country, such as war, poverty and things like that; what they experienced during their journey to Australia when they were coming with the boats and things like that. **Mark, a case worker.**

Mark, a case worker, said Hazara UAMs faced ethnic discrimination because of their physical appearance. Rita, a case worker suggested they experienced religious discrimination for being Shiite in a predominantly Sunni society. Carl, an English teacher, indicated Hazara boys could be denied a Western education, their families tortured, and young men killed or conscripted into military service by Taliban. Rita said Hazara parents choose to send overseas male rather than female minors, often paying people smugglers to arrange for their migration to Australia.

In transit, Rita reported, minors held unrealistic expectations about the safety of boat journeys and resettlement in Australia based on false information from smugglers and Hazara community in Australia. Andrew (another English teacher) reported these youths sought safety in Iran and Pakistan where they could not work, study, or settle permanently. Rita said they lived in Indonesia for 8–9 months before taking boat journeys, with no certainty of resettlement, to Australia. Only Andrew, reported their pull factors to Australia, including their aspirations for a better life, education and establishment of businesses.

All these asylum-seeker groups [including unaccompanied Hazara minors] are here to make a better life out of themselves, whether it's to start a business or formal education, they are all pretty similar, I think. **Andrew, an English teacher.**

4.2.1.2 Pain of family separation

Nine key informants reported the negative impacts of the family separation for unaccompanied young Hazara men during their migration. Mzee indicated minimal support during UAMs' migration because parents stayed back in Afghanistan, resulting in their loneliness and

helplessness in transit journeys and countries. Mzee indicated that, due to family separation, they experienced challenges in their networks and social interaction. Carl, Maria and Lynne, English teachers, reported fUAMs could not access socio-emotional support they used to get from family members and servants, with no hope of family reunion. Maria described their emotional pain of family separation.

> *But I think there's a lot of issues with the Hazara single men who have families in refugee camps in Iran and Afghanistan, they are very sad, unhappy and broken. I remember one man who was like, "it's like my arms have gone". So, they are really sad and unhappy because they are away from their families, and when you've got a young man coming out alone here[Australia], it is different when they come over with hopes of reuniting with their families and to later know that there's no chance that it is going to happen.* **Maria, An English teacher.**

Summary

Most key informants reported about unaccompanied young Hazara men's push factors in Afghanistan including persecution, however they had limited perspectives concerning male Hazara minors' age and gender. They also indicated minors could receive support from people smugglers but experienced many challenges including family separation that could affect their lives, migration journeys and initial settlement and wellbeing. Only one English teacher reported on minors' pull factors to Australia.

4.2.2 UAMs' and fUAMs' perceived expectations and needs of support services

Bronfenbrenner (1979) theorised that young people interact and engage with other people in their multilayered environments, influencing their perception of settlement support services. This section answers second research question: **What are male Hazara UAMs compared to**

fUAMs perceived expectations and needs of settlement support services at multiple levels in the early adjustment process? Based on analysed key informant data, the following themes emerged: legal migration services and protection; accommodation and initial adjustment; English language training; school education and further training; income and employment; and healthcare services.

4.2.2.1 Access to accommodation and initial adjustment

Figure 4.3 shows key concepts under this theme were policy for accommodation support; access to transport; casework support and use of the Operational Framework; and the structure of the transitional model of support.

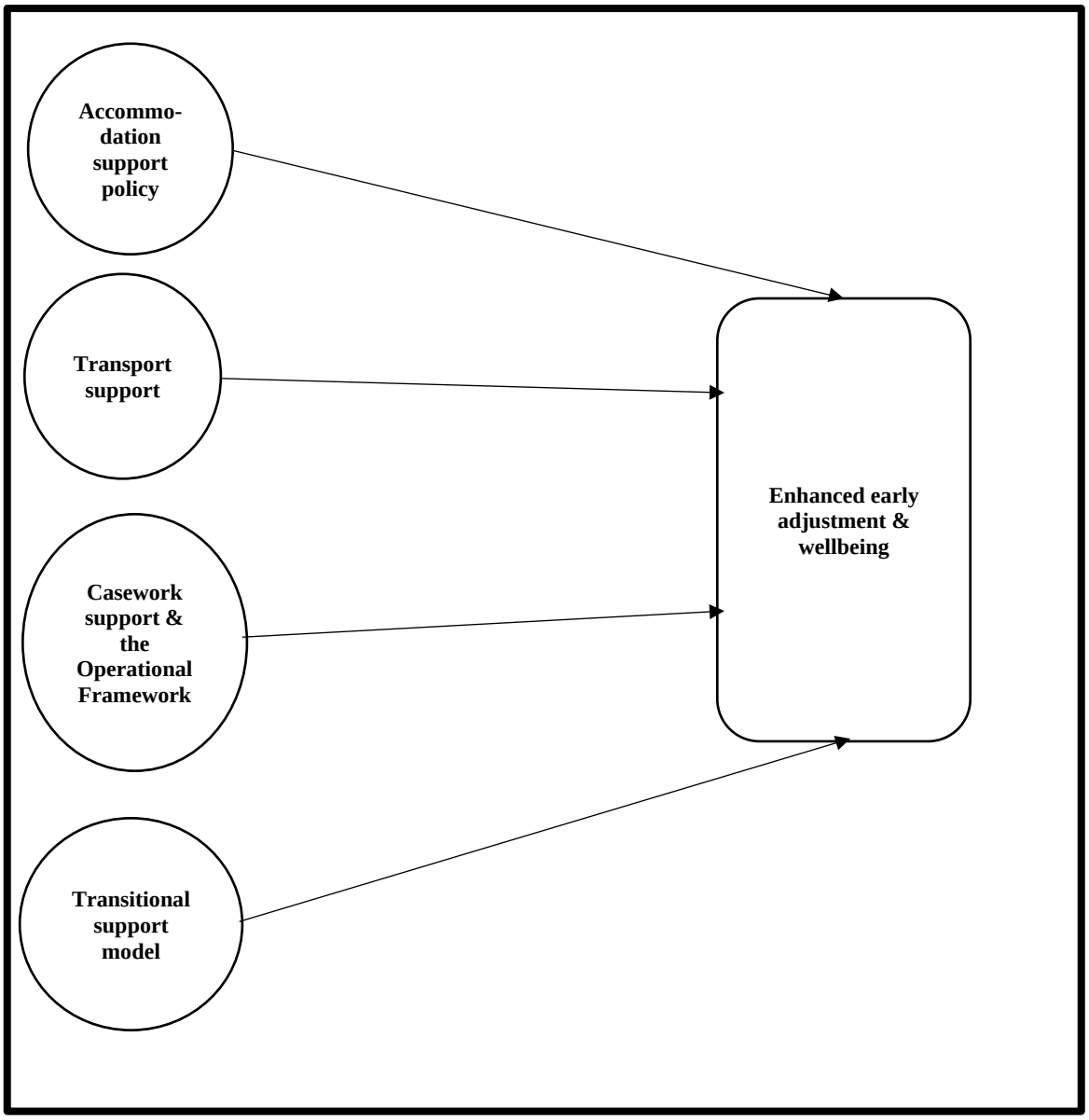

Figure 4. 3. Key concepts related to accommodation and initial adjustment.

Policy context for accommodation support

According to eleven key informants, policy that provided unaccompanied young Hazara men with full accommodation support was important for their early adjustment. English language teachers had limited comments, but four case workers said UAMs were provided with appropriate accommodations in community detention, which were close to services and ethnic communities for cultural interactions. They were well furnished, had internet and a roster of 24-hour, culturally-

appropriate carer support, with the government paying utility bills. Mark reported UAMs had difficulties in following community detention restrictive regulations. Rita mentioned that some service providers offered UAMs with inadequate accommodation.

> *Some service providers did a better job than the others...you would have, sometimes a five-bedroom house with maybe one bathroom. … And then there was another house that I think had 12 young people in a double storey, that is not productive, that is now technically institutionalising them because there were too many layers …Like again, I said earlier, when you have 12 seventeen-year olds in one house, it does [cause]cross-contamination of bad habits and mob psychology can then build a bit more,...* **Rita, a case worker.**

Only Rita reported the Australian government had planned to establish a family foster care program for UAMs in Australia, possibly to provide accommodation in a family-like environment.

Nine key informants reported that when fUAMs exited community detention they were likely to lose accommodation support. Four case workers said fUAMs' accommodation support involved the provision of basic information, referrals to accommodation services, and community networks. However, they might not find proper accommodation because of a lack of rental history, long waiting periods, and low income. Five English language teachers reported fUAMs could experience housing unaffordability, overcrowding and rental exploitation. Mark said fUAMs could access public housing, but Mzee thought that it was highly unlikely, possibly because of misinformation. Maria reported they were likely to experience unaffordable accommodation and homelessness.

> *I think it is difficult for some asylum seekers [fUAMs] to access accommodation, because there are a lot of single men and so they'll band together, and I know a lot of the men share rooms in single beds so on and so forth…. We did have one man that was homeless that I*

was trying to help with accommodation, um, and it is difficult …. But yes, it [accommodation] is very expensive, it's very expensive and then they've got the ongoing bills. I guess shared accommodation is overcrowded because of the difficulties with housing, yeah. **Maria, an English language teacher.**

Casework support and the Operational Framework

Five case workers reported casework was a key support used to provide services to UAMs, but all English language teachers appeared unaware of this support. Challenges to casework support included lack of funds, inadequate compassion, and limited social networks to promote UAMs' early adjustment. Moreover, they reported casework support became highly reduced for fUAMs. Rita and Mark indicated caseloads were overwhelming but Mzee said they were manageable. Rita said minors' expectations of support services did not match support provided to them, for instance sports equipment could be expensive and dental appointments had long waiting time. Rita reported challenges linked to a lack of culturally appropriate case work support.

*Um…some agencies used specifically culturally appropriate case work support workers. However, some of the children or the minors raised concerns because they would be, for example, someone [support worker] who is Sunni Islam and the young people in the house, maybe are not Sunnis, they were Hazaras Shias. So, these were little bits of differences…These led to sensitive tensions to a point where some [provider organisations]…had moved away from using culturally appropriate [case work support]…, which had its own issues because there was not enough cultural training or cultural diversity training um…***Rita, a case worker.**

Four case workers reported the Operational Framework was very important in guiding provision of services to UAMs. Case workers indicated barriers to the implementation of the

Framework included lack of funds; UAMs' unawareness of their service rights and responsibilities; and English language and cultural issues. It appears the Framework was not used to provide support to fUAMs, but case workers referred them to relevant services in the community, because they were considered mature and independent. Rita reported challenges in the use of the Operational Framework.

> *The program operational framework itself was a huge barrier. And I don't know if you have access to it, because that is just the bible of the program. And um… once you've got through it you can see that it's so rigid…. There was so much inconsistency in their care plans, so much inconsistency, um… even when you highlighted that, they didn't care. They would almost likely stick to whatever the [the operational framework] system they had made, maybe not wanting to be seen as they've been heard, they would stick to that and that was it. So, that was one of the main challenges.* **Rita, a case worker.**

Access to transport support

Seven key informants identified transport support as crucial, linking unaccompanied young Hazara men to support services in the community, but English teachers appeared unaware of this support. Six case workers reported UAMs were provided with residential cars/vans. They were also provided with myki concession cards and those living close to services rode their bicycles. Some city councils and service providers offered 120-hour driving lessons, sometimes in their native language. Mzee cited free driving lessons through the L2P program as very important support that improved their employment prospects post-18 years. Rita was critical of the program because UAMs could not afford to buy cars and had no work-rights.

Jairus, a case worker, thought the network of buses and trains used by fUAMs was efficient, but Carl reported of poor connectivity in some suburbs.

I personally think train [transport] system is good, it doesn't reach out to every place [in Melbourne], but if you were living in a train line, you are not well off [you are not away from transport]. But if you are not, once you would need a bus and train to get connection, but if you are in a train line, I personally think it is okay. **Jairus, a case worker.**

Structure of the transitional model of support

English teachers had no comments on the transitional model because by definition they supported fUAMs in only one NGO. Five case workers identified transitional support as highly important in promoting UAMs' independence in mainstream community. However, the model lacked structure, and minors may have inadequate transition preparation time, affecting their social networks and life skills. Mzee recommended compulsory transition training sessions to improve minors' social skills. Rita reported minors' transition period took 21 days and Mzee said 12 weeks. Only Rita mentioned an NGO that ran a pilot transition program for fUAMs aged 18–25 years. Mohser thought that successful transition was dependent on time spend in community detention.

Um, I think time is important [for transition preparation], as some young people before they turn 18 have been in the community detention for two to three months. This might not be enough time [to prepare] them. Some others may have been in the community detention for one to two years and have received the right services [intensive services] for a long time, so they are ready to be released into the general community. **Mohser, case worker**.

Summary

Case workers had more comments on these key support services because they worked directly with unaccompanied young Hazara men, compared to English teachers who worked with fUAMs in one NGO. They indicated the importance of government policies that provided full accommodation, transport, the Operational Framework and the transition which could improve

their early adjustment outcomes. However, the policy for fUAMs involved highly reduced support, which could affect their integration in new society.

Individual case workers had divergent views including UAMs' driver's license programme and public housing access. One case worker reported about an NGO pilot transition program for fUAMs.

4.2.2.2 Access to school education and further training

In this theme, Figure 4.4 shows key concepts were policy for school education and further training; the role of motivation in students' learning and behaviour; and challenges in school education and further training.

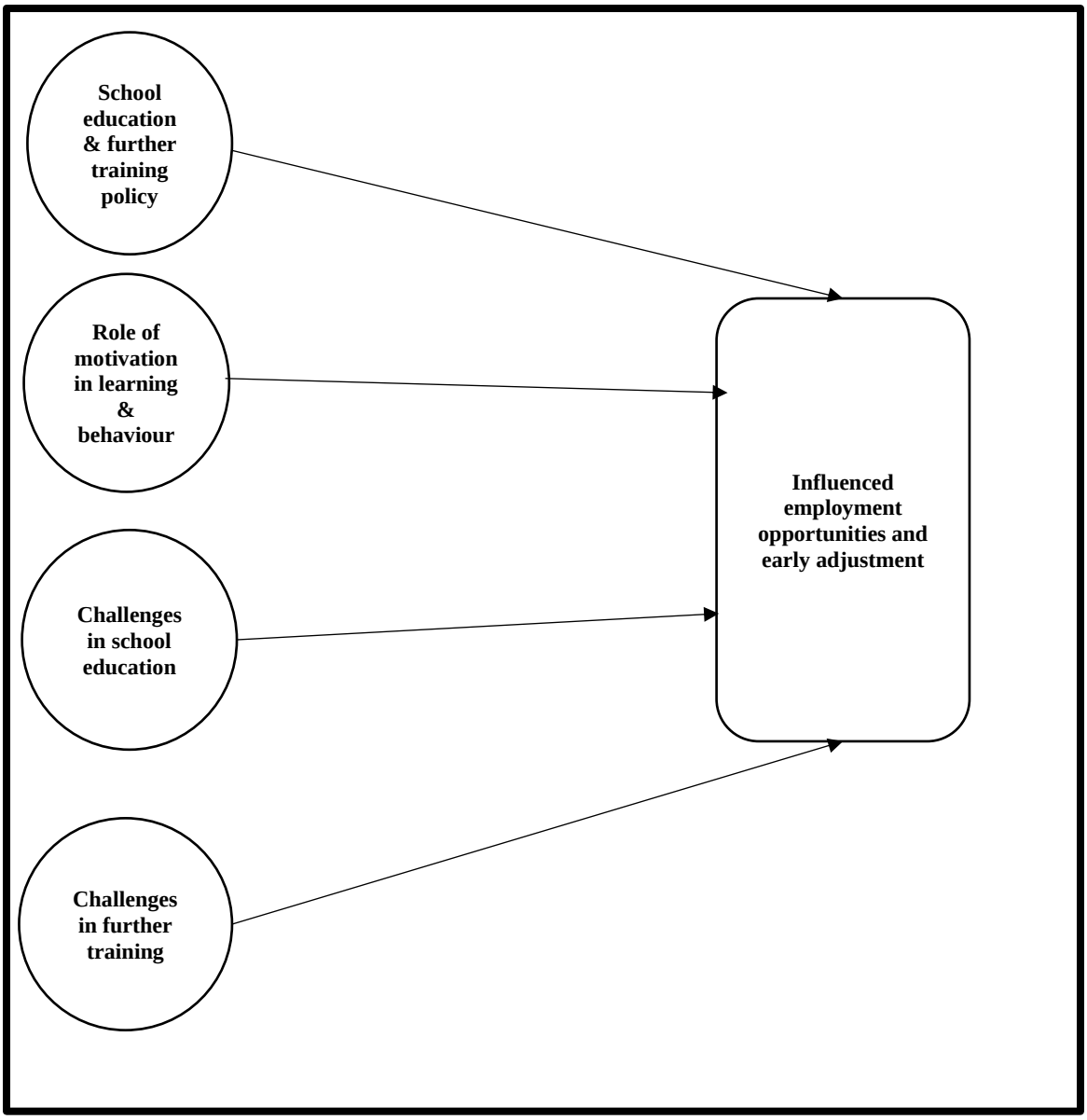

Figure 4. 4. Key concepts related to school education and further training.

Existing policies for school education and further training

Most key informants suggested policy that provided unaccompanied young Hazara men with school education and further training was crucial for early adjustment. English teachers had limited comments, but four case workers said UAMs were provided with free primary and secondary education up to 18 years of age or grade 12. They were provided with resources including uniforms, books, laptops, as well as excursion activities and transport to and from school

by private vans, bicycles and public buses/trains. The case workers said UAMs could be enrolled in language centres and in mainstream schools. Riata reported that UAMs could face some challenges enrolment at private schools.

> *So, [private schools] eligibility was tricky. For Private schools, they would have to be written an offer from the public schools. And this meant that a kid had to be excelling so well or there were some kids who had volunteers who would go to community detention centres. And if you [they] had a volunteer who was so interested in them, they would go to their local member [of parliament], advocate for them and go to the local private schools and they would get in through that…***Rita, a case worker.**

Eight key informants indicated education provision was important for fUAMs post-18 years, but they were unclear on whether fUAMs still received high school education or not. Mzee believed their enrolment at government schools ended when they turned 18. Jairus indicated very few high schools provided education to fUAMs, to complete grade 12. Only Jairus reported fUAMs received homework support and limited funds for school resources.

Role of motivation in students' learning and behaviour

Three case workers identified UAMs were motivated and appeared to have confidence in the value of education. Despite having inadequate English language skills, most UAMs were highly motivated to progress to grade 12. Mzee reported education was their hope for a better future.

> *It [school] is the hope. Because you know if you come as an asylum seeker and you are still young, so education is like a hope for the future. You can study then things will be better for you and to your parents. Their hope is in education actually, yeah. it is going to unlock job opportunities for you. Because may be in their country [Afghanistan] they did*

not have access to quality education or to this level. So, it is a… I had young people performing very well, on top of their class. Yeah, yeah ..., they are very confident, very confident, very confident to learn at school, very enthusiastic, yeah. **Mzee, a case worker.**

Despite challenges in school education, three case workers and four English teachers said most fUAMs were generally motivated to pursue further education.

Challenges in school education and further training

Four case workers suggested UAMs experienced challenges in school including disrupted prior education; difficulties understanding teachers; little interactions with peers; stigma; travelling long distances; and dropouts. Rita reported some UAMs received very minimal support in subject selection and to explore trades/apprenticeships; and were excluded from school excursions because the DIBP could not pay for non-academic activities.

Six key informants reported fUAMs were restricted from enrolling at tertiary education including TAFEs. Glen, an English teacher, thought TAFEs were slow in enrolling fUAMs. Jairus reported institutions promised fUAMs unrealistic learning time-frames that could result in failure.

And I bet again, it comes up to, to some dodgy RTOs [Registered training organizations], you know, that come in to offer kind of unrealistic sort of time frame to be qualified and get jobs. And again, the lack of understanding of the system and how to meet those conditions. You know, in a short period of time, you know, they'd be in that [education and training institution] and come out without qualification that they promised you... **Jairus, a case worker**

Jairus stated some institutions did not issue fUAMs certificates due to tuition fee non-payment, reducing employment prospects. Mzee said fUAMs who wanted to enrol at university had to pay higher fees.

Summary

English teachers had few comments about educational support provided to UAMs. However, most case workers working directly with UAMs indicated improved school participation, and motivation to learn could promote their community engagement and early adjustment. Restricting fUAMs from further training could affect their employment prospects and integration

Individual case workers had different perspectives, indicating that fUAMs had to pay university fees and other institutions may not issue certificates to them.

4.2.2.3 Access to healthcare services

From this theme, Figure 4.5 shows key concepts were policy for healthcare; physical health services; mental health counselling services; sexual health services; and health literacy skills.

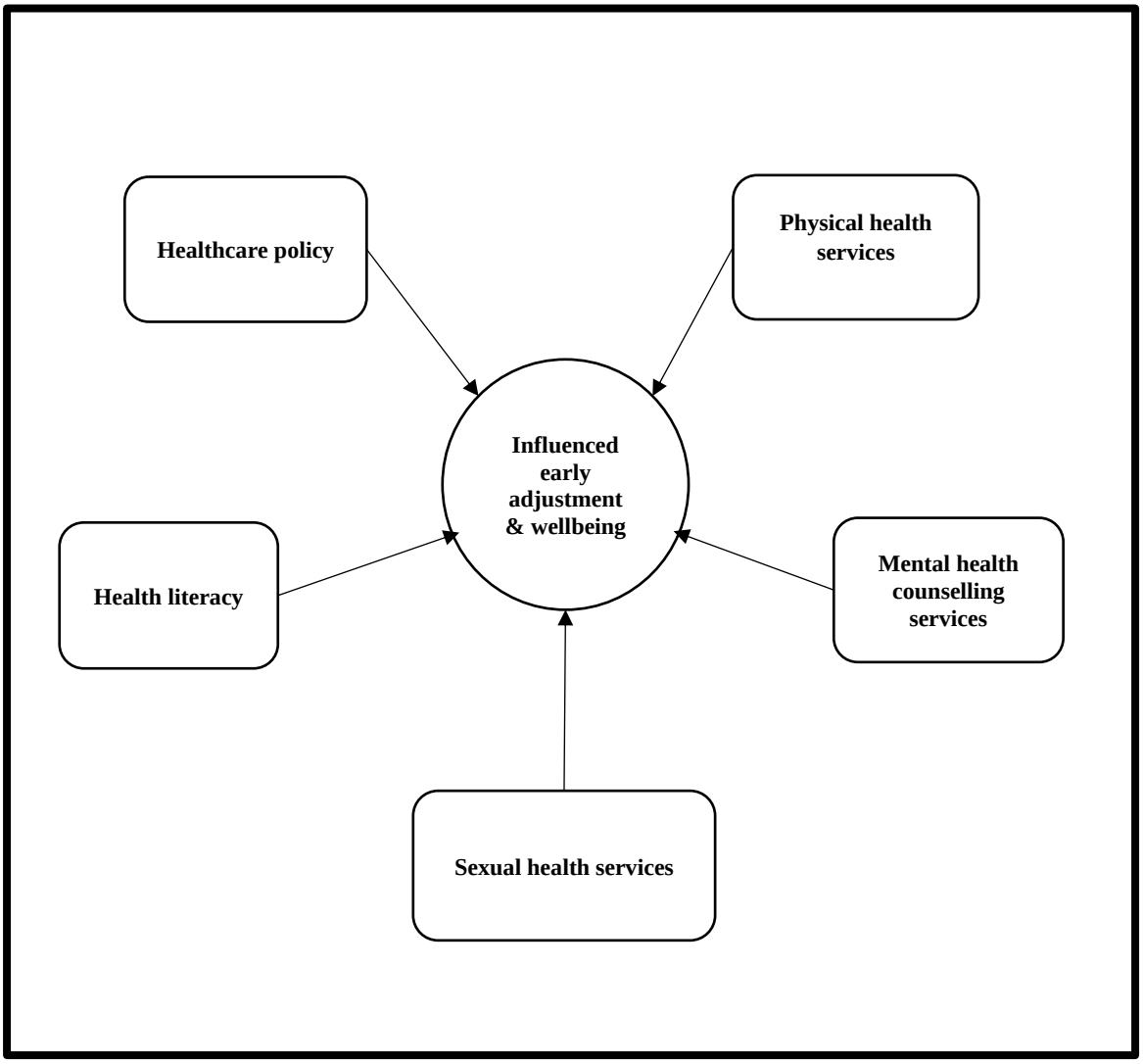

Figure 4. 5. Key concepts connected with healthcare services.

Healthcare policy

As reported by many key informants, policy that provided unaccompanied young Hazara men with physical and mental healthcare could improve their early adjustment and wellbeing. English teachers had very little comments about UAMs' healthcare support, but four case workers indicated their support entailed the provision of International Health and Medical Services (IHMS) cards that ensured access to designated GPs, pharmacies, hospital, dentists and optical services. However, UAMs' challenges included missed medical appointments; poor English language

skills; feeling anxious about doctor's appointments perhaps because of negative experiences overseas; and culturally-inappropriate healthcare support. Only Rita reported UAMs had to pay for missed medical appointments and that they wanted designer glasses which led to optometry restrictions.

Ten key informants noted the importance of healthcare support for fUAMs but indicated they faced challenges accessing healthcare services. Five case workers reported they had limited information; lack of flexible appointments; language difficulties; and poor understanding of medical procedures. Five English teachers reported about their poor health-seeking behaviour. Mzee said fUAMs with temporary visas were eligible for Medicare. Jacob reported fUAMs' flexible and culturally inclusive support was important.

> *But because I had a migrant nurse who helped the youth [fUAM] and was flexible, negotiated with the doctor and changed the appointment. And when the nurse went in the clinic with the young person, the nurse was able to hear all the healthcare information to help the young person with health issue…it is unlikely that young person will do much with all that health information that is given in the doctor's surgery because of being very anxious.* **Jacob, a case worker.**

Access to mental health counselling services

Most key informants indicated the importance of mental health counselling support for unaccompanied young Hazara men. Four case workers reported UAMs could experience emotional and mental health issues. They said UAMs accessed counselling services from psychologists, psychiatrists, mental health nurses, and counsellors. However, UAMs' challenges included stigma and perception associated with mental health counselling services.

Eight key informants reported fUAMs were provided with counselling services. Three case workers said they may not express trauma and could delay seeking mental health services. Five English teachers indicated they may experience depression due to settlement related difficulties. Jairus said they could be retraumatised by certain subjects/topics about past adverse events. Jacob suggested fUAMs' counselling services were culturally insensitive. Mzee reported fUAMs may not seek counselling services due to stigma of mental illness.

> *Most of us may not know. Mostly they [fUAMs] know, because their background is that most people don't seek counselling, because counselling is, to say that you have mental health issues in some cultures actually means, you are actually a mad person [laughs]. So, no one, no person wants to say that I am mad. No, no. So, again it is about changing things stigma, by making it normal when you are not feeling well upstairs [mentally],…Some cultures think that by the time you go and tell people about your problems, you are being overwhelmed, you are not being man enough to face your own problems.* **Mzee, a case worker.**

Access to sexual health services

Some key informants suggested the importance of sexual health support for unaccompanied young Hazara men. Two case workers reported UAMs' may have received sexual health services, but these services could be culturally insensitive. Mzee said UAMs had basic knowledge of sexual health because of taboos in their culture and religion. Mark believed some UAMs did not learn about sexual health at school because the other students had already been taught. Rita suggested use of cultural workers and community elders to teach UAMs about sexual health.

Three case workers indicated fUAMs' sexual health challenges included sexual harassment and a lack of knowledge on sexually transmissible infections. Mark said fUAMs learnt about sexual health from peers and past experiences, reducing sexual health issues.

Access to health literacy skills

Four case workers reported UAMs were provided with health literacy (defined as individuals' ability to understand healthcare information (Wangdahl et al., 2014)) skills, to promote their healthcare access. They said their challenges were minimal knowledge of Australia's healthcare system; and inability to articulate their healthcare issues. Mzee said translating and interpreting services (TIS) helped improve UAMs' confidence and healthcare access. Only Rita claimed doctors could fail to use TIS, possibly due to a lack of culturally-appropriate personnel.

> *[S]ome doctors wouldn't use interpreters, so when their [UAMs] language was still quite low, you brought the young person who you have to account for [their health] using the signs and symptoms…. So, even if you don't go in the appointment, you briefed the doctor what the signs and symptoms are and what could be the [health] issue.* **Rita, a case worker.**

Seven key informants reported fUAMs' health literacy challenges included culturo-linguistic incompetency; and issues with medical appointments and patient-doctor communication.

Summary

English teachers had very little comments about healthcare services for UAM, but most case workers identified importance of providing UAMs with physical, sexual, and mental healthcare support, to promote their early adjustment in new society. However, many key informants highlighted the fact fUAMs were offered highly reduced healthcare support which could affect their integration and wellbeing outcomes.

Individual key informants had different perspectives, indicating UAMs could misuse optometric services, and had issues with sexual health and use of TIS services. fUAMs may not seek counselling services because of stigma associated with mental illness.

4.2.2.4 Access to legal migration services and protection

Figure 4.6 shows key concepts under this theme were asylum-seeker policy and protection, and access to legal migration services.

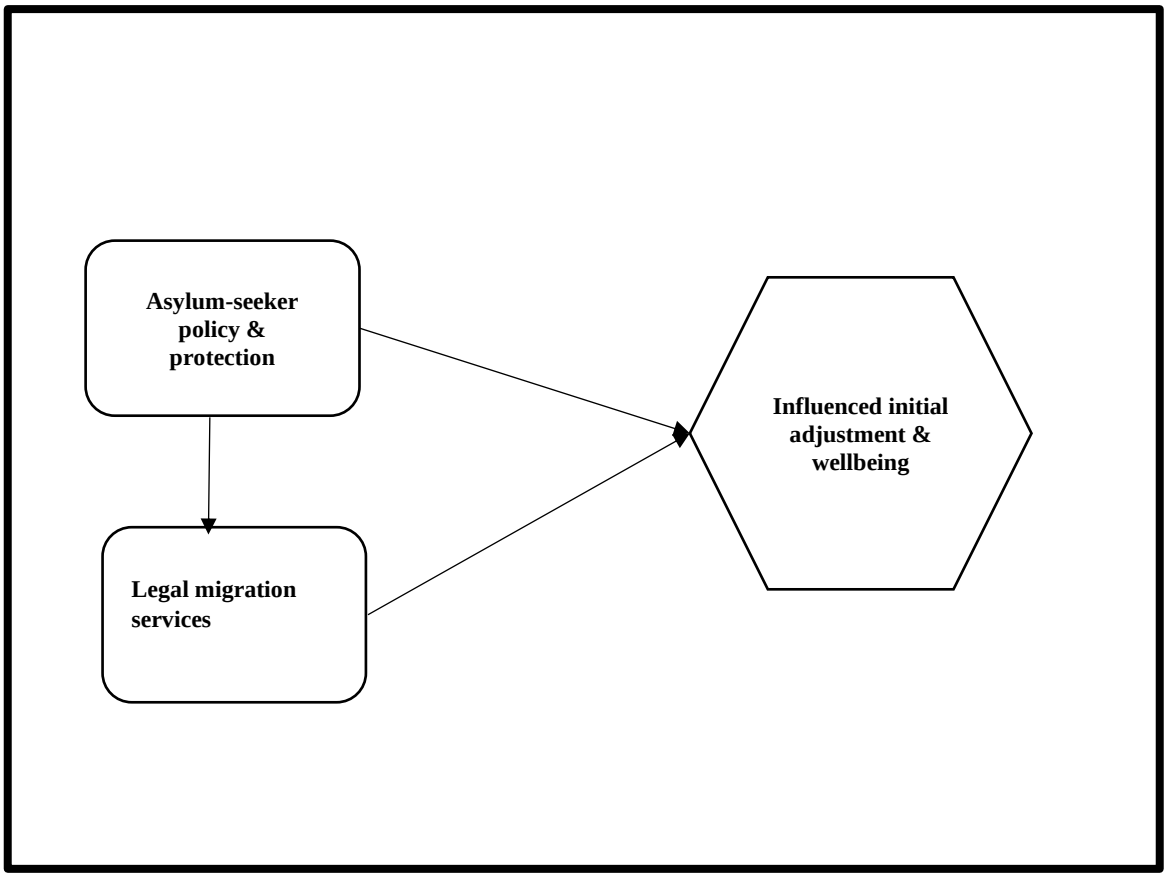

Figure 4. 6. Key concepts related to legal migration services and protection.

Asylum-seeker policy and protection

Seven key informants indicated positive asylum-seeker policy and protection could improve unaccompanied young Hazara men's early settlement and wellbeing. Four case workers reported UAMs were placed in brief mandatory immigration detention (depending on their date of arrival) for about 18 months before being moved to community detention, whereby the Minister for immigration provided them with guardianship arrangement–although English teachers had limited comments.

Three English teachers and two case workers reported independent fUAMs who lived in the mainstream community had no prospects of permanent resettlement, and those who received negative refugee determination were likely to be deported. The case workers thought it was important to provide fUAMs with permanent visas, for stability and productivity. Rita and Mzee, both case workers, reported Australian policy change in 2014 stated fUAMs who arrived after 2012 would never be settled in Australia. Mzee reported fUAMs who were initially offered BVEs now get three-year TPVs with tough visa conditions, including no return to Australia if they travel overseas. Andrew suggested fUAMs' placement in mandatory immigration detention. He also said that lack of permanent visas leaves them in limbo which could affect their adjustment and psychological wellbeing.

> *There's got to be a better or stronger way to do this…. As you may know, uh, um asylum seekers, and this may be true with the Hazara youth, they cannot plan for their future because they don't know when they will be given their permanent visas, which is really a pain… they get severely affected, their mental health and wellbeing …* **Andrew, an English language teacher**

Carl, an English teacher, said fUAMs ultimately adapted well because of their resilience and personal agency.

Access to legal migration services

Eleven key informants reported legal migration services and protection were important for unaccompanied young Hazara men's visa application process. Four case workers were concerned about challenges related to UAMs protection and legal support that could affect their initial adjustment. Six English teachers and three case workers thought fUAMs received reduced-cost or free legal advice and volunteer translating and interpreting services. However, they suggested fUAMs experienced challenges in visa applications due to policies that denied them permanent visas. Only Rita reported potential conflicts of interest because government-appointed legal aid services might lack independence when processing visas for UAMs who turn 18. Mzee said that fUAMs who did not get government funded migration services could access pro bono legal said.

> *So, the government assess whether you [fUAMs] are worthy of asylum or not. And right now, for some, based on uh, uh their vulnerabilities, some will get a lawyer, given to them by government or some have to access the services of Pro Bono lawyers in the community. We have Asylum Seeker Resource Centre (ASRC), we have Refugee and Immigration Legal Centre (RILC).* **Mzee, a case worker.**

Summary

Professional case workers had more comments about legal services and protection for UAMs, compared to English teachers. Key informants indicated the importance of positive government policy that enabled protection to unaccompanied young Hazara men which promoted their post-arrival adjustment and wellbeing. However, because of inadequate legal support,

fUAMs may not get permanent settlement which leaves them in limbo. Only one case worker reported potential conflict of interest in legal aid support.

4.2.2.5 Access to income and employment support

In this theme, as shown in Figure 4.7, key concepts were policies for income and employment support; challenges in income and employment support; the role of English language, transport and personal agency; and access to financial literacy skill. There was high agreement between casework participants in relation to employment support provided to unaccompanied young Hazara men during their early settlement period because they provided direct support services to these young people in community detention, in transition and in the mainstream community. On the other hand, English language teachers had limited comments on employment support provided to UAMs because they worked in only one organisation which provided English language training to asylum-seekers including fUAMs.

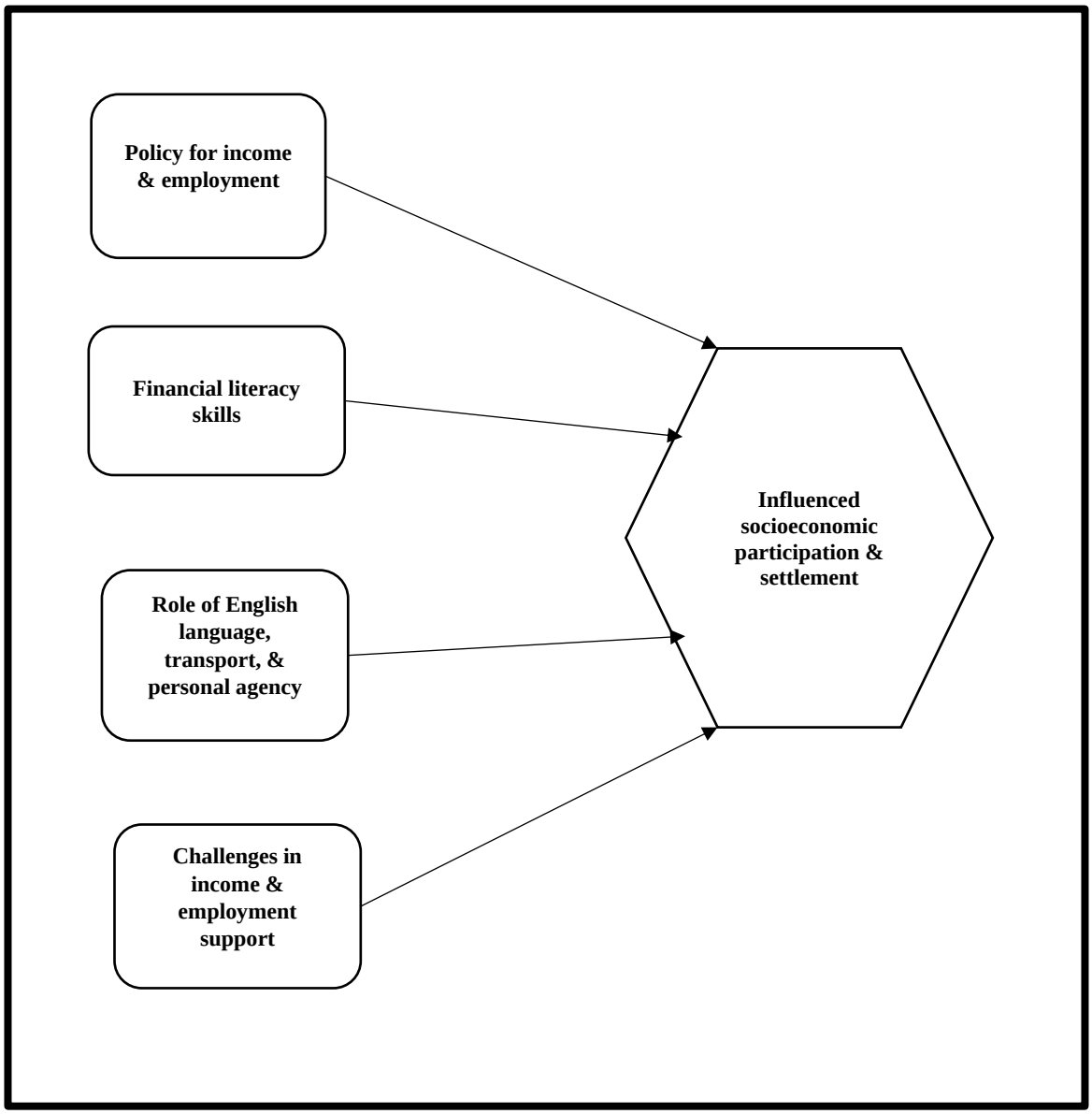

Figure 4. 7. Key concepts linked to income and employment support.

Existing policies for income and employment support

According to many key informants, government policy that provided unaccompanied young Hazara men with income and employment support was important for socioeconomic participation. Four case workers said UAMs received about $70 in living allowance, $400 for housekeeping, and $50 for transport from Centrelink. Case workers agreed that UAMs had no work-rights. Rita reported 95% of UAMs did not work to meet their visa conditions, however a

few minors carried out cleaning and shelf-stacking. Mzee indicated that job agencies offered UAMs with skills through workshops. Mohser thought they worked illegally because of pressure to remit finances to families overseas.

Ten key informants reported variations in fUAMs' work-rights and employment support based on policy changes. Four case workers reported they were previously provided with BVE without work-rights. They said work-rights gave them limited access to employment services. All English teachers said those enrolled at their NGO were provided with job-ready skills and work placements. Mzee reported, since 2014, fUAMs are provided work-rights and those with functional English language skills, relevant certificates, and driver's licenses were referred to potential employers, including aged care, construction, and the meat industry. Maria described an incident where the DIBP provided fUAMs with visas without work-rights. Mzee thought fUAMs accessed about 89% of the Centrelink benefits. Only Mzee said fUAMs received food vouchers from community members. Only Maria said that fUAMs received employment through community networks.

Challenges in income and employment support

Many key informants indicated that unaccompanied young Hazara men experienced challenges in income and employment support. Four case workers reported on income challenges faced by UAMs including unrealistic income expectations; lack of financial and budgeting skills; and remittance of incomes overseas. The case workers indicated that UAMs experienced challenges partly due to limited employment skills preparation. Although Mzee considered UAMs' living allowance sufficient, Mohser believed this depended on their expenditure. Only Rita indicated a few UAMs received extra income from relatives in Australia. Mohser indicated some

schools did offer UAMs employment skills, but Rita thought schools did not prepare them for future careers.

Six key informants identified challenges in income and employment support for fUAMs. Three case workers said they lacked funding for job-training and faced difficulties in finding work. Three English teachers reported fUAMs experienced inadequate employment skills; could develop mental health issues; and some job service agencies had strict entry requirements. They could also experience workplace barriers due to poor English language skills, cultural incompetency, inadequate qualifications and employer exploitation. Mark indicated fUAMs' income was adequate, while Carl thought their income was very little, as half went to accommodation. Carl reported employers could not employ them because of visa restrictions. Mark and Mzee thought that fUAMs' employment difficulties were partly because of perceived racism and discrimination. Jairus said some fUAMs worked illegally because of a lack of work rights which could lead to exploitation by employers.

> *So, once they try to engage in the work force and obviously, there are employers that take advantage of them. They are in that situation, so they end up paying them less or minimal [pay] for, you know, for that type of clients [fUAMs]…. in a way, the government is creating uh a way or platform for them to be exploited. So, because they [the government] don't give them the [work rights] conditions to work and therefore they have to work under illegal ways or cash in hand and that is where they can be dodgy and yeah.* **Jairus, a case worker.**

Role of English language, transport and personal agency in employment

Seven key informants identified English language, transport and personal agency as factors that could improve unaccompanied young Hazara men's employment prospects. Three case

workers said schools provided UAMs with basic English language to assist in future employment. Four English teachers indicated some fUAMs were undecided on whether to study English or look for work. Mzee reported that lack of a driver's license or car affected their employment opportunities.

Five key informants reported personal agency played an important role in fUAMs' employment. Three case workers said they gained employment through networks of community members and peers, and newspaper job advertisements, which increased their productivity and reduced their over-reliance on Centrelink. Two English teachers indicated some fUAMs had found employment by actively looking for jobs themselves. Mark said they sought support from community and friends to find jobs. Mzee thought some fUAMs looked for work on their own, possibly because they could not access employment support services.

> *There are many young people [fUAMs] there looking for jobs… to support their families overseas. They can also be productive to the economy…. Because I have seen young people taking time to look for work…long to lose even some interest because they don't have the, the common thing that other young people here have [employment support].* **Mzee, a case worker.**

Access to financial literacy skills

Seven key informants indicated financial literacy skills were important for unaccompanied young Hazara men's financial responsibility and budgeting. Four case workers specified they incorporated financial literacy skills in UAMs' case management. However, they reported challenges including difficulties in financial budgeting, bank transactions and financial remittances. Rita indicated some organisations did not provide financial skills to UAMs. She taught UAMs the value of money and currency conversions and suggested a financial literacy

model that involved income and taxation, online banking and payment of bills. Mzee suggested provision of information about where to purchase cheap goods including community markets, and second-hand shops. Mark reported some UAMs disliked financial budgeting training, despite their budgeting difficulties.

> *Yeah, they were some financial challenges because you find that with them, they wanted to purchase expensive stuff and, also, they wanted to do their own shopping, which was a bit difficult. It [budgeting] was a bit challenging because there were asking themselves, the carers, case workers, that "okay, why are we not getting this and that, when we want that and the other". So, it was also difficult to explain to them that "okay, this is the money that you're getting, and it will not be worth it for you to spend all of it in one go". So, which they didn't like because they didn't want to be controlled.* **Mark, a case worker.**

Five key informants said financial literacy was important for fUAMs' effective use of money. Maria and Carl reported they incorporated financial skills in their English lessons.

Summary

English teachers had very few comments on income and employment skills for UAMs, but many case workers indicated UAMs were provided with living allowances, essential employability and financial literacy skills, improving their future employment opportunities and wellbeing. However, fUAMs' reduced income, transport, English language, and employment support could affect their socioeconomic participation and integration.

Individual key informants had divergent perspectives, contradicting on whether income provided to unaccompanied young Hazara men was adequate or not, as well as whether schools provided UAMs with job ready skills or not.

4.2.2.6 Access to English language training

Figure 4.8 shows key concepts of this major theme were policy for English language support; structure of English language; access to English language material resources; motivation in learning and access to language literacy skills; and the role of English language teachers.

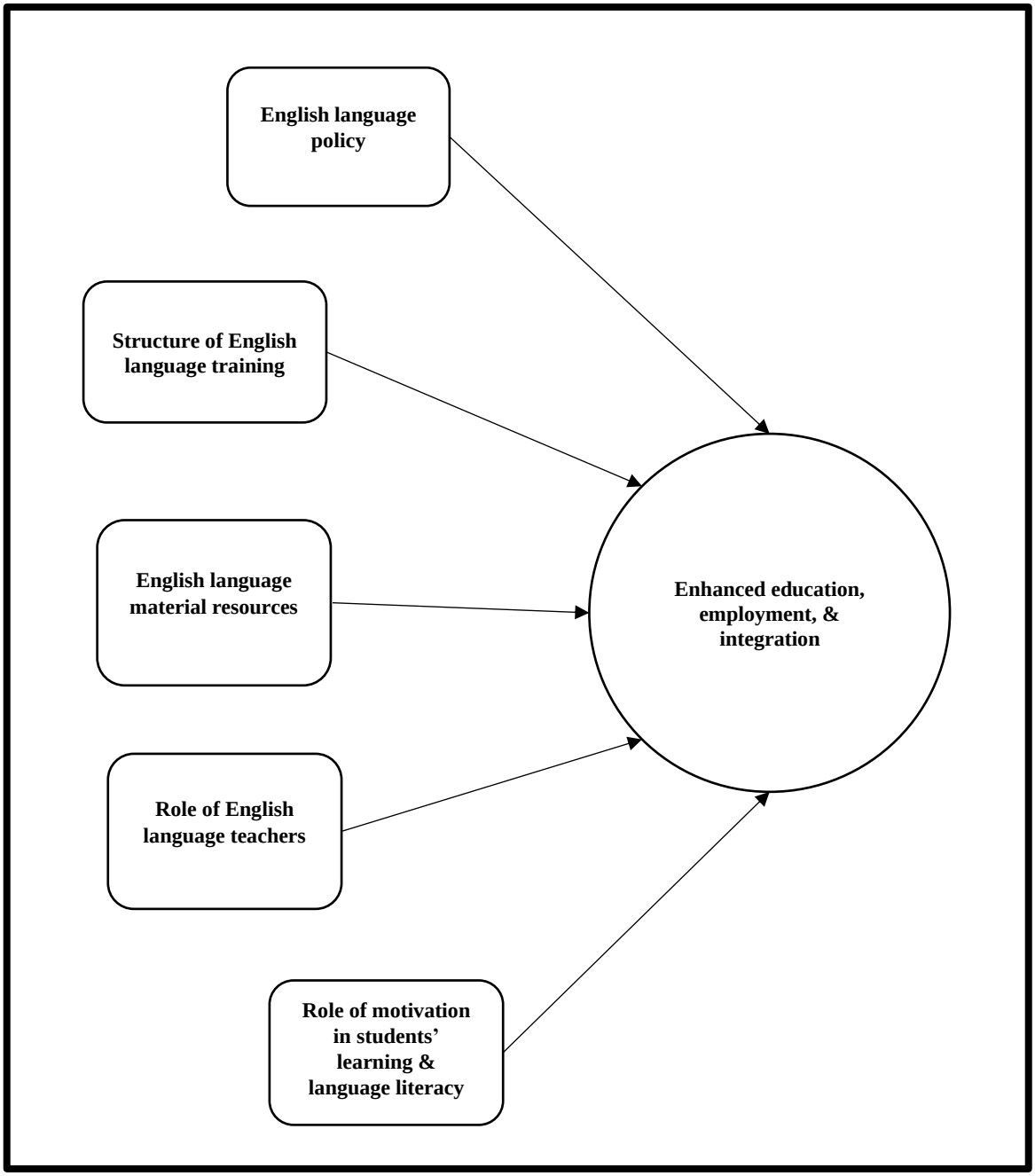

Figure 4. 8. Key concepts linked to English language training.

Policy context for English language training

All key informants suggested policy that provided unaccompanied young Hazara men with English language could promote their education, employment and integration. English teachers had very few comments about UAMs' English language support, however all case workers said they were provided with full and free English language support including 510 hours of instruction in schools and language centres. They reported UAMs' challenges included a lack of prior schooling; arrival in Australia aged close to 18 years; feeling excluded by teachers and peers; and difficulties with learning styles.

Six English teachers and three case workers suggested fUAMs tended to receive highly reduced English language support. They suggested fUAMs' success in English language depended on determination, prior exposure to English, the relatedness of their language to English, and interactions with English speakers. However, they indicated fUAMs' challenges included unpaid volunteer teachers; inadequate resources; mother tongue interference; first-language illiteracy; unrealistic training time-frames; dropouts; and poor attendance due to work commitments, mental illness, and public transport issues.

Structure of English language support

Three case workers described English language structure as involving assessment of UAMs' language levels and placement into small classes (10–25 students) of basic, intermediate and advanced levels. Four English teachers added fUAMs were assessed and placed in mixed classes and taught English language for two-hours per week, with teachers rarely sharing information. Their progress depended on prior learning, use of resources, and English practice. Maria explained those with improved English language could enrol at TAFE. Surprisingly, Lynne

suggested teachers had no English as a second language curriculum as a tool to guide their teaching and testing.

> *There is no English language curriculum …There is need to have an English language curriculum with clear objectives and outcomes. This will help harmonize our teaching as teachers… which all teachers can follow to plan and assess students. Every teacher does their own thing….* **Lynne, an English teacher.**

Access to English language material resources

Many key informants indicated that unaccompanied young Hazara men received varying English language teaching and learning resources. Four case workers reported UAMs received adequate English language teaching and learning resources that included books, iPads, and computers. However, five English teachers said their organisation had limited resources and funding which affected fUAMs' acquisition of English language skills. Mark and Rita believed learning material resources could accelerate UAMs' English language proficiency. Lynne said that challenges in the use of English language resources could affect fUAMs' learning outcomes.

> *The most available teaching resources are the textbooks, but since they have very minimal English language, they struggle to read and understand. We have few computers and TV's, but I rarely use them. I do not know how to set up and use the TV. I have also thought of using children picture books for this beginner classes.* **Lynne, a case worker.**

The role of motivation in students' learning and English language literacy

Seven key informants reported unaccompanied young Hazara men were highly motivated to learn English language. Two case workers indicated UAMs desired to improve their English language in order to pursue secondary and further education. Mzee reported motivation and hard

work were important for UAMs, but Mohser reported UAMs' lacked motivation because of psychological and emotional issues.

> *The problem for them is that concentrating in the [English] language processing is a bit difficult because of the mental and emotional support they need from their families. There is uh, there is sometimes difficulties with their attendance rates in going to language school and they need more encouraging through their case managers and residential care workers…* **Mohser, a case worker.**

Five English teachers indicated fUAMs' lack of motivation to learn was due to reduced support and learning difficulties.

Regarding English language literacy (defined as ability to understand and use language (Kennedy et al., 2012) support for UAMs, eight key informants reported this was very important. Four case workers said language literacy bolstered UAMs' training and community engagement in Australia. Four English teachers thought literacy support was important for fUAMs who struggled with English language learning.

The role of English language teachers

Seven key informants said English teachers provided an important support to unaccompanied young Hazara men, to develop English language proficiency. Three case workers indicated English teachers who supported UAMs had the right qualifications. However, challenges for English teachers included inadequate teacher-student-ratios and students' poor adjustment to learning. Rita reported some male Hazara UAMs felt uncomfortable with female English teachers, possibly because of their cultural/religious beliefs.

Four English teachers said their challenges were volunteer part-time teaching, mixed-ability classes, and a lack of interaction with students including fUAMs. Lynne indicated students

saw teachers as authority figures, possibly based on high respect given to teachers in home countries.

Summary

Although English teachers had limited comments on UAMs' English language support, all case workers suggested government policy that provided full language training and literacy skills, as well as students' motivation to learn, could promote their socioeconomic participation and integration. However, fUAMs received highly reduced English language support structures, which could impact transition to adulthood and adjustment in the community.

Different perspectives from participants indicated that UAMs could experience difficulties in adjusting to a classroom environment and English teachers for fUAMs lacked a formal curriculum in one NGO.

4.2.3 Access to forms of social networks

Massey et al. (1990) suggested, with time, newly-arrived immigrants (i.e., UAMs/fUAMs) develop social networks through interactions and relationships with others, enhancing their early adjustment and wellbeing in new society. These networks are influenced by factors such as culture, gender, age, ties and shared community of origin (Mansouri & Skrbis, 2013). To be discussed is how this group of unaccompanied youths experienced informal and formal networks. This section answers the third research question: **What forms of social networks do male Hazara UAMs and fUAMs access post-arrival and how are these networks perceived to affect their early adjustment?** This section describes the policy for unaccompanied young Hazara men's social networks support. It also describes the role of sociocultural adaptation in their development of networks and the influence of trust and self-disclosures, as well as media, public and political debates in their network formation.

Figure 4.9 shows key concepts under this theme were policy for social network support; sociocultural adaptation; influence of trust and self-disclosures; and influence of media, public and political discourses.

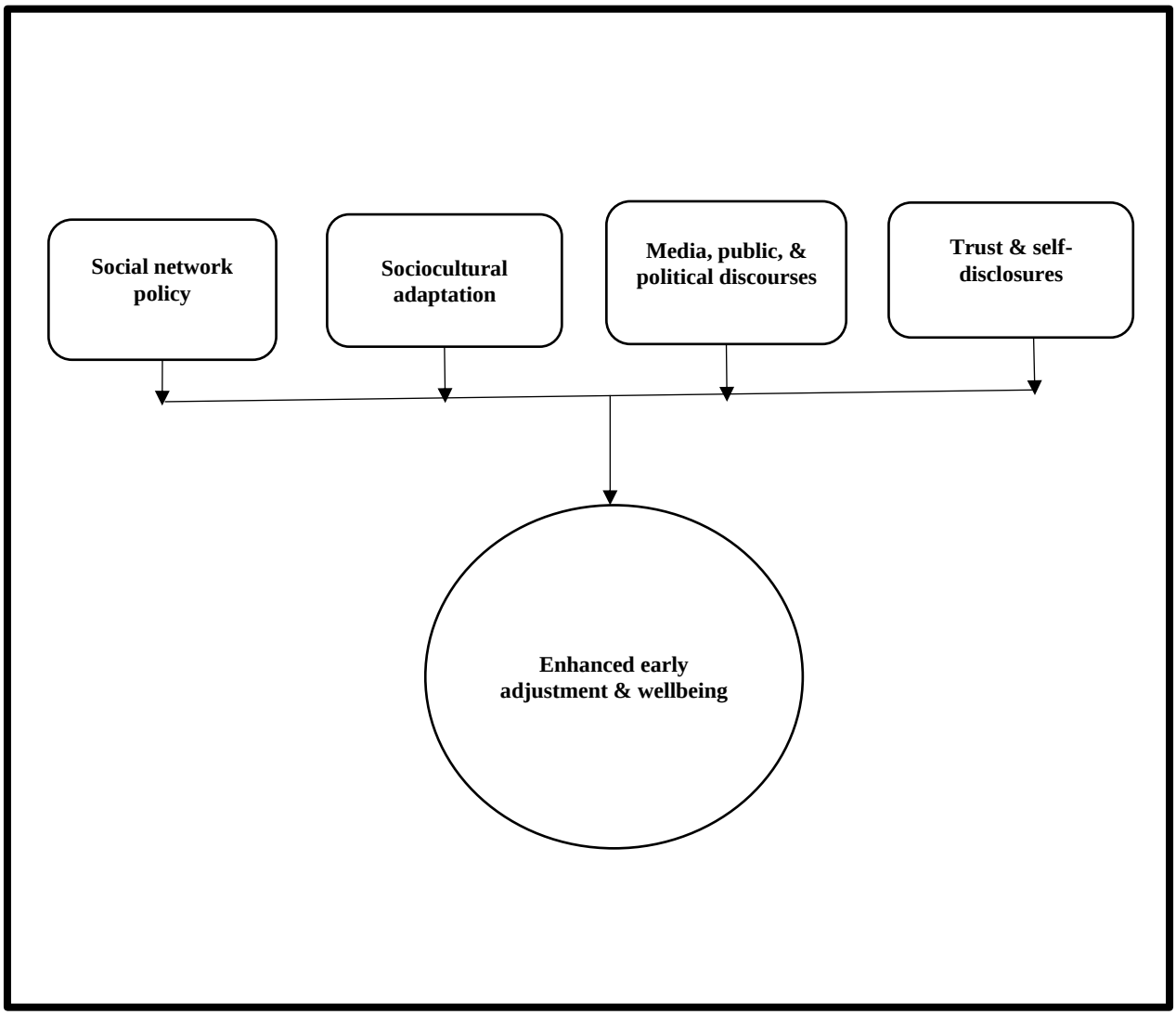

Figure 4. 9. Key concepts linked to forms of social networks.

4.2.3.1 Social network policy

All key informants reported policy that offered unaccompanied young Hazara men with formal network support, and their informal networks, could enhance their early adjustment and wellbeing outcomes. Although English teachers had no comments, four case workers believed

UAMs received formal MEP support, and informal networks through organised dinner parties, events, as well as interactions with peers, the Hazara community and the local community. However, they said UAMs' social network challenges included financial restrictions, the stigma of boat-arrivals, online bullying, and disruption of family networks. Rita suggested UAMs need to use personal agency to find opportunities for social interaction. Mzee indicated the possibility for UAMs to feel excluded from some community events.

> *Again, its social exclusion …for community events, you [UAM] might go to one thing and you are not included, you feel unwelcome. Does it mean that everywhere you are not feeling welcome? No. So, it is again, it differs, it is tricky. Even if racism is there, it is not good to generalize … But once off, maybe like, one person who, you know, is racist really, you can't say that everyone isn't good, yeah.* **Mzee, a case worker.**

Nine key informants suggested fUAMs received limited formal and informal social network support. Three case workers said they had limited opportunities to connect with friends and the local community, mainly through social media. Six English teachers reported their organisation offered fUAMs free weekend camping, but their barriers included a lack of interactions between male and female genders, possibly due to religious/cultural restrictions.

4.2.3.2 The role of sociocultural adaptation

Key informants identified the importance of unaccompanied young Hazara men's strong and weak ties to their own ethnic and local communities which could improve sociocultural adaptation (defined as an individual's behavioural and cultural competency (Savicki, 2010)). Four case workers suggested that UAMs' sociocultural adjustment was determined by their interactions with both Australian and own Hazara communities. They said their interactions with mostly male ethnic and local peers of similar age could promote their early adaptation. However, the risks to

their sociocultural adaptation included cultural differences with the host Australian society. Mzee, Mark and Mohser indicated male Hazara UAMs had faster cultural adjustment, but Rita suggested this always took time, despite desperation to fit into Australian society.

Ten key informants reported male Hazara fUAMs were provided with very limited cultural and linguistic orientation by case workers and English teachers including good behaviours and communication skills. They also said fUAMs' interactions with local community helped develop cultural knowledge. Two case workers and five English teachers suggested fUAMs' risks included a lack of cultural competency skills. Mzee thought some Hazara fUAMs could become isolated, possibly due to trauma, unresolved immigration status, and cultural/religious reasons. Jacob reported fUAMs might become culturally isolated from the society if they felt unwelcome or due to perceived racism and the fear of authority which could have negative effect on their adjustment.

> *The lack of adjustment for refugee and asylum seeker young people [including fUAMs] …could happen if they are subjected to racism or discrimination, if the host society is not tolerant and patient enough with them, understand their culture and way to deal with the underlying cause of their behavioural issues…. It has been shown that refugee and asylum seeker youth tend to fear authority, more so the police.* **Jacob, a case worker.**

Yet, Carl and Maria believed fUAMs in their NGO did not socially isolate themselves from others.

4.2.3.3 The influence of trust and self-disclosures

Six key informants reported development of trust and self-disclosure was important for unaccompanied young Hazara men's formation of social networks, enhancing their access to services, and early adjustment and wellbeing. Trust refers to an individual's assumptions and expectations of self and others (Ni Raghallaigh, 2014; Behnia, 1997). Sprecher et al. (2013) defines self-disclosure as an individua's expression of personal feelings and information to others. Two

case workers indicated UAMs were supported to build trust and to disclose their needs, promoting their networks. Yet, many could become silent about their issues and refuse to engage with caregivers, possibly due to emotional and linguistic difficulties.

Four English teachers said fUAMs lacked trust, but patience helped them to build trusting relationships with others. They also indicated fUAMs' lack of self-disclosure was due to lack of confidence while their mistrust was because of the fear of visa application rejection, factors that could affect their networks and sense of belonging. Maria indicated the importance of building trust with fUAMs which could encourage them to disclose their needs.

> *Yes, first you've to build trust with them[fUAMs]. And um, sometimes I think they don't know whether they can ask or not [silences]. Sometimes I find after a lesson, I might …ask them, …, because sometimes it's hard enough when you speak plain English and it's your second language. And they'll come up afterwards and say "oh, I have this problem" and usually I welcome that and help. Sometimes, …we might identify that someone is looking a little different and you ask, "are you ok?".* **Maria, an English teacher**

4.2.3.4 The influence of media, political and public discourses

Eight key informants reported media, politicians and public appear to represent boat-arrivals (including unaccompanied young Hazara men) negatively, which could affect their networks and early adjustment. Three case workers reported negative media described UAMs as living lavishly in well-furnished accommodations, which could influence public perception, further increasing their isolation and stigma. Yet, UAMs were accommodated in group-houses and received support equivalent to local out-of-home care youths.

Four English teachers and three case workers reported Australian political and public debates about fUAMs tended to differ, however Australians generally welcomed and recognised

their contributions to society. They recommended the public and politicians to be more tolerant and patient, and to provide them with more support. Only Carl said a section of populist Australian media spread false information about fUAMs' asylum-seeking.

> *The role of the media is huge, unfortunately the large part of the media in Australia is currently controlled by one network, …and they are populist in outlook. …they will just put out there whatever sells the most. One of our hope is with the increasing diversity in the media, …, there may be more and more people being able to get out a positive message rather than what is now presented to the wider community on asylum seeker issues…**Carl, an English teacher.***

Summary

English teachers did not comment on UAMs' social network support, but all case workers suggested the importance of a government policy that provided UAMs with MEP support to form social networks, which could enhance their access to services, and community engagement. However, fUAMs' social networks could be impacted by factors such mistrust and silence; and negative representation by media, public and political debates which could affect their sense of belonging and wellbeing.

Individual key informants had divergent perspectives, contradicting on whether unaccompanied young Hazara men's cultural adjustment took long or not, and whether fUAMs felt isolated from society or not.

4.2.4 The role of risk and protective factors in UAMs'/fUAMs' early adjustment and wellbeing

Bronfenbrenner (1979,1994) theorised that young people live within complex multilayered environments involving relationships, structures and systems, which could have positive or

negative impact on their lives. This section answers the fourth research question: **What risk and protective factors appear to influence male Hazara youths' early settlement and wellbeing outcomes?** Based on analysed key informant data, unaccompanied young Hazara men's risk factors were linked to challenges during migration and in post-migration contexts which could lead to adversity. Adversity refers to an individual's traumatic and stressful events and circumstances (Daniel, 2010). On the other hand, protective factors were related to their internal resources, structures of support, and government policies which could promote resilience (Ungar, 2019a).

To be discussed below are risk and protective factors associated with unaccompanied young Hazara men's settlement and wellbeing.

4.2.4.1 Risk factors associated with adversity

The key concepts related to this sub-theme were pre-migration challenges; transit migration challenges; and post-migration issues, as shown in figure 4.10.

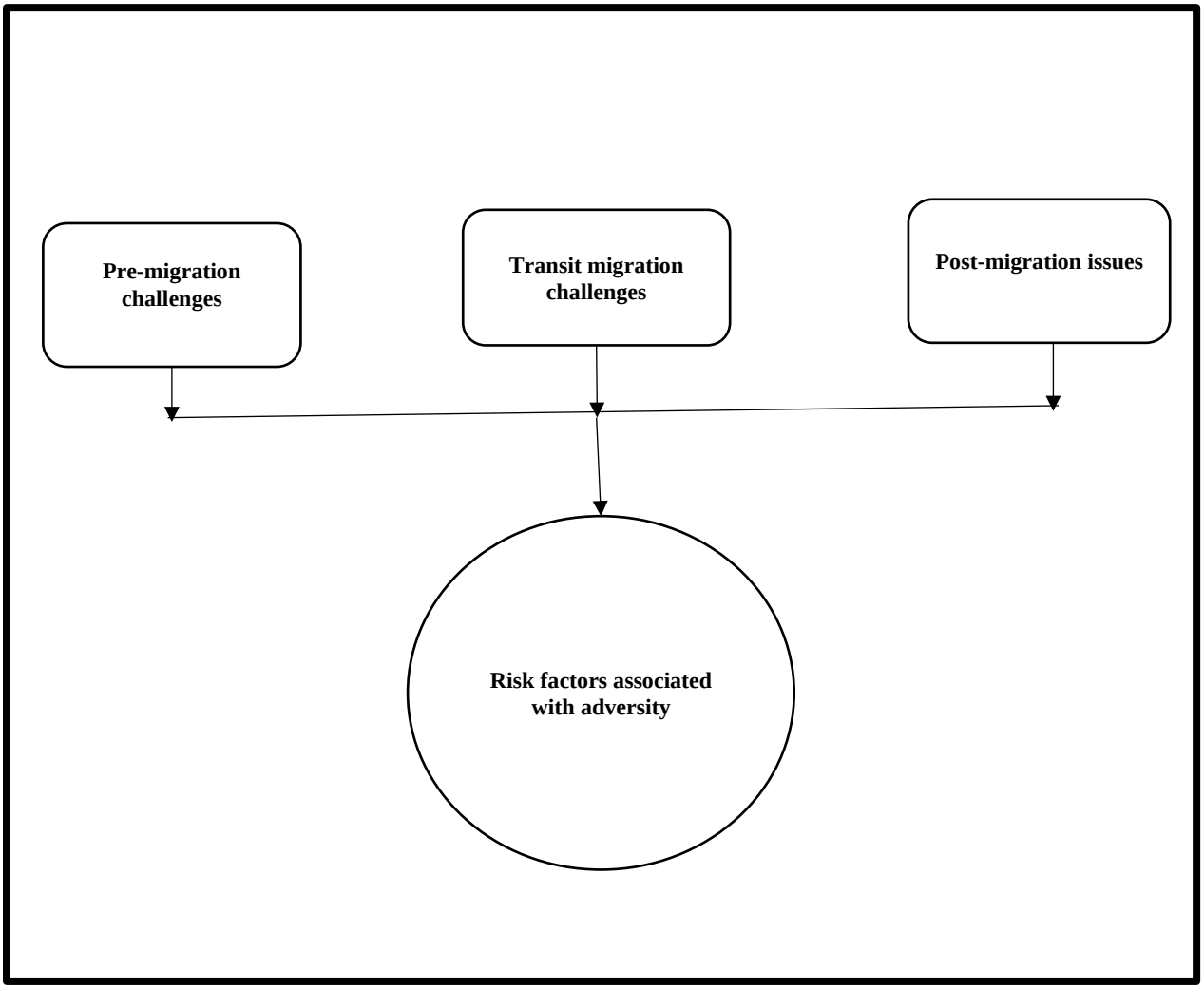

Figure 4. 10. Key concepts related to risk factors.

Challenges in pre-migration and transit journeys

Seven key informants reported risk factors related to unaccompanied young Hazara men's migration trajectory that could result in adversity. Five case workers and two English teachers reported UAMs encountered multiple hardships and challenges in Afghanistan, and in transit countries which could influence their early adjustment in Australia. Mohser said they suffered the effects of war, including torture and trauma. Mark reported they faced ethic discrimination because of their physical appearance, were denied education and killed by the Taliban. Rita reported UAMs experienced religious discrimination as Shia Muslims in a Sunni majority Afghanistan, and

experienced risky boat journeys to Australia. Carl thought fUAMs could face poverty in Afghanistan. Andrew said, from Afghanistan, they moved to transit countries where they were denied support and settlement.

> *[T]heir [Unaccompanied Hazara youth] past experiences of conflicts in Afghanistan that made them relocate to neighbouring countries such as Iran. One student, um, narrated to me that they had to move to Iran where they were not allowed to work, to go to school and denied permanent settlement. Um, others have gone through horrible, horrible experiences such as death of family members, torture and persecutions.* **Andrew, an English teacher.**

Issues related to post-migration experiences

As stated by many key informants, unaccompanied young Hazara men could experience several policy challenges post-arrival that could affect early adjustment and wellbeing. English teachers had few comments on UAMs, but four case workers said they could experience brief placements at mandatory immigration detention; a lack of permanent settlement; and deportation. Their support challenges were school dropout; poor budgeting and English language skills; stigma and bullying; and cultural differences. Rita suggested UAMs received mismatched services and inadequate transition support, which could affect transition to adulthood. Mark reported UAMs experienced educational difficulties and social exclusion at school.

> *[M]ost of them [UAMs] were finding their teachers difficult to understand, because they were using English language. And English not being their first language, they could miss to get a lot [of subject contents], they felt like their teachers were talking too fast, and they weren't considering that they were slow learners. Another thing also is that they could feel out of place [excluded] mostly thinking that while they were in school, other children were*

against them, they didn't want them, or other children were laughing at them like because they don't know how to speak in English. **Mark, a case worker.**

Most key informants suggested fUAMs experienced several contextual support challenges, based on policy, that could affect their socioeconomic participation and wellbeing. Six case workers said they could mistrust other people; face transport and employment challenges, and experience fear of authority figures, and stigma about counselling services. Six English teachers reported fUAMs could experience challenges including issues with English language training, further education, and homelessness.

Maria reported fUAMs could experience unhappiness, and overwhelming distress, affecting their psychosocial wellbeing. Susan and Mzee said fUAMs received highly reduced support including inadequate legal representation; and housing, income and employment difficulties, exposing them to initial settlement issues.

4.2.4.2 Protective factors associated with resilience

The key concepts linked to this sub-theme were personal psychological resources; environmental support services; cultural competence skills; and government policies and systems, as shown in figure 4.11.

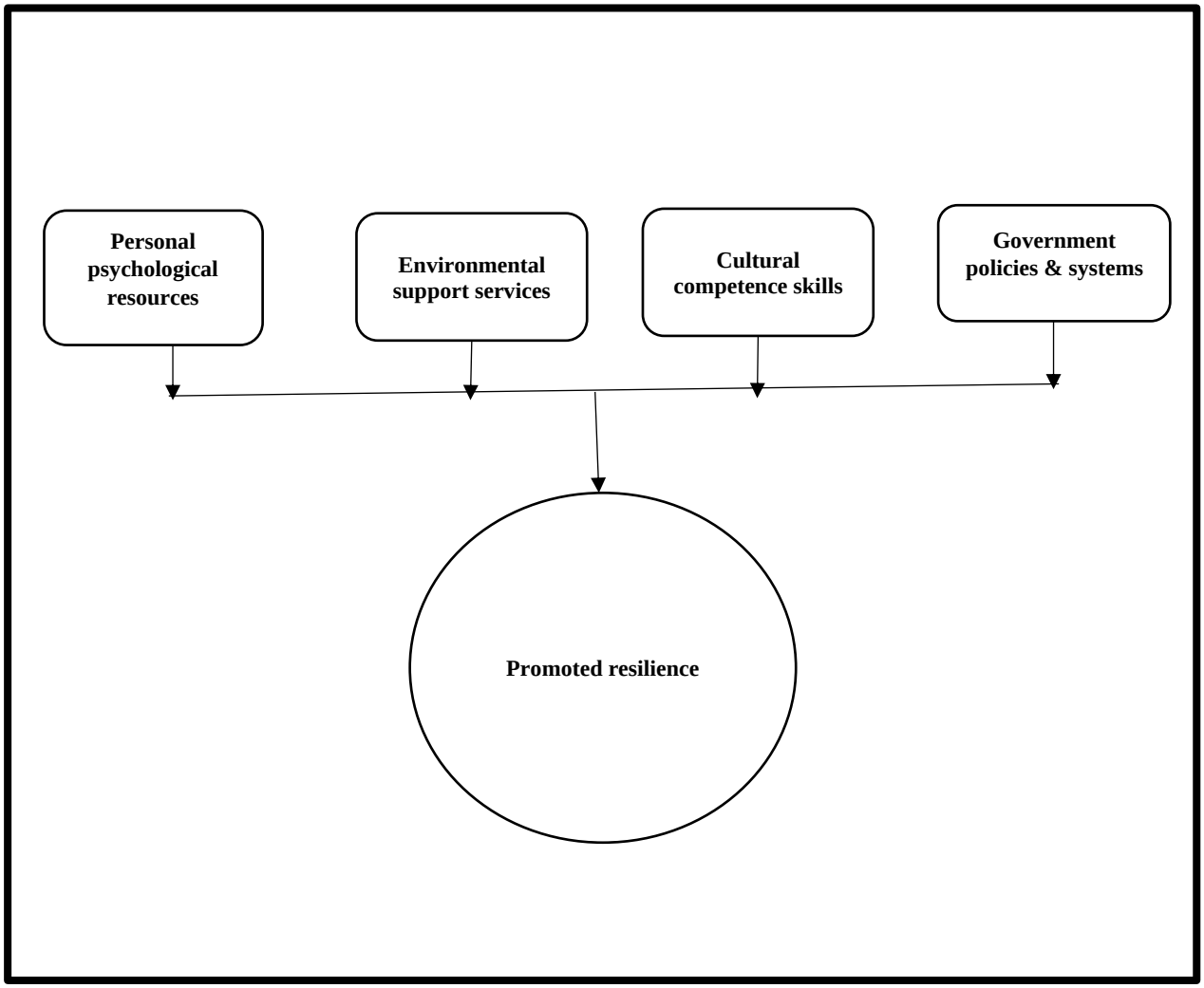

Figure 4.11. Key concepts related to protective factors.

Personal psychological resources

Key informants alluded to unaccompanied young Hazara men's positive psychological resources which helped them to cope with stressful circumstances, recovering and rebuilding their resilience. Psychological resources refer to an individual's protective factors including optimism, and self-efficacy (Hobfoll, 2002). Four case workers indicated caregivers helped UAMs to access counselling support which could promote their recovery and psychological wellbeing. Rita suggested UAMs developed positive coping strategies to solve issues including hope for a better

future and managing negative thoughts, promoting their early adjustment. Jairus reported fUAMs appeared resilient despite past trauma.

> [I]t is hard to measure the trauma or to access that traumatic experience. It is about, I would say 90% would block, you know, leave it in special place in their heads and they don't want to express it [traumatic experiences] unless… we are fully aware of, you know, topics or subjects that can trigger that [traumatic experiences]. So, you need to be aware of that [trauma experiences]. And um, they don't express that trauma, they are resilient, their ability to work and as if, you know, this [traumatic experiences] never happened, which is impressive. **Jairus, a case worker.**

Four English teachers and one case worker suggested fUAMs exhibited extraordinary capacity to recover from difficult experiences through their ambition and determination, enhancing their initial settlement. Despite showing signs of depression, they appeared cheerful and happy, and talked less about their challenges which could promote their emotional wellbeing. Carl said fUAMs did not disclose their psychological issues, possibly due to stigma.

Environmental conditions of support services

Five case workers indicated unaccompanied young Hazara men's contextual environment (the surroundings where young people live/operate) of support service provision could promote their early settlement and wellbeing. Government contracted NGOs provided UAMs with accommodation, resources, and casework support, as well as connections to and interaction with community members and peers. The MEP program was very important to promote their access to services and community participation. However, Rita suggested potential mismatch of UAMs' services. Four case workers and five English teachers noted fUAMs were linked to available

support in the community. Mzee said that fUAMs received transition support and reduced support in the mainstream community.

> *Again and of course when you are over 18, you are sort of, in the current arrangement policy, you are sort of independent, deemed independent…. they have been 17 years. As soon as they turn 18 years, we have 12 weeks of supporting you to get a house or something. That is what the government has decided to give them… Band 6 is independent, low needs. You are in the community…. we still look after you but with low support.* **Mzee, a case worker.**

Cultural competence skills

Four case workers indicated unaccompanied young Hazara men were taught culturally-appropriate skills including values, behaviours and norms in new society. Three case workers indicated male Hazara UAMs had faster cultural adaptation, but another thought this may take longer time, possibly due to case by case differences. Mohser said case workers provided minors with skills for cross-cultural competency, promoting their early adjustment.

> *This [cultural orientation] happens by their case managers who linked them with the community members or... Uh… Or even wherever they live. So, they have access to the community centres there. Well, I think they are [culturally] adjusting very well because they have a big Hazara community and… Um, i don't think they would have any problems at all.* **Mohser, a case worker**

Four case workers and three English teachers noted that independent fUAMs have opportunities to interact and engage with the people in the community, promoting their cultural connection, sense of belonging and integration.

Government policies and systems

Key informants suggested asylum-seeker and settlement policies were important for unaccompanied young Hazara men's early adjustment and wellbeing. Four case workers reported positive settlement policies ensured vulnerable UAMs were placed in community detention with intensive support, and the Immigration Minister provided guardianship and protection. Three case workers and three English teachers indicated positive government policies and systems were vital for fUAMs' early settlement, yet they were denied permanent protection placing them in limbo and integration difficulties. Mzee said the government had introduced a new policy allowing fUAMs to apply for temporary protection visas.

> *[U]nder the new asylum seeker policy law that came out in December 2015, there is what they call … Asylum Case Load, Asylum-Seeker Case Load Legacy [Resolving Asylum Legacy Caseload Act 2014] something. This is where the government, again this in short, this is a fast-tracking process.…So, they are prioritising now anyone who came uh, after August 13th, 2012, that is cut-off, will be invited to apply for their TPVs. So, the government assess whether you are worthy of asylum or not.* **Mzee, a case worker.**

Summary

Most key informants suggested that unaccompanied young Hazara men may have experienced adversity from past trauma pre-arrival and contextual challenges post-arrival, which could impact on their early lives in Australia. However, personal psychological resources, environmental support, cultural competence and positive government policies and systems could help them to cope, recover and rebuild their resilience, promoting their early settlement and wellbeing.

Individual key informants had different views, suggesting UAMs could receive mismatched services, and they may not disclose their psychological issues.

4.3 Conclusion

In conclusion, based on the three ecological levels and forms of social networks key informant perspectives indicated that:

1. Government settlement policies and systems, at macrosystem level, could result in risk or protection of vulnerable unaccompanied young Hazara men. For instance, recent shifts in immigration and settlement policy could result in their poor early adjustment and wellbeing. It is important to provide these youths with protection and permanent settlement to improve their early integration, given that the vast majority are eventually resettled in Australia.
2. At mesosystem level, the type and amount of services and support structures (the Operational Framework and transition model) were strongly linked to these unaccompanied young Hazara men's successful early adjustment and community participation. Provision of adequate services including accommodation, English language training, healthcare and legal migration services were key for UAMs' successful transition to adulthood. Independent fUAMs received support equivalent to former out-of-home care youths, however, due to past traumatic experiences and arrival close to 18 years, they may require ongoing support services to promote their community and educational participation.
3. Unaccompanied young Hazara men had varying experiences and responses to settlement support services, at microsystem level. The provision of extensive support to UAMs could result in greater motivation for educational participation and development of personal

agency, promoting their early adaptation in new society. However, despite vulnerable fUAMs experiencing cumulative adverse experiences pre-arrival and highly reduced support post-arrival, they were found to be resilient, enhancing their settlement and wellbeing.

4. Clearly, forms of social networks (i.e., sports, cultural connections) were important for unaccompanied young Hazara men's access to resources, and economic and community participation. UAMs were provided with an opportunity to have informal and formal interactions, and to develop relationships and cultural competence through the MEP and cultural orientation, while independent fUAMs had limited informal networks through peers and Hazara community members. However, their networks could be affected by limited English language skills, non-disclosure of issues, mistrust of others and negative representation, influencing their sense of belonging in new society.

Chapter 5: Discussion and Conclusion

5.1 Introduction

This chapter aims to discuss key issues raised by 12 key informants (six professional case workers and six voluntary English language teachers) supported by findings in the relevant published literature. By definition the focus of this M.Phil. was on unaccompanied young Hazara men (i.e., UAMs and fUAMs) because they have been the majority of Hazara youth, and the findings will not be relevant to young Hazara women and adult Hazara. This small sample qualitative study was not intended for generalisability (e.g., to young women and adult Hazara or other refugee groups) but was intended to make a small contribution based only on the perspectives of the 12 key informants. As discussed in this research thesis, there are major limitations to the M.Phil. research. As noted in Chapter 2, there have limited research studies that sought perspectives of service providers in Australia. The perspectives of key informants are important in understanding issues in this study. The chapter is structured to address the four research questions identified in Chapters 2.

As established in Chapter 1, the number of global refugees and asylum-seekers increased from 51.2 million in 2013 to 70.8 million in 2018 (UNHCR, 2017, 2018). In line with this, the scale of asylum-seeker boat-arrivals in Australia dramatically increased from 25 in 2007–2008 to 25,173 in 2012–2013. The top source country was Afghanistan, with the vast majority of arrivals being young males–most reportedly from the ethnic minority Hazara group (Phillips, 2017a). Ranging between 10,000 and 12,000 Afghan Hazara settled in Melbourne (Victoria Refugee Health Network, 2019; AMES, 2014). Their trajectory typically involved a three-stage migration from source country, to preliminary place of refuge, to OECD destination country (Brown, 2017). There is an emerging body of literature concerning this process.

Similarly, as demonstrated in Chapter 1 Australia provides intensive support services to onshore adult refugees to promote their settlement and wellbeing, despite experiencing settlement challenges such as unemployment and acculturation issues (Curry et al., 2018; Flatau et al., 2015). On the other hand, offshore adult asylums-seekers boat-arrivals including Afghan Hazara were likely to be provided with highly reduced support services, but may experience major settlement challenges including poor English language skills, unstable housing, and temporary visas which could have negative impact on their early adjustment and wellbeing post-arrival (Fair et al., 2018; Yeung, 2014). However, little research to date has focused on settlement service provider perceptions regarding the ways in which UAMs and fUAMs access and utilise support services (Barrie & Mendes, 2011).

The mainly small-scale qualitative global (e.g., Ní Raghallaigh & Thornton, 2017) and Australian literatures (e.g., Nardone & Correa-Velez, 2015) suggest UAMs pre-18 years are perceived to be vulnerable and need significant support services for successful transition into independent living post-care as fUAMs. The literature reviews (e.g., Hutchison & Dorsett, 2012) show, despite potential cumulative adverse experiences pre- and post-arrival, UAMs and fUAMs are also perceived to demonstrate significant resilience, apparently benefiting from current support services designed to promote their integration process and wellbeing outcomes in host countries. Integration, for the purpose of this thesis, is defined as individual youths' engagement in host culture (Sam & Berry, 2010). The global (Keles et al., 2018; Skrikas, 2014) and Australian (Katz et al., 2013) literatures highlight the importance of cultural connection and engagement for unaccompanied young people's social identity, resilience and positive early adjustment in the new society, a sub-theme that was not well explored by participants.

Using 12 key informant interviews conducted between 2015–2016, my M.Phil. thesis sought to explore the perceptions of six professional case workers (referred to as case workers) and six voluntary English language teachers (referred to as English teachers). The thesis explored vulnerable male Hazara UAMs' and fUAMs' experiences of migration trajectories and provision of support services in the multilayered socio-cultural context of Melbourne, Australia. The study examined their views on how service organisations provide support in two key post-arrival time frames to: (1) UAMs in community detention pre-18 years; and (2) fUAMs in the mainstream community post-18 years.

As established in Chapter 3, the thesis used a dual-sector case design study and employed a qualitative methodology, followed by transcription of interviews and thematic analysis of data. At a theoretical level, analysis was particularly informed by Bronfenbrenner's (1979) ecological systems theory to analyse the impact of government policies at macrosystem, mesosystem and microsystem levels, to understand current and former male Hazara UAMs' responses to support services. The study also drew upon Hagan (1994) and Massey et al.'s (1990) social networks theory, to assess how different networks are perceived to promote or hinder current and former male Hazara UAMs' experiences of migration, resource access and initial adjustment.

The following sections are discussed in this chapter:

1. Variability in key informant perspectives (following the more detailed analysis presented in Chapter 4);
2. The key research findings in relation to each of the four questions;
3. The strengths and limitations of the study;
4. The implications of the study and concluding statement.

5.2 Variability in Key Informant Perspectives

Chapter 4 described in detail the nine key themes that emerged from analysis of the key informant interviews. Generally, there was a very high level of agreement among key informants (case workers and English teachers) on UAMs' and fUAMs' support service requirements, but English teachers were far narrower in focus reflecting their volunteer status and different level of expertise. Further, in some cases there were divergent key informant perspectives and in other cases the literature identified important issues that received little key informant comments.

Moreover, English teachers had limited perspectives overall concerning UAMs' service provision because they provided voluntary support to immigrant youths including fUAMs post-18 years only in one NGO. On the other hand, case workers had far more comments about the adequacy of support provided to UAMs and fUAMs because they were paid professionals who had wide-ranging responsibilities for this process, facilitating settlement and wellbeing.

5.2.1 Divergent key informant perspectives

Key informants had highly divergent views possibly due to lack of information and/or cultural attitudes, as also demonstrate in Chapter 4. For example:

1. **Accommodation support:** This was considered critical for unaccompanied youths by both key informant perspectives and the literature (Cardoso et al., 2017; Couch, 2013), however key informants had mixed opinions regarding this. One case worker reported fUAMs could access public housing while another said they had no access to this, possibly because of case by case differences. Katz et al. (2013) clarified that non-Australian fUAMs could not access public housing because the government reserved this for Australians.
2. **School education post-18 years:** This support was perceived to be important for unaccompanied youths' socioeconomic participation, in both key informant views and the

literature (Nienhusser, 2015; Singh & Tregale, 2015). One case worker said UAMs could access further training post-18 years while another indicated they did not, possibly due to informants' unawareness of these youths' post-school education options. Australian literature stated clearly UAMs may not access free further training post-18 years, unless they paid international student fees (Hartley et al., 2018; Hirsch & Maylea, 2016).

3. **Income support:** Key informants and the literature (Martin et al., 2016; Marshall et al., 2013) confirmed that income support was vital for unaccompanied youths' integration in new society. However, while a case worker perceived financial support for fUAMs was enough an English teacher suggested it was very little, maybe because of case by case differences. An Australia government report (Buckmaster & Guppy, 2014) indicated fUAMs received reduced financial support (89% of youth allowance), yet claims they received more financial support than ordinary Australians generated a lot of controversy in the community.
4. **Sociocultural adaptation:** Key informants and the literature (Lau et al., 2018; Mansouri & Skrbis, 2013) perceived sociocultural adaptation to be very important for unaccompanied youths' initial process of adjustment and settlement. Sociocultural adaptation involves acquisition of culturally-appropriate skills and behaviours in new culture (Wilson et al., 2017). Three case workers indicated male Hazara UAMs had faster cultural adaptation, but another thought this may take longer time, possibly due to case by case differences. Australian literature (Titzmann & Lee, 2018; Sam & Berry, 2010) suggested individual immigrants' (e.g., male Hazara UAMs) sociocultural adjustment process varied based on their age, length of residence and opportunities of interactions with host-country members.

5. **Transitional support:** This was considered to be vital for UAMs' development of social skills and independence post-18 years in the mainstream community, by both key informants and the literature (Evans et al., 2018; Mendes et al., 2011). However, while a case worker reported UAMs' transition preparation took 21 days, another indicated 12 weeks, perhaps because of informants' misinformation. In Australia, transition preparation for UAMs took 4 weeks after grant of bridging visas, which could be extended for minors who were not ready to move out into mainstream community (Katz et al., 2013).

5.2.2 Issues identified by the literature that received little key informant attention

In contrast to areas of agreement, the literature raised important issues that received limited comments from key informants. For instance:

1. **Family foster care:** This was considered to be crucial for UAMs' early adjustment and emotional wellbeing by the literature in the USA (Crea et al., 2017; Carlson et al., 2012) and the UK (Sirriyeh & Ni Raghallaigh 2018; Wade et al., 2012). Only one case worker suggested the government planned to introduce a family foster care program for UAMs in Australia. The Department of Child Protection (2018) report pointed out UAMs were mainly placed in residential group-homes and rarely in foster care. Local out-of-home care youths were placed in foster care, family group homes, residential care and independent living (Campo & Commerford, 2016).
2. **Culturally inclusive English language classes:** Australian studies (Moloney & Saltmarsh, 2016; Watkins et al., 2016) pointed out the importance for teachers, including English teachers, to have skills to teach effectively culturally diverse students in their classrooms. One case worker indicated some male Hazara students felt uncomfortable with female English teachers, possibly because of their cultural/religious beliefs. According to Shayan

(2015) male students in Afghanistan were more likely to be taught by male but not female teachers because of cultural/religious reasons, which could influence their perception of female English teachers in Australian classroom context.

3. **Access to doctors' support:** The literature (Østergaard et al., 2017; Newman & Locarnini, 2015) described the importance for newly-arrived youths (i.e., UAMs) to receive doctors' support. One case worker said UAMs experienced difficulties in accessing and articulating effectively their health issues to doctors, probably because of linguistic/cultural reasons. Australian literature (Carozzi & Napper, 2014; Vanstone, 2012) confirmed asylum-seekers (i.e., UAMs) could experience barriers to doctors' support due to reduced translating and interpreting services (TIS). Vanstone (2012) defined TIS as a federally-funded free service that ensures effective communication between service providers and clients.

Having discussed this variability in views, the following sections directly discusses findings related to the four research questions.

5.3 Key Research Findings–Research Question 1

As defined in the methodology section in Chapter 3 (pp. 93–94) and throughout this M.Phil. thesis, this study is based on small research sample of 12 key informants which greatly limited the capacity to answer specific questions, for example Hazara minors' age and gender in migration. As stated in this thesis Chapter (p. 1), my research focus was to explore support services provided to UAMs and fUAMs during their early settlement period.

The first research question explored ***How are male Hazara UAMs and fUAMs, who migrated to Melbourne as unaccompanied minors, perceived by professional case workers and voluntary English language teachers to experience the migration trajectory?*** Surprisingly, as demonstrated in Chapter 4, key informants had limited number of comments regarding this

question, because it was not the main focus of this study. Particularly, the following two issues received little attention: (1) push factors for migration, and (2) male Hazara minors' age and gender.

Key informants had general knowledge regarding unaccompanied young Hazara men's migration push factors but had very few comments about likely pull factors to the host country (except one English teacher) which both the Australian and global literature explored in-depth. Push factors were identified by multiple studies of Hazara youth conducted in Australia (Koser & Marsden, 2013), Europe (Schuster, 2017; Mougne, 2010) and North America (Micinski, 2018; Nader & Rastgar, 2018). Pull factors to third countries of settlement (e.g., safety, education, employment) also received significant attention, most notably by research studies in Australia (McAuliffe & Jayasuriya, 2016; Correa-Velez et al., 2015) and Belgium (Vervliet et al., 2015).

Further, key informants had few comments concerning the age and gender of unaccompanied young Hazara men in migration flows, possibly because these were not explored further during interviews. In contrast, Australian qualitative researchers (Correa-Velez et al., 2014; Crock & Kenny, 2012) described four reasons for Hazara families' preference to send the oldest male minors overseas. These minors (1) had a better chance to succeed in dangerous migration journeys, (2) would avoid forced military conscription by the Taliban, (3) could secure employment and education in destination countries, and (4) may not be deported by destination countries.

Given the minimal responses provided by the 12 key informants on this issue, research question 1 will not be further explored here.

5.4 Key Research Findings–Research Question 2

The second research question explored ***What are male Hazara UAMs compared to fUAMs perceived expectations and needs of settlement support services at multiple levels in the early adjustment process?*** As described in Chapter 3, Bronfenbrenner's (1979, 2005, 2006) ecological systems theory suggests the importance of understanding contextual interaction between young people (e.g., UAMs/fUAMs) and people who provide support (e.g., case workers, English teachers). Having demonstrated the variability of key informant views in the context of the literature, the next section of this chapter discusses in greater depth the following five key findings, based on three socioecological levels–macrosystem, mesosystem and microsystem:

1. The importance of English language training;
2. Enabling development of self-sufficiency and personal agency;
3. Provision of effective casework support;
4. Establishment of a formal funded settlement support structure for minors;
5. Adequate training in employment, financial skills and health literacy.

5.4.1 The importance of English language training

Bronfenbrenner (1979, 2005) and Kail and Cavanaugh (2013), suggested youths' socioecological contexts have strong influence on their support provision and wellbeing. Consistent with this, at macrosystem level key informant views and the mostly small-scale qualitative literature strongly affirmed positive settlement policy in 2013–2015 enabled male Hazara UAMs pre-18 years to be provided with government formal funded support services including English language training. However, this support became reduced for independent fUAMs post-18 years, impacting on their community participation at microsystem level. In contrast, refugees of any age receive full government-funded English language training. Key

informants and the literature affirmed the importance of providing unaccompanied youths with English language training, to enhance their early adjustment and community participation.

To be described next is unaccompanied youths' English language training involving: (1) English teachers, (2) English language material resources, (3) structure of English language training, and (4) literacy skills in English language learning.

5.4.1.1 The role of teachers in English language training

Perspectives of key informants highlighted the vital support provided by professional English teachers to unaccompanied young Hazara men which could promote their English language skills for better educational and socioeconomic participation, in line with mesosystem level. In Australia, UAMs accessed full professional English teachers in school. After this, fUAMs can access other English language services offered in voluntary basis by volunteer English teachers who have varying expertise.

Australian and global studies indicated UAMs received adequate English teachers' support, with varying length of support in Australia and global countries. Australian qualitative (Due et al., 2015; Katz et al., 2013) and survey (Windle & Miller, 2012) studies showed UAMs were generally provided with professional English teachers up to 18 years which could promote their development of English language skills. The UK (Gladwell & Chetwynd, 2018) and the North American (Thomas, 2016; Dryden-Peterson, 2015; Walls & Little, 2005) studies suggested that UAMs were provided with adequate English teachers, with the length of support varying based on policies of different countries.

Challenges relating to English teachers' support for fUAMs featured in Australian and global studies, suggesting teachers could have inadequate training and offer limited support in Australia and global countries. In Australia, asylum-seekers (i.e., fUAMs) were likely to receive

reduced English teachers' support, which could affect their further education (Due et al., 2016; Terry et al., 2016; Onsando, 2014; Hammond, 2012). The UK (Peterson et al., 2017) and Canadian (MacNevin, 2012) studies indicated English teachers were likely to have inadequate training and provide voluntary teaching alongside insufficient number of hours to linguistically diverse asylum-seekers (i.e., fUAMs).

5.4.1.2 The role of instructional resources in English language training

In line with Bronfenbrenner's mesosystem level, key informants indicated UAMs were provided with educational instructional resources including an English language curriculum, books and teaching aids aimed to promote English language skills. However, fUAMs received highly reduced resources including technologies and lacked a curriculum, due to a government policy (at macrosystem level) that reduced this support, which could impact on their English language training, at microsystem level.

Australian and global literature extensively explored English language instructional resources for UAMs, showing Australia and global countries offered these, but the length of support was dependent on country-specific policies. Australian qualitative studies (Due et al., 2016; Due et al., 2015; Katz et al., 2013) and reports (Settlement Council of Australia (SCOA), 2018; Department of Education & Training (DET), 2017) stated UAMs pre-18 years were provided with free English language resources, including curriculum, textbooks and computers. Additionally, North American (Aydin et al., 2017; Skrikas, 2014) and the UK (Mallows, 2013) studies indicated UAMs received enough English language resources to promote instruction, however the length of this support varied based on the policies of the USA federal states, Canadian provinces/territories and the UK's devolved nations of Scotland, England, Wales, and Northern Ireland.

English language instructional resources for fUAMs also received attention in Australian and global research studies, suggesting these could become reduced in Australia and global countries. Australian literature (Hartley et al., 2018; AMES, 2016b; de Heer et al., 2016) highlighted government policy ensured asylum-seekers (i.e., fUAMs) were offered limited to no English language instructional resources. Literature in North America (de Richoufftz, 2018; Martin-Beltran & Peercy, 2014) and the UK (Refugee Action, 2017; Mallows, 2013; Gladwell, 2011) indicated asylum-seekers (i.e., fUAMs) could be provided with reduced English language resources mainly through community-based organisations. Yet, the level and length of instructional resource support was dependent on specific settlement policies of the UK, the USA and Canada.

5.4.1.3 Structure of English language training

In agreement with Bronfenbrenner's macrosystem level, key informants perceived that government educational policy determined the structure of English language training. For instance, UAMs' English language training involved basic, intermediate, and advanced levels, as well as 510 free hours of study in government schools and language centres. After this, fUAMs post-18 years received other English language services, especially in NGOs that offered voluntary, limited and mixed classes, influencing development of English language skills.

The structure of English language training for UAMs featured in Australian and global literature, suggesting varied levels of class placement and length of training in Australian and North American contexts. In Australia, federal government contracted select service organisations to assess and offer UAMs free English language training (mainly in government schools and language centres) in four language levels (beginner, emerging, developing, consolidated) up to18 years (Due et al., 2016; NSW Department of Education & Communities, 2014; Katz et al., 2013).

The USA federal states provided guidelines to schools and voluntary/religious organisations offering UAMs with English language training (Cardoso et al., 2017), while Canadian provincial and territorial governments funded and monitored English language training for UAMs (Skrikas, 2014).

Australian and global studies examining the structure of English language training demonstrated government policies generally offered limited hours of training to fUAMs in Australia, North America and the UK. For example, based on Australian government policy fUAMs may not access the Adult Migrant English Program (AMEP), but are offered basic and voluntary English language training in three levels (beginner, intermediate, advanced) by NGOs and religious organisations (ASRC, 2019; Scanlon Institute, 2019). Asylum-seekers (i.e., fUAMs) in the UK were offered basic English language training in five levels, by voluntary organisations (Foster & Mackley, 2017; Mallows, 2013; Elwyn et al., 2012). In the USA, asylum-seekers (i.e., fUAMs) received inadequate English language training (120–160 hours) in three levels (beginner, intermediate, advanced) by private organisations and NGOs (Batalova & Fix, 2019; McHugh & Doxsee, 2018).

5.4.1.4 The role of literacy skills in English language training

As indicated by Bronfenbrenner's mesosystem level, key informants thought that literacy in English language was critical for unaccompanied young Hazara men's development of English language proficiency. UAMs were taught literacy skills, such as reading, speaking, phonetics, to promote their English language learning. On the other hand, fUAMs were offered reduced support in literacy skills, despite experiencing difficulties in learning English.

It is important to note that Australian studies examined extensively literacy in English language for UAMs compared to global studies, suggesting minors were generally provided with

adequate support in Australia, the UK and North America. Multiple Australian studies (Due et al., 2015; Katz et al., 2013; de Courcy et al., 2012; Woods, 2009; Brown et al., 2006) clearly stated most newly-arrived immigrant youths (i.e., UAMs) had basic English language skills (i.e., grammar, spelling) and no literacy in their first language, receiving intensive literacy skills to promote English language learning. Studies in the UK (Gladwell & Chetwynd, 2018) and North America (Wofford & Tibi, 2018; Pierce, 2015) showed UAMs were taught literacy skills in host-country language, improving their self-expression and interactions with others, despite lack of literacy activities at home and bilingual curriculum at school.

Literacy in English language for fUAMs was also examined in Australian and global studies, indicating they could access reduced support, despite their low literacy levels in Australian, the UK, and the USA. Australian studies (Earnest et al., 2015; Fozdar & Hartley, 2013) pointed out asylum-seekers' (i.e., fUAMs) illiteracy levels were significantly higher than skilled migrants, yet they were offered highly reduced support. Studies in the UK (Blommaert et al., 2009) and the USA (Richwine, 2017; Hooper et al., 2016; Adelman & Taylor, 2015; Ginsberg, 2015) stated newly-arrived asylum-seekers' (i.e., fUAMs) literacy levels may improve after five years because of their motivation to learn, and interaction with local people.

5.4.2 Enabling the development of self-sufficiency and personal agency

An individual youth's socioecological context, places where young people live and interact with other people and institutions, may influences social service provision, which could promote their self-sufficiency and personal agency, as indicated by Bronfenbrenner's microsystem level. Self-sufficiency refers to an individual's acceptable level of functioning through adequate informal/formal support from service organisations and caregivers (Bannink et al., 2015). Personal

agency refers to an individual's capacity to act independently in his/her environment (Orgocka, 2012).

Beyond English language training, in line with Bronfenbrenner's macrosystem level, key informants and the mostly small-scale qualitative literature alluded to the importance of positive government settlement policies in ensuring provision of support services. As demonstrated in Chapter 1 and key informant perceptions, due to Australia's shifting asylum-seeker and settlement policies in 2013–2015, UAMs pre-18 years (who arrived in 2008–2013) in community detention received government formal funded intensive support services up to 18 years, at mesosystem level. However, independent fUAMs post-18 years in mainstream community were offered reduced support.

The Australian and global literature findings indicated delivery of support to UAMs was much more generous in Australia compared to the USA. Australian qualitative researchers (Guerra et al., 2015; Martin, 2015) highlighted UAMs were placed in community detention with full services and guardianship protection, resulting in positive functioning in new society, with the Home Stretch campaigning for extension of this support from 18 to 21 years (Mendes, 2018). Studies in the USA (Cardoso et al., 2017) and Europe (Wernesjo, 2019; Liden & Nyhlen, 2015; Hancilova et al., 2011) indicated Nordic countries offered UAMs with well-coordinated and generous system of support overall (i.e., municipalities in Sweden) compared to the USA which used voluntary organisations.

Australian and global literature indicated generally reduced support and legal protection for fUAMs which could result poor early settlement outcomes in Australia, Europe and Canada. Policy challenges for fUAMs post-18 years in Australia included highly reduced support, and a lack of family reunion and permanent protection post-18 years, which could result in their precarity

and mental health issues (Fleay et al., 2016; Martin, 2015). Research studies in Europe (Ni Raghallaigh & Thornton, 2017; Hancilova et al., 2011) and Canada (Kronick et al., 2015) indicated asylum-seekers (i.e., fUAMs) could experience inadequate legal support and deportation, negatively affecting their sense of belonging and settlement outcomes.

5.4.3 Provision of casework support

As suggested by Bronfenbrenner's macrosystem level, government policy has a strong influence on an individual youth's contextual conditions of support. Unsurprisingly (given the nature of research sample), key informant perceptions, and the literature indicated case workers generally provided essential support to unaccompanied asylum-seeker youths, promoting their early adjustment and wellbeing. Based on my observation as a case worker, service organisations employed qualified and culturally-appropriate case workers. Positive settlement policy in 2013–2015 enabled UAMs in community detention to be provided with extensive casework support, enabling them to access available settlement services, at mesosystem level. However, fUAMs in the mainstream community were offered highly reduced casework support including minimal links to services which could impact on their development of social skills and independence, at microsystem level. Yet, the literature indicated most minors arrived close to 18 years and soon moved to mainstream community (CMY, 2013; Barrie & Mendes, 2011), and may still need casework support to enhance adjustment.

The Australian and global studies widely explored casework support for UAMs, suggesting variability in the level of this support, aimed to promote their resilience and settlement outcomes. Casework support was considered to be very important because case workers linked UAMs to important support systems and care, empowering their early adjustment process, according to multiple Australian qualitative researchers (Parsell et al., 2017; Katz et al., 2013; Marfleet et al.,

2013). Literature in the USA (Shier et al., 2011) and Europe (Wernesjo, 2019; Hancilova et al., 2011) stated case workers oversaw the delivery of culturally-appropriate care and services to UAMs, with the level of support varying because of policies of different countries. Other European authors (Lems et al., 2019; Otto, 2019; Gustafson et al., 2012; O'Higgins, 2012) argued that case workers expected UAMs to be vulnerable and passive, yet they exhibited significant strengths which could improve their settlement and wellbeing outcomes.

According to Australian and global studies examining casework support, fUAMs were provided with highly reduced support but personal strengths could promote their early settlement. An NGO report (CMY, 2013) indicated most vulnerable fUAMs arrived in Australia aged close to 18 and may require more support. Australian authors (Maylea & Hirsch, 2018; Nelson et al., 2017) noted, despite their casework support becoming highly reduced, their hope and personal strengths helped them to deal with settlement issues. Qualitative studies in Europe (Wright, 2014) and the USA (Evans et al., 2018; Barbee et al., 2011) indicated asylum-seekers (i.e., fUAMs) had low crime rates, despite experiencing limited levels of casework support.

5.4.4 Establishment of a formal funded settlement support structure

According to Santrock (2012) and Bronfenbrenner (1979) positive government policy develops structures of support which could improve young people's quality and context of service provision. Perspectives of key informants and the mostly small-scale Australian and global literature identified government policy that established government formal funded settlement support structure for unaccompanied asylum-seeker youths. This support structure enabled management and delivery of services in community detention, and successful transition of unaccompanied youths into mainstream community post-care. As a result, these youths could achieve positive integration outcomes. In the Australian and Victorian case study context, key

settlement policy support structures and programs were: (1) the Operational Framework, (2) the Meaningful Engagement program, and (3) transitional support model.

5.4.4.1 The use of the Operational Framework

Perspectives of key informants indicated government policy provided the Operational Framework that was important in service provision, in line with macrosystem level. The Operational Framework refers to a formal document used by settlement providers to provide services to UAMs in community detention (Katz et al., 2013). At mesosystem level, UAMs received full support in community detention. However, minors may experience barriers due to implementation of the Framework including their unawareness of some services that may impact on early settlement and integration, at microsystem level. From an analysis of Australian and global literature, it appears OECD countries adopted highly variable policy approaches in UAMs' support despite not mentioning if a framework was used in the provision of support to independent fUAMs post-care.

The Australian studies explored use of the Operational Framework (in Australia) and global studies examined general policy guidelines (in OECD countries) for UAMs. Australian qualitative researchers (Katz et al., 2013) stated the Operational Framework used in community detention was aimed to guide delivery of support services to UAMs, promoting their development and early adjustment. Studies in the EU (O'Higgins, 2012; Hancilova et al., 2011) and the USA (Cardoso et al., 2017) indicated different countries used varied policy guidelines in vulnerable UAMs' support services provision which could enhance their care and personal agency.

Barriers to implementation of the Operational Framework (in Australia) and policy guidelines (in OECD countries) were also explored in Australian and global literature, which could impact on UAMs' early settlement. Australia's qualitative researchers (Katz et al., 2013) and

multiple reports (DIBP, 2016c; MYAN, 2012, 2015ab) indicated use of a formal Operational Framework in community detention. However, the Framework was negatively impacted by rapid expansion of the community detention program in 2010 and changing characteristics of newly-arrived minors, affecting staff and resource allocation, and minors' support. Studies in the USA (Torrico, 2010) and Europe (Newbigging et al., 2010) reported use of policy guidelines which could be interpreted and practiced differently by service providers, and UAMs may become unaware of some support entitlements.

By contrast, it appears the Operational Framework was not used in fUAMs' support in Australian context because they were considered to be independent (Harvey et al., 2017; Onsando, 2014). Authors in the USA (Menjívar & Perreira, 2017) and Europe (Humphris & Sigona, 2016; Hancilova et al., 2011) suggested varied policy approaches were used in different countries for fUAMs' care.

5.4.4.2 The Meaningful Engagement Program

As demonstrated by Bronfenbrenner's macrosystem level, key informants indicated that government policy provided for the Meaningful Engagement Program (MEP) that was crucial for unaccompanied young Hazara men's participation in new society. The MEP refers to a government-supported program for minors to engage and participate in activities (Katz et al., 2013). Australian government funded MEP enabled UAMs' participation in sports, gym, and religious activities which could improve their early adjustment process. However, independent fUAMs were not provided with MEP support but offered limited support to form networks and integrate, at microsystem level.

The Australian literature explored MEP program in-depth, but global literature did not establish existence of comparable MEP programs in OECD countries, only describing policies that

provided UAMs with networking support in new society. In Australia, UAMs received MEP support to promote their engagement in meaningful activities including sports, and cultural connections to host and heritage community members, improving their community participation and sense of belonging, despite lack of information and choices in activities (Alam & Imran, 2015; Katz et al., 2013). Multiple studies in Europe (Pasic, 2017; McDonald, 2016; Sorgen, 2015) and North America (Socha et al., 2016; Denov & Bryan, 2014) reported UAMs were provided with different levels of networking support based on country-specific policies which could promote their social inclusion and wellbeing.

By contrast, it seems that fUAMs in an Australian context did not access MEP support (Mansouri & Johns, 2016; CMY, 2013; Mansouri & Skrbis, 2013). Many studies in Europe (Marten et al., 2019; McDonald, 2016; Ni Raghallaigh, 2014) and Canada (Hynie, 2018; Hynie et al., 2011) indicated policy approaches were used in different countries for asylum-seekers' (i.e., fUAMs) networking support to promote their integration in new society.

5.4.4.3 Importance of transitional support model

In line with Bronfenbrenner's macrosystem level, key informants perceived that transitional support model was vital for unaccompanied young Hazara men, enabling them to develop social skills and independence for better adjustment process post-care. Transition support model refers to practical and social skills for adulthood (Mendes et al., 2011). At mesosystem level, key informants reported UAMs pre-18 years were provided with skills by case workers and carers for successful transitional into independent living post-18 years in the mainstream community. However, challenges to UAMs' transitional preparation included inadequate support structure which could impact on their adjustment process in society post-care, at microsystem level. Based

on analysis of Australian and global literature, it seems OECD countries adopted highly variable policy approaches in UAMs' transition into mainstream community.

As stated in the Australian and global studies examining transitional support model, UAMs received transition preparations which was based on Australian, the EU and North American policies. In Australia, UAMs were provided with transition preparation through informal and formal activities in care, by caregivers including case workers (Katz et al., 2013; Mendes et al., 2011). Researchers in the EU (Pasic, 2017; Crawley, 2010) and North America (Evans et al., 2018; Socha et al., 2016) stated UAMs were provided with transition preparations to promote their adjustment post-care, with varied policy guidelines for their transitional pathways in different countries.

Challenges in UAMs' transitional support were also examined, showing these could have negative effects on their independence and early adjustment post-care. Australian qualitative researchers (Beauchamp, 2016; Katz et al., 2013) pointed out UAMs' transitional preparations were carried out quickly, possibly due to shortage of staff and funds, recommending the need to strengthen their planning. Australian NGO reports (CMY, 2018; Brotherhood of St. Laurence, 2015) confirmed existence of a transitional pilot program that extended support to vulnerable immigrant youths (including fUAMs) in mainstream community post-care. In Europe, UAMs were likely to face transition preparation challenges including ineffective communication from caregivers, and a lack of support from family, affecting their community participation post-care (Lyamouri-Bajja, 2014; Heinz, 2009).

5.4.5 Training in employment, and financial and health literacy skills

According to Kail and Cavanaugh (2013) and Bronfenbrenner and Morris (2006), in line with mesosystem level, an individual young person provided with contextual support to interact

with others (e.g., caregivers) and to access service institutions (i.e., schools) could improve his/her development of essential skills for use in future. From this perspective, the views of key informants and the mostly small-scale qualitative studies suggested unaccompanied asylum-seeker youths were provided with training and skills which could promote their socioeconomic participation and early integration outcomes, at microsystem level. Socioeconomic refers to interaction of social and economic factors including income, employment and education (Baker, 2014). These were: (1) training in employment and financial skills, and (2) health literacy skills. From an analysis of Australian and global literature, it appears OECD countries adopted highly variable policy approaches in unaccompanied youths' employment support, financial skills, and health literacy skills, which could improve their settlement and wellbeing outcomes.

5.4.5.1 Essential employability and financial skills

As perceived by key informants, provision of essential employability and financial skills was very important for unaccompanied young Hazara men's socioeconomic participation, as established by Bronfenbrenner's mesosystem level. UAMs were provided with income support and essential employability skills in community detention, similar to local out-of-home care youths. After this fUAMs, who had varied work-rights, had reduced income, employment support, and financial literacy skills which could impact on their early adjustment process and wellbeing outcomes, at microsystem level.

As stated by Australian and global literature, UAMs were provided with income, essential employability skills and financial literacy, but the level of support may vary based on policies in Australia, the EU and Canada. Australian qualitative researchers (Katz et al., 2013; Marshall et al., 2013) highlighted government provided UAMs with allowances enough to meet their daily needs (similar to those provided to local out-of-home care youths), as well as budgeting and

employability skills (e.g., good communication and reliability), which could promote their socio-economic participation. Studies in the EU (Martin et al., 2016; Hancilova et al., 2011; Heinz, 2009) and Canada (Skrikas, 2014) reported UAMs were provided with income, transition to employment support, and financial management skills which were dependent on country-specific policies and legislation.

Australians and global studies also explored fUAMs' income, employment and financial management support, suggesting income and financial support was generally reduced but employment was dependent on work-right policies in Australia, Europe and the USA. Multiple Australian researchers (Obschonka & Hahn, 2018; Kooy & Randrianarisoa, 2017; Hartley & Fleay, 2014) indicated asylum-seekers (i.e., fUAMs) receive reduced financial assistance set at 89% of Youth Allowance (about $492.60 fortnightly). Plus, employment support was dependent on their work-rights, with those having no work-rights likely to experience employment difficulties. Research studies in Europe (Wernesjo, 2019; Martin et al., 2016; Hancilova et al., 2011) and the USA (Amuedo-Dorantes & Antman, 2017) pointed out asylum-seekers (i.e., fUAMs) had very little to no income and employment support, with work-rights varying based on country-specific policies and guidelines, which could undermine their socioeconomic participation.

5.4.5.2 Health literacy skills

In line with Bronfenbrenner's mesosystem level, key informants perceived that health literacy helped to facilitate unaccompanied young Hazara men's access and utilisation of healthcare services. Riggs et al. (2016) defined health literacy as an individual's ability to understand and use healthcare information. UAMs were provided with health literacy skills, through federally-funded translating and interpreting services (TIS), which enabled them to

articulate health issues and to develop knowledge on Australian healthcare system, at mesosystem level. However, fUAMs were provided with minimal training in health literacy because they were considered to have knowledge about this, yet linguistic and cultural challenges could hinder their access to and use of healthcare services.

It is important to note limited number of Australian and global literature that explored health literacy for UAMs, compared to fUAMs, indicating UAMs received support which was dependent on Australian, European and Canadian policies. In Australia, vulnerable UAMs were provided with health information through TIS, enhancing their access to healthcare services (CMY, 2013; Katz et al., 2013). European (Baauw et al., 2018; El-Awad et al., 2017) and Canadian (Kirmayer et al., 2011) researchers suggested UAMs received health literacy skills, including patient-doctor communication and knowledge about treatments, to promote their use of healthcare services, but the scale of this support depended on country-specific policies.

Health literacy skills for fUAMs was also explored extensively in both the Australian and global literature, suggesting this support may be reduced based on policies of Australia, and European and North American countries. Multiple Australian researchers (Au et al., 2019; Riggs et al., 2016; May et al., 2014; Slewa-Younan et al., 2014) revealed immigrants (i.e., fUAMs) may have inadequate understanding and knowledge about treatment of health problems resulting in low uptake of health services, due to reduced interpreter services. Other Australian researchers (Naccarella et al., 2012) recommended culturally-appropriate healthcare information that was in a range of languages. European (Razum et al., 2016; Wangdahl et al., 2014, 2015) and North American (Santos et al., 2018; Floyd & Sakellariou, 2017) researchers clearly highlighted policy variation in immigrants' (i.e., fUAMs) health literacy training in different countries, to strengthen their help-seeking behaviour.

In the preceding section, key informant views and relevant literature indicate host governments' support service provision is not perfect, yet there is consensus on unaccompanied youths' low crime rate and resilience suggesting this support is reasonably effective. The next section addresses findings related to research question 3, on unaccompanied youths' access to different forms of social networks.

5.5 Key Research Findings–Research Question 3

The third research question examined ***What forms of social networks do male Hazara UAMs and fUAMs access post-arrival and how are these networks perceived to affect their early adjustment?*** As established in Chapter 3, Wells (2011) and Hagan (1998) described social networks as repeated individual interactions and relationships facilitated by structures, sociocultural ties, trust and information, and how they influence individual youths' migration and settlement. As demonstrated in Chapter 4, social and cultural adaptation is a minor theme which indicates that specific forms of social networking opportunities (i.e., social media, sports, recreation activities) and cultural engagement (i.e. connections to host and heritage culture, and religious activities) have the capacity to aid unaccompanied young Hazara men's socioeconomic and community participation, promoting their early adjustment and wellbeing outcomes post-migration. This section of the chapter discusses in-depth the following three key findings:

1. The importance of sociocultural adaptation and social networking;
2. The influence of trust and self-disclosure;
3. The impact of media, political, and public discourses.

5.5.1 Importance of sociocultural adaptation and social networking

According to Hagan (1994), in Chapter 3, cultural connection and engagement in activities provides newly-arrived immigrants (i.e., UAMs/fUAMs) with meaningful ties and support. In line

with this, key informants perceived sociocultural knowledge to be vital for unaccompanied young Hazara men's development of networks in new society. Key informants reported UAMs were provided with networks and cultural skills, through a formal federally-funded MEP program (see 5.4.4.2 above), to enable them to interact with peers, and both host/Australian and heritage/Hazara cultures and to engage in activities including sports, boosting their cultural knowledge and competency which could promote their resilience in new society. Besides, they raised concerns about fUAMs who lacked MEP support, and who also experienced social and ethnic identity, linguistic and cultural issues which could influence their social networking. Petersen et al. (2012) defined ethnic identity as an ethnic group that an individual belongs to.

To promote cultural adjustment and networking, UAMs were provided with the MEP support in Australia and policy approaches in European and North American countries. Australian researchers (Lau et al., 2018; Katz et al., 2013) reported UAMs were provided with formal government-funded MEP program to engage in activities that boosted their networking and were also linked to ethnic/religious organisations. Their cultural adjustment was determined by time in Australia, with males adjusting faster than females. However, the authors indicated barriers for UAMs included perceived discrimination and unawareness of Australian culture. Although they did not mention MEP program, research studies in Europe (Keles et al., 2018; Lyamouri-Bajja, 2014) and North America (Socha et al., 2016; Skrikas, 2014) highlighted UAMs' policies promoting sociocultural orientation that helped them to adapt to new society, with the scope of this support varying in different host-countries.

It is also noteworthy to mention fUAMs in Australia did not access formal government-funded MEP program which was offered to newly arrived UAMs. Australian and global literature that focused on fUAMs indicated reduced social networks and cultural knowledge which could

influence their social networking. Australian qualitative researchers (Correa-Velez et al., 2015; Mansouri & Skrbis, 2013) indicated limited sociocultural support for asylum-seekers (i.e., fUAMs) maybe influenced by lack of visas, homelessness, and emotional issues. Research studies in Europe (Hancilova et al., 2011; Sam & Berry, 2010) and Canada (Rivera et al., 2016; Moztarzadeh & O'Rourke, 2015) appeared to suggest reduced intercultural support for immigrants (i.e., fUAMs) because of barriers including lack of opportunities to interact with peers and perceived exclusion by host-community members.

5.5.2 The influence of trust and self-disclosures

According to Flores-Yeffal (2014) and Hagan (1994), newly-arrived immigrants' (i.e., UAMs, fUAMs) trust was important in developing relationships with friends, and host/own ethnic communities, improving their adjustment process. Consistent with this, key informants indicated unaccompanied young Hazara men's trust, and revealing of personal experiences and needs were crucial for developing networks necessary to access services in the community. UAMs were supported to express their experiences and needs, despite many being silent about their issues and refusing to engage with caregivers due to trust and emotional issues. They also identified barriers for fUAMs including fear of visa rejection, cultural differences and poor English language skills which could influence their interaction and connections with other people in new society.

According to Australian and global literature that explored UAMs' trust and self-disclosure, minors who disclosed needs and trusted others had better networks and integration. Many researchers in Australia (Laughland-Booÿ et al., 2014; Crock, 2006; Kholi, 2005) suggested UAMs required positive welcome by local Australians, as well as the need to talk about needs to their caregivers, to improve their support and sense of belonging. European (Van Os et al., 2018; Ni Raghallaigh, 2014) and Canadian (Beiser et al., 2015; Edge et al., 2014) research studies

showed fUAMs may mistrust other people, and exhibit selective disclosure of issues, which acted as their coping strategies.

fUAMs' trust and self-disclosure also featured in the Australian and global literature, suggesting the importance for these in enhancing their social networking. Australian research studies (Lenette, 2015; Laughland-Booÿ et al., 2014) suggested asylum-seekers (i.e., fUAMs) were likely to mistrust and be suspicious of host-community members which could hinder their opportunities to interact and share personal experiences and needs in new society. European studies (da Silva et al., 2018; Hynes, 2017) stated their experiences of fear, prolonged trauma, and harsh immigration laws could affect engagement and connections with other people. More research exploration is needed on UAMs' (mis)trust and self-disclosures during early adjustment period.

5.5.3 The impact of media, political and public discourses

Eberl et al. (2018) and Massey et al. (2016) suggested social networks of immigrant youths (i.e., unaccompanied youths) can be promoted or hindered by factors including media, political and public discourses, which could influence their social inclusion and integration. In this regard, key informants emphasized the role of negative discourses in shaping unaccompanied young Hazara men's social networking in new society. UAMs were perceived by the Australian public to receive better services than locals, a perception that was not true and could affect their interactions and connection with others in new society. On the other hand, despite most Australians showing tolerance and acceptance of fUAMs, the media and political debates portrayed them in a negative way which could influence their networking opportunities and early integration.

It is important to note the limited number of Australian and global studies that examined media, public, and political discourses about UAMs, with both showing negative debates had the capacity to influence their development of social networking. In Australian context, Katz et al.

(2013) pointed out the Australian public perceived UAMs as idlers whose status was unequal to locals, which could influence their engagement and relationships. Research studies in the UK (McLaughlin, 2018) and the USA (Sultana, 2013) pointed out that media and political debates portrayed UAMs as being aggressive influencing their interactions with others, though these debates would vary in different countries.

The Australian and global studies also explored in-depth the influence of media, political and public discourses on fUAMs, both showing negative perceptions could be detrimental to their network formation. Multiple Australian researchers (Cooper et al., 2017; Pedersen & Hartley, 2015) highlighted negative public perceptions about asylum-seekers (i.e., fUAMs) were linked to perceived lenient asylum-seeker system and fear of Islamic terrorism. Yet, an Australian survey study (Khawaja & Wotherspoon, 2015) reported local people had showed positive attitudes by hosting asylum-seekers. Research studies in Europe (Eberl et al., 2018; Giorgi &Vitale, 2017) and North America (Hynie, 2018; Gilbert, 2013; Steimel, 2010) indicated the media and public debates tend to portray asylum-seekers (i.e., fUAMs) as criminals and "bogus" refugees, which could influence their early adjustment in new society.

Together, the above section described key informant views in the context of the literature, showing the importance of providing unaccompanied youths with support to develop effective networks to improve their early integration and wellbeing process. The next section discusses findings related to research question 4, about risk and protective factors for these youths' settlement and wellbeing.

5.6 Key Research Findings–Research Question 4

The fourth research question explored ***What risk and protective factors appear to influence male Hazara youths' early settlement and wellbeing outcomes?*** Daniel (2010) defined

risk as an individual's exposure to abuse or harm that may result in adversity. Adversity refers to an individual's traumatic experiences and circumstances (Noltemeyer & Bush, 2013). Protective factors refer to personal attributes (e.g., coping strategies) and resources (i.e., support services) that cumulatively buffer, mediate or moderate the effects of risk, rebuilding resilience (Toumbourou et al., 2014). The generally understood definition of resilience (from Latin word *resilire*) is a person's capacity to bounce back from challenges and overcome adversity, resulting in positive adaptation and functioning (Hariharan & Rana, 2017; Ruiz-Casares et al., 2014). Resilience is both a dynamic process involving multiple factors and strategies over time, and an outcome focusing on maintenance of functionality in presence of adversity (Ungar, 2019b; Bonanno et al., 2011).

As established in Chapter 4 and the mostly small-scale qualitative studies, unaccompanied young Hazara men experienced risks but were overall perceived to be resilient (similar to Indochinese refugees in Australia), suggesting a basic efficacy in settlement services, despite significant levels of need. This section of the chapter discusses in-depth the following two key findings: (1) risk factors associated with pre-arrival trajectory and; (2) protective factors for development of resilience post-arrival.

5.6.1 Risk factors associated with pre-and post-migration trajectories

As demonstrated in Chapter 3, ecological contexts (i.e., macrosystem, mesosystem, microsystem) in which young people including immigrant youths live have the potential for adverse life experiences and circumstances, a risk for poor psychological functioning (Earnest et al., 2010; Bronfenbrenner, 1979). In this regard, perceptions of key informants indicated male Hazara unaccompanied youths experienced cumulative potential adverse traumatic experiences and circumstances during pre-migration, transit migration and post-migration that could have

negative settlement and wellbeing outcomes. At microsystem level, UAMs experienced wars and persecution in pre-migration contexts and exploitation in transit journeys, risks associated with poor development and wellbeing outcomes. On arrival, fUAMs experienced potential challenges including family separation, disruption of sociocultural networks, and a lack of legal protection, risks linked to poor recovery and adjustment process.

The Australian and global literature extensively explored risks relating to UAMs' pre-migration and transit journeys, both indicating these risks could heighten their precarity. Australian researchers (Nardone & Correa-Velez, 2015; Correa-Velez et al., 2014) pointed out UAMs may experience persecutions and loss in pre-migration, as well as hostile encounters and personal challenges in transit countries, risks that could increase their vulnerability and precarity. European (Keles et al., 2016) and North American (Kronick et al., 2015; Noltemeyer & Bush, 2013) research studies found UAMs experienced accumulation of risks including separation from culture and family that could disrupt their physical development and forward journeys.

Potential risks for fUAMs were also examined by Australian and global literature, both indicating they exhibited high resiliency, despite experiencing potential adversity. Surprisingly, Australian researchers (Silove & Mares, 2018; Crane & Searle, 2016) suggested asylum-seekers (i.e., fUAMs) exposed to a small number of stressors could help rebuild their coping strategies (e.g., problem-solving), improving adjustment outcomes. Researchers in North America (Kronick, 2018; Alemi et al., 2014) and the UK (Fazel et al., 2012) pointed out that asylum-seekers (i.e., fUAMs) were found to be highly resilient, despite experiencing significant challenges including temporary visas and deportation post-arrival.

5.6.2 Protective factors for development of resilience post-arrival

As demonstrated in Chapter 3 by vander Zanden et al. (2012) and Bronfenbrenner (1979), an individual youth's ecological contexts (i.e., macrosystem, mesosystem, microsystem) may have protective factors that could bolster his/her resilience and wellbeing. Consistent with this, key informants perceived unaccompanied young Hazara men's psychological resources, settlement policies and systems, and provision of maximum services were vital for their recovery from the impact of adverse life experiences and development of resilience. At macrosystem level, positive government policies and system enabled UAMs to receive intensive support services (i.e., accommodation) and transition support. At mesosystem level, UAMs were provided with opportunities to form networks through sports and cultural connections. Similarly, at micro level UAMs could exhibit personal attributes (i.e., hope, motivation, personal agency) which could moderate or mediate the effects of risks, rebuilding their resilience, at microsystem level. By contrast, fUAMs (who may have arrived close to 18 years) with reduced support may need extension of support provision post-care, as well as permanent settlement and family reunion to enhance their integration process and wellbeing outcomes.

Protective factors for UAMs received more attention in Australian and global literature, both indicating these could improve their strengths and rebuild resilience. Australian qualitative studies (Katz et al., 2013) and survey (Zwi et al., 2017) suggested positive government policies such as community detention and guardianships, and UAMs' positive attributes including self-control and confidence could enhance their settlement and resilience outcomes. Multiple research studies in Europe (Mitra & Hodes, 2019; Raithelhuber, 2019; Seglem et al., 2014) reported UAMs were likely to have positive coping skills, and to receive targeted support services (e.g., English

language, healthcare) and social networking opportunities, helping to moderate the effects of risk which promotes their integration and psychological wellbeing.

Australian and global studies also examined protective factors for fUAMs, showing appropriate support services were critical in moderating the effects of risk, promoting their resilience. An Australian report (CMY, 2013) suggested that, since many vulnerable UAMs arrived close to 18 years, fUAMs may require the extension of support services to foster their recovery and adjustment outcomes. Other Australian researchers (Earnest et al., 2015; Hutchinson & Dorset, 2012; Earnest et al., 2010) indicated provision of permanent protection visas and family reunion could boost their coping strategies and sense of belonging.

The multiple North American studies (Southwick & Charney, 2018; Ungar, 2017, 2018; Southwick et al., 2016; Ruiz-Casares et al., 2014) reiterated the importance of ecological support services because of their protective influence on young people (i.e., fUAMs) in contexts of risk compared to personal attributes. However, protective processes tend not to be heterogenous, with services providing protection in one context likely to be a risk in another (Ungar & Hadfield, 2019). Ungar (2019a), from the Resilience Research Centre in Canada, pointed out that people exposed to traumatic experiences require sufficient support services, with 70% recovering from these services, 20% requiring extra professional care (e.g., counsellors, psychologists) and 10% failing to heal due to factors such as genetics, neurobiology and psychology. Yet, few studies to date have examined how support service provision (Ungar, 2019a) and cultural factors (Raghavan and Sandanapitchai (2019) influence resilience building.

In the above section, key informant perspectives and literature suggest risk factors in unaccompanied youths' migration trajectory could result in their precarity and adversity. Yet, these

youths' recovery and significant resilience suggest positive success from the current structure of support.

5.7 Strengths and Limitations of Research

This study used several quality criteria from qualitative methodology to strengthen rigour and transparency. As described in chapters 3 and 4, the researcher ensured participants volunteered, provided consent to participate and protected the confidentiality of their identities and information. Systematic data checks were conducted through reflexive memos to reflect on the researcher's influence on research as an insider (emic) and as an outsider (etic) and three independent pilots of interview transcripts by the two supervisors and the student researcher. The study utilised dual-sector data sources (social welfare and English language education) and text data analysis as well as an information-rich small sample.

By definition this study was based on M.Phil. research which had four major limitations, as detailed in Chapter 3. There were methodological issues relating to research design and data collection.

1. This case study used a small-sample of 12 key informants compatible with qualitative research methodology in the interpretive/constructivist paradigm and a post-positivist orientation.
2. The study used snowball sampling to recruit 12 key informants working with UAMs pre- and post-18 years. A larger sample from more diverse service providers would have benefited the results by widening range of possible data and limiting the influence of outliers.
3. There was an obvious risk of sample bias because all English teachers were volunteers from a single charity organisation (based on convenience sampling) providing English

language training solely to asylum-seekers including fUAMs; though two of them had experiences teaching in government and non-government organisations (noting they reported broadly similar findings). It should also be noted that, by definition, voluntary English teachers were best placed to report on language issues, which were seldom referred to by the professional case workers who had a capacity to comment on a much broader range of UAMs' (pre- and post-18 years) needs, and adjustment and wellbeing issues.

4. Due to limited time and finances for undertaking an M.Phil., this study used perspectives of only key informants. It would have been worthwhile to conduct a larger study that used different data sources and methods (e.g., interviews and observations of both young unaccompanied men and key informants), as well as diverse gender, age and country of origin. This study would provide a more complete knowledge of UAMs'/fUAMs' settlement needs, expectations and experiences of contextual support, as perceived by individuals themselves.

5.8 Implications of the Study and Concluding Statement

This study has potential significant implications for government settlement policy makers, casework practice, and researchers. In the final conclusion, I provide a summary of key findings and potential significant insights.

5.8.1 Implications of the study

The direction in government policy is important because policy changes may impact upon both protection and risks relating to immigration and settlement for unaccompanied youths. Casework practice offers direct support to these youths, and researchers establish future research direction.

Implications for asylum-seeker immigration and settlement support policies

According to literature and key informants, at macrosystem level positive Australian government immigration and settlement support policies have the capacity to promote UAMs'/fUAMs' early settlement and wellbeing outcomes. For instance, at mesosystem level, in 2013–2015 settlement support policy incentives enabled provision of intensive support services such as income support provided to the highly vulnerable UAMs in community detention, comparable to out-of-home care Australian youths of similar age. By contrast, policy disincentive for fUAMs post-18 years regarded to be mature and independent are provided with highly reduced support services (i.e., income, housing) in the mainstream community, similar to local former out-of-home care youths. This implies fUAMs in the mainstream community on temporary protection visas could have increased vulnerability and precarity, risks associated with early adjustment including criminal behaviour and mental health issues. For example, in 2017–2018 multiple media reports indicated rise in crime rates amongst refugee-origin youth, particularly those from South Sudan, raising concerns about their long-term integration in Australia (e.g., Day, 2018; McNeill et al., 2018).

Therefore, there is a strong need for policy-decision making process to bridge gaps in current immigration and settlement policies to allow for the extension of unaccompanied youths' support services from 18 years to emerging adulthood (similar to OECD countries including the USA, the UK, Canada and New Zealand). The policy makers need to consider that many UAMs may have arrived in Australia close to 18 years-of-age and need high support post-care. There is also the need for policy makers to consider extending fUAMs' support provision post-care and to provide pathways for them to have family reunion and permanent visas to improve early settlement outcomes, given the vast majority found to be refugees will eventually be resettled in Australia. In

2015–2020, government policy for local former out-of-home care youths involves extension of support from 18 to 25 years in all states/territories except in Victoria, which ends at 21 years (ACT government, 2018; Anglicare, 2019).

Implications for casework practice

The literature and key informants confirmed casework is an essential support to UAMs, improving their early adjustment and wellbeing outcomes. Through settlement support structure, case workers in Australia provided direct support using the Operational Framework to guide the delivery of resources and support services, but the challenges include inadequate funding for services and minors' unawareness of their rights to services. They also used the transitional support model to prepare UAMs' transition from community detention to mainstream community, however this support lacked set goals and structure to promote their pathways into young adulthood in the mainstream community. This implies vulnerable UAMs might not access appropriate services and are at risk of transitioning out without social skills and with limited independence, influencing their self-sufficiency and agency in new society. Therefore, the government and service providers need to develop a communication strategy in the use of the Operational Framework and transitional support model to ensure unaccompanied youths receive appropriate support services, to facilitate positive settlement and wellbeing outcomes.

Similarly, through a fully funded MEP program case workers provided direct support to UAMs to access useful forms of social networks including linguistic, sports, cultural and religious activities, enhancing their early adjustment and sense of belonging. They also provided support for minors' cultural competency skills through engagement and interactions with both host and heritage cultures which could enhance their initial adjustment and resilience. However, independent fUAMs who did not receive MEP support also had highly reduced social networks

and support for cultural connections. This implies fUAMs could face challenges in accessing crucial forms of social networks, with potential negative effects on their social and cultural inclusion, contextual support, employment and community participation. Consequently, this suggests the need for service provider organisations and case workers to integrate MEP and sociocultural support into other fUAMs' settlement support programs, to promote positive adaptation, as well as cultural, and economic participation outcomes.

Implications for research

The literature review and this study's findings have established several future research directions on settlement of unaccompanied youths. This study (based on a small case study of 12 key informants) and the literature (e.g., Martin et al., 2016; O'Higgins, 2012) have established the need for more detailed research on support services provided to UAMs pre-18 years in community detention and then highly reduced support for fUAMs post-18 years in the mainstream community. The literature (e.g., Robinson, 2013; Ziaian et al., 2012; Seglem et al., 2011) also indicated limited research studies have sought service provider perspectives on UAMs compared to fUAMs settlement trajectory in early post-arrival years in Australia, and Melbourne, in particular early settlement experiences of young Afghan Hazara (e.g., Donini et al., 2016; Nardone & Correa-Velez, 2015).

The following are the two key research questions that emerged from my research and the literature.

1. **What influence does provision of social services have on unaccompanied young people's resilience building during their early adjustment period?** The data and literature clearly clarify support services are working in enabling vulnerable unaccompanied youths to recover from risks and to rebuild their resilience, but literature

findings show psychological traits have received more attention than support services and cultural factors (e.g., Raghavan & Sandanapitchai,2019; Ungar, 2018, 2019; Southwick et al., 2016).

- A longitudinal mixed-methods study targeting unaccompanied youths and using interviews, focus-groups and surveys could be carried out on the influence of social services and cultural factors.
- A longitudinal research study (surveys and interviews) using key informants to explore whether similar findings will emerge from UAMs and fUAMs in different contexts (i.e., geographical locations), age, ethnic groups, country of origin and whether support services have recently changed for fUAMs.

2. **What impact does motivation have on unaccompanied youths' English language learning?** The literature and data clearly suggest motivation (intrinsic and extrinsic) is an important factor for UAMs' English language learning, but this has received less attention in both my study and the literature findings (e.g., Wernesjo, 2019; Katz et al., 2013). A qualitative and survey study could be conducted that uses key informants' and minors' views.

5.8.2 Final concluding statement

My study utilized a case study design based on qualitative methodology and applied ecological systems theory (macrosystem, mesosystem, microsystem) and social networks theory (trust, ties) to address the four research questions and shed light on the issue of support services provided to unaccompanied youths in their early settlement trajectory. The literature established the comprehensive support provided to UAMs which become highly reduced for fUAMs, in Europe (Obondo, 2018; Lyamouri-Bajja, 2014), North America (Cardoso et al., 2017; Skrikas,

2014) and Australia, in line with level and length of support which vary based on country-specific policies.

Overall, the findings from the 12 interviews conducted reinforced past small-sample qualitative research studies about support services provided to unaccompanied youths. In particular, there was agreement concerning the importance of providing adequate and appropriate support to vulnerable unaccompanied youths who may have experienced cumulative adverse childhood experiences (ACEs) in their migration trajectory. Australian immigration and settlement policies determine the type and level of support services provided to these youths, with vulnerable UAMs in community detention being provided with maximum services until they turn 18 years, aimed to promote their self-sufficiency and personal agency, rebuilding their resilience. English language training was considered to have a strong influence on the experiences of unaccompanied young people's early settlement and wellbeing. They were also provided with case workers, social network support, and guardianship to promote their early adjustment process. By contrast, independent fUAMs in mainstream community were offered highly reduced support, and lacked refugee status and family reunion, constraining their sense of belonging and integration process. Refugees face complex and challenging settlement issues, with Australian media in 2018 having extensively reported about young refugees' criminal behaviours. This suggests the value of immigration and settlement policy-decision makers to implement policies that would ensure their positive early settlement and wellbeing outcomes in Australia, given that the vast majority will ultimately be resettled.

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Appendices

Appendix A: Recruitment Letter for Key Settlement Support Workers

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Proposed Research Title: An Exploration of Factors Influencing Settlement of Male Hazara Youth Who Migrated to Melbourne As Unaccompanied Minors.

Dear potential participant,

I am writing to invite you to participate in a study to explore the diverse perspectives of key settlement support workers on asylum-seeking youths who migrated as unaccompanied minors to Melbourne, Australia. The study is being conducted by John Kole, an M.Phil. candidate at Melbourne School of Population and Global Health, the University of Melbourne., under Prof. Lesleyanne Hawthorne and Dr. Lucio Naccarella.

Asylum-seeker boat arrivals to Australia increased dramatically between 2007 and 2013, of whom a significant number were youth who arrived as unaccompanied minors. It has been shown that provision of appropriate support services is critical for the successful settlement of these young people. This project explores former male Hazara unaccompanied youth's experiences of support services in the community detention (aged under 18 years) and in the general community (aged over 18 years). The aim is to develop a better understanding of how these support services influence these unaccompanied male youth's settlement and wellbeing in Melbourne, Australia.

You are being approached to take part in this research project because you are one of the key workers who provide settlement support service(s) to asylum -seeking young people including UAMs and fUAMs. Your views can provide insight into the issues of provision of resources and services to asylum-seeking youths who migrated to Australia as unaccompanied minors. If there is someone else in your organisation that would be better able to provide insight on this topic, I would appreciate it if you connect me to him or her.

Participation in this study will involve an interview session at a time and place of your convenience. The audiotape interview will take place approximately 45-60 minutes. During the interview, you will be asked to describe your perspectives about service provision to asylum-seeking youths who migrated to Melbourne as unaccompanied minors. The information you provide during the study will be kept confidential. You and your organisation will not be identified in study reports or presentations and pseudonyms (i.e., fake names) will be used.

If you are interested in participation or hearing more about this study, please contact John Kole at 0411539862 or jkole@unimelb.edu.au. You are under no obligation to participate in this study. However, your participation will be greatly appreciated.

Thank you

Mr. John Kole

M.Phil. Candidate

Melbourne School of Population and Global Health

The University of Melbourne
Parkville, Vic 3010
Melbourne, Australia.

Prof. Lesleyanne Hawthorne, (lhawt@unimelb.edu.au), Ph. (03) 8344 9132.
Melbourne School of Population and Global Health
The University of Melbourne
Parkville, Vic 3010
Melbourne, Australia.

Dr. Lucio Naccarella, (I.naccarella@unimelb.edu.au), Ph. (03) 8344 4535.
Melbourne School of Population and Global Health
The University of Melbourne
Parkville, Vic 3010
Melbourne, Australia.

Appendix B: Consent Form for Key Informants

Consent Form: Key Settlement Informants

Proposed Research Title: An Exploration of Factors Influencing Settlement of Male Hazara Youth Who Migrated to Melbourne As Unaccompanied Minors.

Name of Participant: …….
Name of Investigator: John Kole

I have read the information sheet outlining the purpose of the research.
I understand that:

- My participation in this research is voluntary and that I am free to refuse to participate or to withdraw from the study at any time without any questions asked.
- My participation in this study will involve an interview.
- I will not be paid for participating in the interview.
- There is minimal risk associated with the interview.
- The data collected from participants may be used in journal articles and other publications.
- My name will not be mentioned or recorded in any publication and my participation will remain confidential.
- I will be offered a summary of the findings at the completion of the study.
- Should I have a concern, I can direct it to the manager, Human Research Ethics, The University of Melbourne; Ph. (03) 8344 2073, fax. (03) 9347 6739).

I agree to the interview being tape-recorded ☐ Yes No ☐
(Please Tick)

I wish to receive the summary project report on the research findings. (If yes provide your details)
☐ Yes ☐ No
(Please Tick)

Tel: _____Email: _____

Participant Name: _____Sign: _____Date: _____

Appendix C: Interview Questions for Key Informants

Interview Guide: Key Settlement Informants

Project Title: An Exploration of Factors Influencing Settlement of Male Hazara Youth Who Migrated to Melbourne As Unaccompanied Minors.

Investigator: John Kole

Introduction

Background information to be filled by the interviewer

In the course of each interview, the following data will be recorded by the researcher:

A. Personal information
   Date of this interview:
   Preferred pseudonym:
   Gender:
   Ethnic background:
   Language spoken:
B. Settlement support organization
   Name of service:
   Location of service:
   Government supported provider:
   Privately supported provider:
   Type of support:

Semi-structured interview - Topic areas

Interview questions

Settlement support offered to unaccompanied youth

1. Can you briefly tell me about your professional background?
2. Can you please tell me about the type of support you provide to unaccompanied youth?
3. Have you had any interactions with male Hazara youth?
   Prompts:
   - Who live in the community detention aged under 18?
   - Who live in the general community aged over 18?

<u>Unaccompanied male Hazara youth aged under 18 years in community detention: Settlement support service needs and utilization</u>

4. In your interactions with male Hazara youth aged under 18 years,
   Prompts:
   - What specific support do you offer them?
   - What do you think are their main settlement support service needs?

- What do you think are challenges (if any) they experience?

5. Currently the government provides intensive/full support services to unaccompanied male Hazara youth under 18 years in the community detention.
   What do you know about these support services?
   Prompts:
   - How accessible are these services?
   - How useful are these services?
   - What are the challenges (if any)?
6. Based on your own perspectives and interactions with male Hazara youth under 18 years, what do you think of these six support services (to be asked in turn)?
   Prompts:
   - English language training?
   - education and schooling?
   - accommodation/housing?
   - employment support (if provided with)?
   - casework/management support?
   - income support?

What do they find most useful from each of these services?
What do they find least useful from each of these services?

7. What other support services do you think are important for male Hazara youth?
   What do you think about these support services?
   Prompts:
   - health care services (physical and mental)?
   - sexual health education (*has come up as lacking among Hazara youth in interviews with key informants)*
   - transport?
   - legal/migration support services?
   - cultural orientation?
   - Interpreting & translating services?
   - any other?
8. What do you think are challenges (if any) they face with these six support services?
   - English language training?
     Prompts:
     Personal challenges
     - appropriate age to learn another language
     - cultural/religious issues
     - asylum-seeker status
     - interference from mother tongue
     - confidence/culture shock
     - motivation (attitude, effort) to learn
     - previous exposure to learning English
     - competing priorities (e.g. work, visits, visa)
     - learning styles
     - opportunity to practice
     - one's identity (cultural pride/loss)

- any other?

Contextual challenges

- teachers
- funding
- access to language school (transport, distance)
- systemic discrimination (policies & practices that exclude)
- classroom sizes/ratios
- teaching resources/aids (culturally appropriate)
- time/duration to learn English language
- any other?

- Education and schooling?
  Prompts:
  Personal challenges
  - learning styles (memorization vs. deep understanding)
  - English language proficiency
  - competing priorities (e.g. work, visits, visa)
  - peer support
  - homework support
  - motivation (attitude, effort) to learn
  - asylum-seeker status
  - confidence/culture shock
  - any other?

  Contextual challenges
  - access to school (transport, distance)
  - asylum-seeker status
  - eligibility (private vs. public/past age 21)
  - teaching & learning resources (adequate? culturally appropriate?))
  - systemic discrimination (policies & practices that exclude)
  - any other?
- Accommodation/housing?
  Prompts:
  - suitability for minors
  - safety/security
  - numbers per house (overcrowded)
  - furnished
  - comfortable/warm
  - clean & tidy
  - any damages
  - closeness to facilities (school, shops, clinics etc.)
  - type of carer support (adequate? culturally appropriate?)
  - any other?
- Employment support (if provided with)?
  Prompts:
  - work rights
  - ability to work/competency
  - credentials/qualifications

    - job-ready training support
    - use of social networks
    - communication (English language)
    - perceived discrimination/racism
    - motivation (effort, attitude) to work
    - unemployed/self-employed/studying
    - any other?
- Casework/management support?
  Prompts:
    - type of support provided
    - eligibility/sessions/referral
    - type of needs
    - available resources (culturally appropriate?)
    - utilization of support
    - strategies used to resolve issues
    - how effective
    - challenges (ratios, sessions, remunerations, language & cultural barriers, resources)
    - any other?
- Income support?
  Prompts:
    - Visa type (BVE, SHEV, TPV) restrictions?
    - Government support (adequate?)
    - community support (adequate?)
    - working/studying
    - unemployed
    - financial literacy/management
    - remittances (supporting their families)
    - any other?

9. How well do you think male Hazara youth generally adjust to life in Melbourne?
    - impact from pre-migration (traumatic events)
        - deaths, bombings, persecutions, dangerous journey
    - migration and settlement issues
        - temporary visas
        - service restrictions
        - being separated/unaccompanied from family
        - culture shock
        - perceived racism/discrimination
        - perceived victimisation & criminal activities
        - inclusion/exclusion in socio-economic & civic activities
        - any other?
10. What do you think assists male Hazara youth to be socially connected to others in Melbourne?
    Prompts:
    - reception & acceptance by mainstream culture

- available support to connect with others
- attendance to community activities (religious, sports, cultural, schools)
- having migrant & Australian friends
- communication (English language)
- positive relationships with youth groups
- driver's license (able to travel and connect)
- any other?

11. What do you think helps male Hazara youth feel like they belong in Melbourne?
    Prompts:
    - social status in the community (feel valued & respected?)
    - perceived discrimination
    - perceived racism
    - immigration status (temporary visas)
    - participation in society's socio-economic & civic activities
    - participation in youth-focused activities
    - ethnic identity (host culture vs own culture)
    - supportive school /work environment
    - any other?
12. How well do you think male Hazara youth are prepared before they move into the general community on turning 18 years?
    Prompts:
    - What type of information did they get?
        - where to access support services in the community?
        - how to build social networks in the community?
        - Were they prepared on the potential challenges in the community?
        - any other?
    - Who gave them the information?
    - How useful was this information?
    - What else do you think would have been useful to them?
13. Are there any issues about male Hazara youth that you think are important for me to know?
14. In your experience, do you think male Hazara youth aged under 18 years are similar or different from the other unaccompanied youth you have worked with?

Former Unaccompanied male Hazara youth aged over 18 years in the host community: Settlement support service needs and utilization

15. In your interactions with male Hazara youth aged over 18 years,
    Prompts:
    - What specific support do you provide to them?
    - What do you think are their main settlement support service needs?
    - What do you think are challenges they experience?
16. Currently the Australian government offers much reduced support services to unaccompanied youth over 18 years in the host community.

Prompts:

- What do you know about any changes to support services?
- How has changes to this support impacted youth?

17. Based on your own perspectives and interactions with male Hazara youth over 18 years, what do you think of these six support services?
    Prompts:
    - English language training?
    - education and schooling?
    - accommodation/housing?
    - employment support (if provided with)?
    - casework/management support?
    - income support?
    - what do they find most/least useful from each of these services?
    - any other?
18. What other support services do you think are important for male Hazara youth?
    What do you think about these other services?
    Prompts:
    - health care services (physical and mental)?
    - sexual health education support (*this has come up from interviews with key informants as lacking among Hazara youth)*
    - transport?
    - legal/migration support services?
    - cultural orientation?
    - social network support?
    - interpreting & translating services?
    - any other?
19. What do you think are challenges (if any) they face with these six support services?
    - English language training?
      Prompts:
      Personal challenges
        - appropriate age to learn another language
        - cultural issues
        - asylum-seeker status
        - interference from mother tongue
        - confidence/culture shock
        - motivation (attitude, effort) to learn
        - previous exposure to learning English
        - competing priorities (e.g. work, visits, visa)
        - learning styles
        - opportunity to practice
        - loss of own of own identity (cultural pride)
        - any other?

      Contextual challenges
        - shortage of teachers

- funding
- access to language school (transport, distance)
- systemic discrimination (policies & practices that exclude)
- classroom sizes/ratios
- culturally appropriate teaching resources/aids
- time/duration to learn English language
- any other?

- Education and schooling?
  Prompts:
  Personal challenges
  - learning style (memorization vs. deep understanding)
  - English language proficiency
  - competing priorities (e.g. work, visits, visa)
  - peer support
  - homework support
  - motivation (attitude, effort) to learn
  - asylum-seeker status
  - any other?

  Contextual challenges
  - access to school (transport, distance)
  - asylum-seeker status
  - eligibility (private vs. public/past age 21)
  - teaching & learning resources (adequate? culturally appropriate?)
  - systemic discrimination (policies & practices that exclude)
  - any other?
- Accommodation/housing?
  Prompts:
  - housing affordability
  - financial ability
  - support from housing agencies
  - culturally appropriate support
  - homelessness
  - perceived discrimination (policies & practices that exclude) in housing market
  - support from community
  - visa restrictions (TPV, SHEV, BVE)
  - overcrowding
  - evictions
  - safety/security
  - any other?
- Employment support (if provided with)?
  Prompts:
  - Support from employment agencies
  - use of social networks
  - access to work
  - credentials/qualifications

    - work rights
    - English language proficiency
    - perceived discrimination
    - perceived racism
    - competency
    - motivation (effort, attitude) to work
    - unemployed/self-employed/studying
    - any other?
- Casework/management support?
  Prompts:
    - type of support provided
    - eligibility/referral
    - sessions
    - youth needs
    - utilization of support
    - strategies used to resolve issues-how effective?
    - available resources
    - successes
    - challenges (ratios, sessions, remunerations, language & cultural barriers, resources)
    - any other?
- Income support?
  Prompts:
    - Visa type (BVE, SHEV, TPV)-restrictions?
    - Government support through Centrelink-adequate?
    - community support-adequate?
    - employed/unemployed
    - financial literacy/management
    - remittances/supporting family home
    - any other?

20. How well do you think male Hazara youth generally adjust to life in Melbourne?
    Prompts:
    - pre-migration issues (traumatic events)
        - deaths, bombings, persecutions, dangerous journeys
    - migration and settlement issues
        - temporary visas
        - service restrictions
        - being separated/unaccompanied from family
        - culture shock
        - perceived racism/discrimination
        - perceived victimisation & criminal activities
        - inclusion/exclusion in socio-economic & civic activities
        - any other?
21. What do you think assists male Hazara youth to be socially connected to others in Melbourne?

Prompts:

- reception & acceptance by mainstream culture
- available support to connect with others
- attendance to community activities (religious, sports, cultural, schools)
- having migrant & Australian friends
- communication (English language)
- positive relationships with youth groups
- driver's license (able to travel and connect)
- any other?

22. What do you think helps male Hazara youth feel like they belong in Melbourne?
    Prompts:
    - social status in the community (feel valued & respected)
    - perceived discrimination
    - perceived racism
    - immigration status (temporary visas)
    - participation in society's socio-economic & civic activities
    - participation in youth-focused activities
    - ethnic identity (host culture vs own culture)
    - supportive school/work environment
    - any other?
23. Are there any issues about male Hazara youth that you think are important for me to know?
24. In your experience, do you think male Hazara youth aged over 18 years are similar or different from the other unaccompanied youth you have worked with?

Thank you for your time and commitment.

For further information, please contact:

- Mr. John Kole, (jkole@unimelb.edu.au), Ph. (03) 87070596.
- Prof. Lesleyanne Hawthorne, (lhawt@unimelb.edu.au), Ph. (03) 8344 9132.
- Dr. Lucio Naccarella, (I.naccarella@unimelb.edu.au), Ph. (03) 8344 4535.
- The Manager, Human Research Ethics, The University of Melbourne, Ph. (03) 8344 2073

Appendix D: Plain Language Statement

Plain Language Statement: Key Settlement Informants

Researchers:
Prof. Lesleyanne Hawthorne and Dr. Lucio Naccarella,
Melbourne School of Population and Global Health, The University of Melbourne.
Investigator: John Kole
Mr. John Kole, PhD Candidate,
Melbourne School of Population and Global Health, The University of Melbourne.

Project Title: An Exploration of Factors Influencing Settlement of Male Hazara Youth Who Migrated to Melbourne as Unaccompanied Minors.

Asylum-seeker boat arrivals to Australia increased dramatically between 2007 and 2013, of whom a significant number were youth who arrived as unaccompanied minors. It has been shown that provision of appropriate support services is critical for the successful settlement of these young people. This project explores former male Hazara unaccompanied youth's experiences of support services in the community detention (aged under 18 years) and in the general community (aged over 18 years). The aim is to develop a better understanding of how these support services influence these unaccompanied male youth's settlement and wellbeing in Melbourne, Australia.

You are invited to take part in this research project. Please read this sheet and ensure that you understand what is required to do before deciding whether to take part. You are welcome to ask any question to the people listed below.

To obtain information for this project, I wish to interview you as one of the people involved in the support of unaccompanied youth. Please note that your participation in this interview is voluntary. You are able to withdraw from this research project and your information removed at any time up until the data has been processed, without any questions asked.

This is a single face-to-face interview, taking about 45-60 minutes. With your consent, the interview will be tape-recorded, and the recording will be transcribed accurately. There is a potential risk of being identifiable due to the project using a small sample size. However, we plan to protect your details, from the information that you give, from being identified as best as we can and within what the law can allow. When analysing the tape-recording of the interview, identifying details will be removed from your accounts and responses. We will use a pseudonym of your choice to identify you when referring to you in reports, presentations and publications. Your name

and contact details from any data that you supply will be kept in separate, password-protected computer file and destroyed by the researcher after a seven-year period.

If you would like feedback on this study or have any additional questions you are most welcome to contact the following research team members:

- Professor Lesleyanne Hawthorne, The University of Melbourne, (lhawt@unimelb.edu.au), Ph. (03) 8344 9133.
- Dr. Lucio Naccarella, The University of Melbourne, (I.naccarella@unimelb.edu.au), Ph. (03) 83444535.

If you have any further personal concerns, please contact:

- Beyond Blue, Ph. 130022 4636 or (03) 98106100
- Headspace, Ph.1800367968
- Monash Refugee Health Service, (03) 97 92 81 00
- Asylum Seeker Resource Centre, (03) 9326 6066, or (03)96 89 10 63
- Asylum Seeker and Refugee Health Clinic, (03) 92 12 57 00
- The Foundation House, (03) 87 91 24 50, or (03) 93 00 86 70.

This research project has been approved by The University of Melbourne's Human Research Ethics Committee. If you have any concerns or complaints about the conduct of this research project, you can contact:

- the Manager, Human Research Ethics, Office for Research Ethics and Integrity, The University of Melbourne by phone 8344 2073 or email humanethics-complaints@unimelb.edu.au quoting HREC 1441663.

Appendix E: Summary of Themes and Sub-themes from Key Informants' Data

Themes & Sub-themes	Jairus	Glen	Mohser	Mark	Maria	Andrew	Mzee	Rita	Carl	Susan	Lynne	Jacob
Migration trajectory & family separation	14	-	2,3,9, 14,15	2,3,17, 24,25, 26	14	1,3, 6,9,10	3,11,20, 23,24,53	2,3,10, 15,23,24, 29,30,32	3,4,11, 13,15	2,6,7	6	-
Accommodation support (casework support; Operational Framework; transitional model; Transport)	2,6,15 3,13	3,4 5	8,11, 16,17 7,15	3,5,6,7 ,12, 16,17, 18, 20,23 3,9,12, 22	8, 9 9,13	8 5	5,6,9,17, 18, 21,28,29 ,30,49 10,16,27, 56	3,7,815,23 , 22,24,31, 34,37,38,4 3,44,45,46 , 47 8,10,35	4 8	4 -	- 6	2,4 3,5
English language training	3,4,5	5,6	2,4,8, 9,10	3,5,10, 11, 16,22, 23	3,6,10	2,4,5,9	3,4,5,12, 13,14,33, 36,41	5,14,15, 16,17,18	2,5,6,9 , 10	2,3,4, 7	2- 4,5,7	-
Education & further training	5,9	6	4,5,7,10,	3,5,11, 16, 20,23	5,7	2	3,5,6,15, 16,17,41, 42	4,5,6,18,1 9, 20,21,22	12	-	3	-
Income & Employment support	4,5,8,1 0	2,4,3	3,6, 12,13	4,6,13, 14, 18, 20- 24	3,4,5	-	6,7,9,11, 12, 18,19,21, 22,25,28, 31,33,36, 41,43,47, 48,52,58, 59	3,6,8,11, 25,28, 29,34,39	3,10,1 1, 12,13	3,4	3	-
Legal migration services	4,8	7	12,13,14	9,11,1 5,16 ,22	4,5,13	1,3,8	10,13,14, 15,20,35, 39,57,58	13,16,30, 37	10	2,3	7	-
Health care support	11	-	2,3,7,14	8,21	2,10,1 3	3,6	3,4,9,11, 24,29- 30,35,37	4,5,12,31, 32,38,39	7,8	6	2,3	2,3, 4,5
Social networks	2,8,9,1 0, 12,13, 14,15	2,3	13,1415,1 6,17,18	3,7,10, 12,14, 15,17, 20,22, 24,25, 26,27	3,4,8,9 ,10,11, 12,14, 15	6,7,8,9	10,11,12, 17,18,23, 25,26,27, 28,39,40, 45,4647, 53,54,55, 56,57,58	3,12,14,15 , 17,20,21,2 3,24,28,30 ,31,32,33, 34,35,36,3 8,39	2,14,1 5,17	3,4,5,6, 7	4	4,6,7
Risk and protective factors	2,3,4, 7,8, 9,11,1 2,13, 14	4,5,6	3,4,6,7,8,1 2,13,15,16	2,3,4,5 ,6,7,8, 9,10,1 1, 12,16, 17, 18,20, 21,22, 23,24, 25,26	3,7,9, 10,12, 13,14	2,3,4,6,7, 8,9	2,3,8,10, 13,14,15, 20,23,24, 27,30,33, 35,37,38, 41,42,44, 45,46,47, 48, 49,50,53, 55,58	2,5,6,8,9,1 0,12,14,15 ,16,17,19, 20,24,25,2 6,29,31,32 ,33,34,36, 37	5,6,7,8 ,10,12, 13,15, 16,17	3,4,5,7	2,3,4,6	2,3,5,6,

Appendix F: Overview of International Literature Review
Risk Factors for UAMs/fUAMs

Methodology	No. of Papers	Country /Focus	Range of Date Published	Methods Used/Type of Articles	Participants Main Countries of Origin	Sample Size Range	Participant Age Range
Qualitative	n=33	North America (10) Europe (23)	2005-2016	Interviews, visual images, focus group, observation	*North America:* Mexico, Guatemala, El Salvador, Honduras *Europe:* Afghanistan, Iraq, Iran, Pakistan, Bosnia, Angola, Ethiopia, Eritrea	4-150	7->25
Quantitative	n=11	North America (5) Europe (6)	2008-2016	Questionnaires, survey	”	276-34,650	8->24
Mixed Methods	n=14	North America (5) Europe (9)	2005-2015	Questionnaires interviews	”	23-1,522	7->20
Literature Reviews	n=34	North America (17) Europe (19)	2001-2016	Academic, grey, legal	”	Varied/not shown	Varied/not shown

Protective Factors for UAMs/fUAMs

Methodology	No. of Papers	Country /Focus	Range of Dates	Methods Used/Type of Articles	Participants Main Countries of Origin	Sample Size Range	Age Range
Qualitative	n = 44	North America=15 Europe=28 New Zealand=1	2006-2015	Interviews, observations, focus groups, documentary analysis, photo analysis	*North America:* mainly from Mexico, Guatemala, El Salvador, Honduras *Europe:* Afghanistan, Ethiopia, Eritrea, China, India, Pakistan, Iraq, Vietnam, Poland, Yugoslavia, Congo DRC & Somalia	1-107	11->26
Quantitative	n = 9	North America (5) Europe (4)	2005-2016	Questionnaires, survey	”	91-2,055	8->19
Mixed methods	n = 13	North America (4) Europe (9)	2005-2015	Questionnaires, interviews, observations, focus groups	”	763-3,393	8->20
Literature Reviews	n = 34	North America (24) Europe (12)	2001-2015	Legal, academic, grey, meta-analysis	”	Varies/not shown	Varies/not shown

Appendix G: Overview of Australian Literature Review

Risk Factors for UAMs/fUAMs

Method-ology	No. of Papers	State/Territory Focus	Study Period	Methods Used/Type of Articles	Main Countries of Origin	Sample Size Range	Age Range
Qualitative	n=38	Victoria (9) NSW (9) QLD (8) SA (4) Various States (4) WA (3) ACT (1)	1970s-1980s (Indo-Chinese) 2001-2016 (mainly from the Middle East i.e., Afghans)	Interviews, observations, informal conversations, visual imagery, imagined narration, focus groups	Afghanistan, Sri Lanka, Pakistan, Iran, Sudan, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Congo, Liberia, Burma, Vietnam, Cambodia, Laos	3-30	10-<30
Quanti-tative	n=7	NSW (3) SA (2) Victoria (1) Various States (1)	1989-2012	Question-naires	”	445-7,702	14-<18
Mixed methods	n=6	Victoria (4) NSW (1) Canberra (1)	2006-2016	Survey Interviews	”	97-339	12-<23
Literature Reviews	n=34	Victoria (12) NSW (10) QLD (3) ACT (3) SA (2) Various States (2) WA (1) Tasmania (1)	2001-2016	Academic, legal, grey studies	Varies/ not shown	Varies/ not shown	Varies /not shown

Protective Factors for UAMs/fUAMs

Methodology	No. of Papers	State /Focus	Study Period	Methods Used	Main Countries of Origin	Sample Size Range	Age Range
Qualitative	n=35	NSW (11) Victoria (10) Various States (5) QLD (4) SA (3) ACT (1) WA (1)	1970s-1980s (Indochinese) 2001-2016 (mainly from the Middle East i.e., Afghans)	Interviews, observations, focus groups, documentary analysis, photo analysis	Afghan-istan Sri Lanka, Pakistan, Iraq, Vietnam, China, Burma, Sudan	1-38	9-<25 years
Quantitative	n=5	Victoria (4) NSW (1)	2005-2018	Question-naires	”	70-7,702	14-<30
Mixed Methods	n=5	Victoria (4) NSW (1)	2010-2016	Question-naires & Interviews	”	97-587	12-<24
Literature Reviews	n=34	Victoria (16) NSW (6) SA (4) QLD (2) Tasmania (2) Various States (2) WA (1) ACT (1)	1979-2010 (Indochinese) 2001-2016 (mainly from the Middle East i.e. Afghans)	Academic, grey, legal	Varied/not shown	Varied/ not shown	Varied/ not shown