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Community Policing and Refugee Settlement
in Regional Australia:
A Case Study of Tasmania

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Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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Hobart,

November 2011

DECLARATION 1

This thesis contains no material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma in any tertiary institution. The thesis does contain material previously published. This material is dispersed throughout the thesis and is not reproduced in full in any particular chapter. Due references are made to the published works in the text of the thesis.

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The co-authored published papers acknowledge the contributions made by the second author in her role as PhD supervisor only and a statement of authorship is included in the declarations in this thesis.

The Tasmanian Social Science Human Research Ethic Committee granted this research full application approval (reference number H8597) on the 22 March 2006 and an additional acceptance of amendments on the 11 May 2007.

Signed

Date – 17 November 2011

DECLARATION 2

Statement of Co-authorship

The appendix to this thesis includes two co-authored publications. Danielle Campbell is cited as the first author in both publications. This reflects the fact that the research and the primary authorship of both papers is hers. The inclusion of Roberta Julian as the second author is an acknowledgment of her intellectual input in the role of primary supervisor for the PhD.

Signed

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Roberta Julian', with a stylized flourish at the end.

Associate Professor Roberta Julian

17 November 2011

ABSTRACT

Although Australian police were not the perpetrators of the profound violation of trust that characterises the refugee experience, they have the potential to be one of the key agencies in settlement to assist in the restoration of trust. This research explores the perspectives of police and refugees concerning police-refugee and refugee-police relations. The research was conducted in Tasmania, Australia, as a regional location settling refugees. The qualitative research involved 160 participants including police and members of seven of the African newly arrived refugee communities. The data was collected from 2006 to 2008, a time that was characterised by periods of negative media attention focusing on African refugees and debate about settlement in regional Australia.

The research offers an understanding of both the perspectives of police and the members of newly arrived African communities in regional Australia on factors that can influence interactions between them. The research reveals that an understanding of experiential difference and community dynamics is crucial. The data analysis identified three distinct themes affecting police-refugee relations: the process of transition for refugees, the timing of police interventions and individual/community dynamics, highlighting a need for police awareness of the refugee experience and how this awareness may then influence contact between police and refugees. The study also tackles the issues of reporting and racism from both the perspectives of police and the African refugee communities.

The research explores ways to expand community involvement in a range of safety and crime prevention initiatives by increasing the flow of information between refugee communities and police, and improving feelings of safety and security for individual refugees, refugee communities and police. The study identifies principles to create, maintain and sustain positive police-refugee relationships that support the complex dynamics of settlement in regional Australia, with a focus on the vulnerability of refugees during stages of transition. It was found that using a number of targeted community policing strategies to support newly arrived refugee communities during initial settlement contributed to an increase in refugees' understandings of Australian law and that trust, perceived legitimacy in police, and cooperation were increased. The thesis also argues that police-refugee relationships are enhanced by a procedural justice framework and could be positively affected by restorative justice practices. Finally, the findings from this research can be translated into a series of practical applications that could have a positive impact on the effectiveness and efficiency of police work by increasing the capacity for community engagement, improving feelings of safety and encouraging reporting to police.

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- the Australian Research Council (ARC) for supporting the Linkage Project, *Community Policing and Refugee Settlement in Regional Australia – A Case Study of Tasmania* (LP0455618);
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- all the research assistants, for imparting their knowledge and for their patience and support for the project;
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- the community organisations, for assisting in making resources available and showing such enthusiasm;
- my friends who supported me unconditionally and
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PUBLICATIONS

See separate document 'Related Publications'

Campbell, D 2007, 'Community Policing and Refugee Settlement in Regional Australia: A Police Perspective', *The International Journal of Diversity in Organisations, Communities and Nations*, vol. 6, no. 4, pp. 7-13.

Campbell, D March 2007, Regional Settlement of Refugees: Implications for Policing, Refugee Entrants and Host Communities, *Briefing Paper No 3*, Tasmanian Institute of Law Enforcement Studies, University of Tasmania, pp 1-12

Campbell, D & Julian, R 2007, 'Community Policing and Refugee Settlement in Regional Australia: A Refugee Voice', *The International Journal of Diversity in Organisations, Communities and Nations*, vol. 7, no. 5, pp. 7-16.

Campbell, D & Julian, R 2009, *A Conversation on Trust: Community Policing and Refugee Settlement in Regional Australia, Final Report, Australian Research Council Linkage Project*. Tasmanian Institute of Law Enforcement Studies, University of Tasmania, pp 1-58

ABBREVIATIONS

ARC	Australian Research Council
AMES	Adult Migrant English Programme
CSR	Community Support for Refugees
DIAC	Department of Immigration and Citizenship

It should be noted there have been name changes in recent years in the Australian Government department overseeing immigration. They are all cited in the bibliography and as well as DIAC are as follows:

DIMIA	Department of Immigration, Multicultural and Indigenous Affairs
DIMA	Department of Immigration and Multicultural Affairs
DPEM	Department of Police and Emergency Management
DR Congo	Democratic Republic of Congo
EMA	Emergency Management Australia
HREC	Human Research Ethics Committee
IHSS	Integrated Humanitarian Settlement Scheme
MRC	Migrant Resource Centre
SHP	Special Humanitarian Program
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees

DEFINING KEY TERMS

Australia's Humanitarian Program

The Australian refugee and humanitarian program comprises 13 000 places per annum in two major visa categories: Refugee and the Special Humanitarian Program (SHP).

This program includes both on-shore and off-shore refugee categories. It offers resettlement as a means of protection and a durable solution for people overseas without other options. The off-shore program consists of the Refugee and Special Humanitarian Program (SHP) visa holders who are all permanent residents on arrival in Australia.

The SHP attempts to assist those who are not refugees within the strict legal definition, but who are in refugee-like situations and are at risk of human rights abuses. The overall Humanitarian Program now accepts 13 000 annually: 6 000 under the Refugee visa category and 7 000 under the SHP (DIAC 2011).

Refugee

The refugee visa is issued to people who have been subjected to persecution in their home country and have reason to believe it would continue if they returned. The UNHCR states:

A refugee is a person who 'owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group, or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality, and is unable to or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail

himself of the protection of that country...' (The 1951 Convention relating to the Status of Refugees). (UN 1951; UNHCR 2004)

In Australia the refugee category comprises 6 000 places per annum and was increased to 6500 in 2008 (DIAC 2011). The SHP visa is for people who have been subjected to and fear substantial discrimination amounting to gross violation of human rights in their home country. SHP applicants need to have a proposer in Australia. SHP entrants account for 7 000 places per annum. In this report the term refugee refers to Refugee and SHP visa entrants from the off-shore humanitarian program.

This report uses the term 'refugee' as a reference to the person's background because it is highly relevant to this research. I do not advocate that people who arrive in Australia on a Refugee or Special Humanitarian visa should be labeled 'refugees' in an ongoing capacity after they have become Australian permanent residents or citizens.

African Australian

African Australian is a common new term used by services providers and also by the African Australian community as a self-reference.

Community

The concept of community is being used here in its policy context not in its sociological and/or anthropological sense. The use of this term does not imply the existence of a single homogenous, bounded social entity. It is recognised that community formation involves a complex process of identification by 'self' and 'other' such that the category of 'African refugees' comprises a number of distinct communities that have established themselves in different parts of Australia.

The term community refers primarily to the act of relating that characterizes community i.e. community policing, community initiative, refugee community.

Refugee communities

The term refugee communities refers to those in Tasmania unless another location is specified.

African Refugee communities

The term African refugee refers to those in Tasmania unless another location is specified.

Host community

The host community refers to the community in the area of settlement that includes the longer-term residents of that location who therefore have both a long-standing understanding of, and more influence over, the workings of that area.

Mainstream community

The term mainstream community refers to the general population of a location. In this thesis, it will primarily refer to the wider Australian population. In this thesis it is understood that a number of communities exist within the mainstream community, that are primarily defined by location, shared interest or shared experience. The refugee community is considered one of these.

Regional

The definition of regional shifts depending on the categorization utilized by the various state and federal government agencies. For the purposes of this paper it will refer to non-metropolitan areas that do not have significant metropolitan centres within easy commuting distance.

Integration

The term integration is rising in popularity and is currently being utilized in many forums. The UNHCR refers to integration as:

..a mutual, dynamic, multifaceted and ongoing process. From a refugee perspective, integration requires a preparedness to adapt to the lifestyle of the host society without having to lose one's own cultural identity. From the point of view of the host society, it requires willingness for communities to be welcoming and responsive to refugees and for public institutions to meet the needs of a diverse population. (Adapted from the European Council on Refugees and Exiles (ECRE), Policy on Integration, 1999) (UNHCR 2002)

The Department of Immigration and Citizenship (DIAC) in Australia refers to integration in terms of promoting inclusion and participation in Australian society and assisting new arrivals in interacting with, and understanding, the broader community while also encouraging the wider community to be responsive to new arrivals (DIAC 2007b).

Culture

Culture is 'an historically transmitted pattern of meaning embodied in symbols, a system of inherited conceptions expressed in a symbolic form by means of which [people] communicate, perpetuate, and develop their knowledge about attitudes to life' (Geertz 1973)

CHAPTER 1 – INTRODUCTION

WHY THIS RESEARCH?

Refugees travel thousands of kilometres fleeing war, destruction and persecution. They are hoping to leave danger, insecurity and the threat of war. In doing so they also leave family and friends, employment, schooling and a life that they have always known. They do this in search of safety and hope for the future. How they create that sense of safety in a new country depends on a number of factors; personality, past experiences and access to information and resources. Pivotal to successful settlement is the level of engagement that they can achieve in a new country.

In most developed countries, the police are the profession that represents safety and a sense of order in the community, but in some cases where countries are in transition, at war and or experiencing unrest, police can also signify danger and suppression. For some individuals and their families the only option is to flee the country in search of safety; however, rebuilding a sense of safety can be complex. As an important element of the rebuilding, this research explores the process of achieving positive police-refugee relationships in the country of settlement with a focus on the creation, maintenance and sustainability of these relationships in a regional context.

The initial seed for this research stemmed from the concerns of individuals, settlement staff and Community Support for Refugees volunteer staff who all supported refugee individuals and their families in the first six months of settlement. All parties had

stories of confusion, frustration and often fear that they had heard from newly arrived refugees in relation to their contact with police. A strong concern was expressed about how a lack of understanding may lead to a negative outcome in an interaction with police. In addition, a lack of understanding may also lead to a situation escalating unnecessarily with the increased potential for undesirable consequences. An aspect of this concern was a sense of having little control over preventing these escalations, which in turn was producing a strong sense of vulnerability within these newly arrived communities.

My conversations with these newly arrived refugees were specific to a situation or to an individual's experience but I became alarmed at the consistency of the themes in the way these were conveyed. As the State Coordinator of the Community Support for Refugees volunteers, I started to live in fear of a phone call that would tell me that one of the members of the refugee communities was either hurt or in trouble, or that indeed a member of a refugee community had hurt or created trouble for someone else in the mainstream community. This background created a strong incentive to undertake research to inform and explore strategies to prevent these possible scenarios from occurring.

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The other reason for the interest in the research stemmed from the fact that the majority of humanitarian entrants to Tasmania in the last 10 years have been Africans (DIAC 2008), but little has been done in terms of participatory research to understand

their experiences. This thesis seeks to make a significant contribution to addressing that gap.

Subsequently, the research focused on refugees coming to Australia from Africa, due to the protracted nature of their flight experience, the high levels of trauma experienced in protracted conflicts, their visible difference (Colic Peisker 2005; Colic Peisker 2005; Colic Peisker & Tilbury 2005; Garland & Chakraborti 2006; Robinson 2006) and the fact that they made up a majority of the Australian humanitarian immigration intake at the time when the research commenced. In the context of refugee settlement in regional Australia, particular challenges occur due to the limited experience with dealing with refugees. These challenges are associated with the characteristics of the current refugee intake specifically high visibility, high levels of trauma and diverse language support needs (IWDVS 2006; Robinson 2006). The research avoids making statements about refugee settlement in Australia generally; rather, it focuses on refugee settlement in regional Australia and on some of the more complex scenarios that require sensitive and targeted approaches. It does not deal with Temporary Protection Visas holders (TPVs), nor does it address the debate surrounding the on-shore refugee program in Australia. These matters deserve particular attention but are not within the scope of this thesis.

WHO BECAME INVOLVED IN THIS RESEARCH?

This research was supported by an Australian Research Council (ARC) Linkage grant. The project is titled, *Community Policing and Refugee Settlement in Regional Australia: A Case Study of Tasmania*. The project focuses on Tasmania as a case study. The research was undertaken through the Tasmanian Institute of Law Enforcement Studies (TILES) at the University of Tasmania, and included the Department of Immigration and Citizenship (DIAC)¹ and the Tasmanian Department of Police and Emergency Management (DPEM) as Industry Partners. The Linkage Project was a collaboration that explored particular challenges for new and emerging refugee communities and the potential for community policing to support successful regional settlement. Apart from the participants involved in the research, research assistants were employed to support the access process and ensure both cultural and language understanding.

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TERMINOLOGY

Throughout the thesis the term 'refugee' is used. The term 'refugee' is in itself problematic. The more correct bureaucratic term in Australia refers to individuals who arrived in Australia on a Humanitarian Visa. This label has a limited shelf life, as people on arrival in Australia will have permanent residency and in many cases

¹ It should be noted that there have been name changes in recent years in the Australian Government Department overseeing immigration. They are cited in the bibliography and are as follows:

- DIMIA Department of Immigration Multicultural and Indigenous Affairs
- DIMA Department of Immigration and Indigenous Affairs
- DIAC Department of Immigration and Citizenship

become Australian citizens. It was decided (particularly because of the mixed stakeholders in the research) that the term 'refugee' was appropriate because it focused everyone's mind on experiences rather than legal labels. In this thesis the term 'refugee' has been used simply as a reference to background; it makes no claims about the long-term status of individuals and/or families. There is also awareness, though, that the psychological element of labelling is a significant risk, and the concern of many refugee entrants is: 'When do we stop being refugees and who decides?' Some of the impacts of this identity creation are explored in more detail later in the thesis.

The concept of community is being used in this thesis in its policy context (as in 'emerging community') not in its sociological and/or anthropological sense. The use of this term does not imply the existence of a single homogenous, bounded social entity. It is recognised that community formation involves a complex process of identification by 'self' and 'other' such that the category of 'African refugees' comprises a number of distinct communities that have established themselves in different parts of Australia.

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RESEARCH QUESTIONS

Aim

The aim of this research was to explore police-refugee relations and refugee-police relations and contribute to knowledge on factors that influence these relationships in a regional context.

Initial Research Questions

The initial research questions were as follows:

1. What factors influence refugee and police relations in regional Australia?
2. Do the past experiences of refugees have a bearing on the current relationships that individuals may have with police either directly or indirectly?
3. Is it possible to understand of police-refugee relations from both the perspectives of police and the perspectives of individuals and families who are members of the African Australian communities?
4. What are the factors in police-refugee contacts that have the most bearing on this relationship?
5. What can be done to affect the creation, maintenance and sustainability of positive police-refugee relations in regional Australia? Who needs to do what?
6. What parts do the host community and the media play in the creation and maintenance of positive police-refugee relations?

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WHY TASMANIA?

Tasmania offers an excellent case within which to explore the perspectives of both police and members of the refugee community in terms of the relationships between them. The state has the characteristics of other regional areas in Australia and specifically of regional communities where refugee settlement is now occurring.

Tasmania is a small island state south of the Australian mainland, with a relatively low

population density and a relaxed lifestyle. See Chapter 2 for a more detailed description of Tasmania's characteristics.

The University of Tasmania also offered an appropriate environment for this research to be undertaken. The Tasmanian Institute of Law Enforcement Studies is a research institute that could successfully partner with both Tasmania Police and the Department of Immigration and Citizenship to explore the different perspectives on the relationships of interest. Tasmania also offered strong networks within the refugee settlement sector and it was also the sector in which I had worked for the past 15 years.

WHAT IS THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE RESEARCH?

Although Australian police were not the perpetrators of the profound violation of trust that characterises the refugee experience, they are one of the key agencies in settlement with the potential to assist in the restoration of trust. In many ways, this can be undertaken within the normal parameters of daily policing interaction. The first key to achieving this goal of restoring levels of trust is a level of professional consciousness that involves using cultural competency tools in any interaction between police and members of refugee communities.

The second key to the restoration of trust is an appreciation of the impact of, and the ability to maximise the learnings from each interaction, as an educational opportunity for the individual present and in many cases for the newly arrived community more

generally. People's expectations of police are based on their experiences, regardless of whether they are positive or negative. This is true for the mainstream community generally but for a community that has not been socialised into the ways in which 'things work' in Australia, these personal experiences can exert even more influence on the construction of reality.

It can be argued that refugee-police interaction is a particularly complex situation for refugees who have experienced high levels of trauma in their backgrounds. The types of interaction with police that are identified in this research are not vastly different to those in the mainstream community. However, the subjective experiences of refugees may be quite different in some cases. I am not suggesting that refugees who have experienced trauma necessarily have more contact with police than any other groups, as data on this is not available. Nor is it being suggested that high numbers of refugees or a larger proportion of refugee communities have contact with police (RCOA 2007a). However, the argument is that when contact with police occurs (especially if it is in response to an incident), the issues and the complexity of these situations are difficult for both the individual refugee (whether in a victim or accused capacity) and for the police involved. To be realistic, however, there will always be a small proportion of members of any community that will end up on the wrong side of the law. What may be unique is the effect that these interactions have on the individuals and families in the African Australian community.

The responsibility to contribute positively to police-refugee relationships is particularly important in the climate of recent years where negative images have been created, either accurately or inaccurately, of a whole community of people. These can arise from public opinion and they can be created by the media (Dore 2007; Kerbaj 2006a, 2006b, 2007; RCOA 2006a, 2006b, 2007b). During the period of this research, the impact of negative portrayals of African Australian community members in the media resulted in a daily backlash in the streets (both verbal and physical) that culminated in an increased reluctance to report incidents to police. Both of these trends increased the complexity of the relationship between police and new and emerging refugee communities and created difficulties for police in doing their job.

Due to the complex environment in which police-refugee relations occur there are three distinct reasons for police prioritising relationship-building through community policing:

1. Professional obligation
2. Extraordinary opportunity
3. Positive influence

Police officers have a professional obligation to serve everyone in the community.

There exists an extraordinary opportunity for police to influence the difficult process of settlement especially by maximising the educational impact for humanitarian entrants

of day to day policing and specific community policing strategies. These opportunities translate into a relatively small effort for great gains for refugees, their communities, the mainstream Australian community and the police service. This research demonstrates this positive influence of community policing in the context of newly arrived refugees in regional Australia.

This research investigates ways in which refugee-police interactions can influence successful settlement. In addition, in discussing the processes of inclusion and exclusion in refugee settlement, it provides an overview of specific issues concerning police and particular laws in Australia as experienced by the individuals and families of newly emerging communities.

THESIS OVERVIEW

The purpose of the first half of the thesis is to present a discussion of refugee settlement and policing that is grounded in the relevant literature. It also provides an analysis of the context within which police-refugee interactions occur in regional Australia. The thesis is structured around an identification of the key components of this context. It highlights issues specific to regional settlement and some of the potential implications for policing. These are discussed from the perspectives of police services, refugee entrants and their families, as well as the host communities. The second half of the thesis presents and offers analysis of the research data.

The thesis contains the following chapters:

1. Introduction
2. Refugee Settlement in Tasmania
3. Community Policing and Trust
4. Research Methodology
5. The Refugee Voice
6. The Voice of Police and Voices in Police-Refugee Interaction
7. Discussion of Community Policing and-Refugee Settlement
8. Practical Application in Community Policing
9. Conclusion

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The introduction and the issues and context chapters (Chapters 1-3) outline the environment in which the research was conceived, the rationale for its importance and who was involved in the research, their roles and why.

Chapter Two on refugee settlement in Tasmania explores settlement of refugees in all its facets. Initially it focuses on the concept of settlement and associated service delivery in Australia broadly and then more specifically in Tasmania. The chapter then investigates phases of the refugee journey; the story of this journey before and after arriving in Australia. It explores the process with a focus on youth, gender relations and personal coping mechanisms. Acculturation, integration and community

acceptance, media and their roles in settlement are also detailed. The chapter looks at the aspirations related to the refugee journey and the reality of settlement in regional Australia.

The community policing and trust chapter (Chapter 3) examines the literature on the ideals of community policing and community policing history. It explores how policing is organised in Australia and explores community policing as a framework for positive police-refugee relations. The influences on public attitudes to police create the backdrop to how community policing can support vulnerable communities, while acknowledging experiential difference and diversity. The chapter investigates the relationship between refugees and police, the importance of trust and how mistrust has been a matter of survival for most refugees. It then explores the idea of police-refugee relations as an avenue for influencing social inclusion mechanisms among newly arrived refugees in Australia.

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The research methods chapter (Chapter 4) explores what was considered in the research design and how the research was undertaken. The chapter makes reference to ethics considerations, methodology, relationship building, sample selection and recruitment. In addition, it details the process of negotiating access and the procedure for the individual interviews with police, key service providers and members of the refugees. It also details the procedure for the focus group data collection and the participant observation undertaken as part of the research. The chapter explores the

process of transcription and data analysis before focusing on some specific considerations in the research particularly in reference to strengths, weaknesses and challenges.

The findings chapters (Chapters 5 and 6) present the primary research data but also offer insights into the human face of police-refugee relations and give voice to people and questions that have long been considered too difficult to address. In doing so, they also offer insight into what may need to occur and who might need to be involved to ensure positive refugee police relations in regional Australia. The initial findings chapter (Chapter 5) focuses on the refugees' voice and offers some general observations from this perspective. The contact/ incident interaction topics are investigated with a specific focus on driving and licensing, family violence, youth, mental illness and substance use and misuse. Australian law, racism, reporting, media, public opinion and community acceptance are also explored from the refugees' perspectives. The major themes from the research findings are explored in detail through a discussion in four categories: background and transition; initial settlement; knowledge acquisition and education; and reactions to present experiences.

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The second findings chapter (Chapter 6) explores the voice of police and the voices in police-refugee interaction. The first section concentrates on the perspective of police and explores contact/ incident interaction in police-refugee relations. It highlights barriers and enablers to this relationship through a discussion of a number of themes:

strategies at organisational foundation, language barriers, access to resources, initiating a positive agenda and training. In addition, the chapter investigates the issues of reporting and racism and highlights successful strategies in police-refugee relations. The remainder of the chapter investigates police–refugee relations: voices and perspectives in interaction concentrating on the data collection from the participant observations undertaken during the research. To demonstrate the potency of observations as a process of data collection that reveals multiple perspectives, a detailed case study a forum held in 2008 is presented. The observations and reflections of this case study further enhance understanding concerning the influences on police-refugee relations particularly communication and issues of trust. In doing so, it also highlights the importance that restorative justice practices may play in enhancing long-term positive police refugee relations.

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The third section of the chapter then presents a discussion of the overarching themes of all observations including the researcher’s reflection on the understandings gained from observing these interactions. These included primary themes of the difference in gender and the public/private distinction, generational differences and the fact that these are not unique problems. The sub-themes related to communication, the process of understanding law, assumptions about who is guilty before any questions are asked, police officers (especially females) dealing with young people, and police hesitancy in learning new strategies. In addition, the chapter discusses the issues of reporting, racism and the media.

The discussion chapter (Chapter 7) initially sets the scene for the police-refugee relationship, especially noting that transition is forced not chosen, mistrust is forced upon individuals and there is a need for a sense of control, hopes and dreams. It then explores why this relationship is important, how policing is complex and how the findings relate to community policing. The chapter investigates trust as an overarching theme influencing police-refugee relations especially as it relates to attitude formation and behaviour. These ideas are then explored in reference to the refugee journey and the phases of settlement including adjustments between phases. The chapter explores how these understandings highlight adaptation symptoms and the ideal and crucial times in settlement phases that maximise the effectiveness of community policing. The chapter then explores the key themes of transition, timing and individual/ community dynamics. The discussion then investigates how the research findings led to the recognition of the importance of procedural justice in the police-refugee relationship.

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The discussion chapter is followed by a chapter (Chapter 8) on the practical application of the research findings in the context of community policing. It presents the influencing factors and the understandings necessary for positive police-refugee relationships in the context of community policing including desired outcomes and principles for positive police-refugee relations. This chapter demonstrates the usefulness of the research in the field of policing, both in training and in informing policy and procedures.

The conclusion chapter (Chapter 9) revisits the importance of understanding both the process of refugee settlement and the process of community policing to enhance and maintain positive police-refugee relations. It also reviews the way in which this particular research and the research process it undertook contributes knowledge to both the fields of settlement and policing. In particular, it argues that the strength of the research based on an inductive process and identifying 'voices', led to the emergent finding of the importance of both restorative justice and procedural justice in the pursuit of influencing positive police-refugee relations.

CHAPTER 2 — REFUGEE SETTLEMENT IN TASMANIA

This research explores refugee police relations in a regional context, using Tasmania as a case study. It is therefore useful to understand the characteristics of the state (and its population) as a destination for refugees who are fleeing overseas conflict. It is also important to understand the refugee journey and the process of settlement. Refugee theory explains that 'the refugee is not pulled out; he or she is pushed out' (Kunz 1973). In terms of migration and resettlement, this push factor means that the refugee experience is distinctly different from the migrant experience largely characterised by the pull factor. In this chapter, these push factors will be examined/investigated by analysing the refugee journey and the characteristics of the refugee experience.

It is also important to note that context is never static (Strauss 1982). In terms of this research, the context shifted quite dramatically during the time of the project. The success of this research was in part based on its ability to remain focussed on the research questions and the desired outcomes, and by allowing the research design to evolve in light of these changes in context. Some of these contextual changes related to larger structural adjustments including the population, the economy (such as jobs market), and service provision (due to new tendering rounds for government funding).

Other changes that had a significant impact on the research relate to incidents between refugees and police in other Australian states. However, the most significant context to change was the representation of refugees in the media, coupled with its political commentary. This had a profound impact on the members of the Tasmanian African

communities who then became the focus of increased attention based on these depictions. In particular, the claims made by Mr Kevin Andrews MP and the media that these refugee communities (particularly Sudanese) were unable to settle in Australia successfully. These particular issues—and their impact on the research design—will be explored in more depth in Chapter 4.

This chapter will explore the settlement of refugees in Australia and more particularly Tasmania. It will also present the details of the refugee journey and the phases of settlement. The settlement services that support refugees in the initial stage will also be explored.

REFUGEE SETTLEMENT IN AUSTRALIA

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Australian refugee policy, particularly in relation to offshore applications for refugee settlement in Australia, has always been directed at those in greatest need. With respect to refugee status suitability refugees are referred directly to Australian immigration officials by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). Addressing the highest need, as defined by the UNHCR, involves targeting different parts of the world where the durable options for refugees have all but diminished. In these cases, the UNHCR suggests that the risks are too high for those refugees to be sustained in the region or returned home to their country of origin. The Australian Government prioritises regions based on these UNHCR recommendations, and the government requires individual refugees to prove a well-founded fear of

persecution (DIAC 2007a). As this is the basis for the Australian refugee program, the origins of Australia's refugee population are in many ways defined more by external international pressures than by local requests.

Australia accepts approximately 13 000 refugees each year from the offshore humanitarian program, which represents approximately 10% of the migration program. This is a decrease from 2000/01 when it represented 17% of the migration program (RCOA 2006a). These individuals come under humanitarian and special humanitarian visa categories, and in 2004/05, the Australian Government's regional priority was Africa, followed by the Middle East and South West Asia (DIAC 2007a). Consequently, recent refugee and humanitarian settlement in Australia has resulted in high numbers of refugees from Africa entering Australia. In the five years to the end of the financial year 2006, 32 356 individuals arrived from Africa and in the 2004/05 year, refugees from Africa comprised 71.1% of the program intake (DIAC 2007a); however, that proportion dropped to 55.7% in 2005/06 (DIAC 2007b).

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Humanitarian Program Figures 2003-2009

The following tables give an indication of the focus and priorities of refugee settlement in Australia during the years 2003 to 2009. These statistics demonstrate the importance of Africa as a source region in the context of Australia's migration programs during this time. For example, in 2003-04 and 2004-05 around 70% of entrants under Australia's Humanitarian Program were from Africa (ABS 2008). During the 10 years

to mid 2007, five African countries or regions accounted for most arrivals under the Humanitarian Program: Sudan (22,445), other Central and West Africa (3,796), Ethiopia (2,714), Sierra Leone (2,477) and Somalia (2,373) (ABS 2008). In Australia, most of the Africa-born population live in mainland state metropolitan areas although the 2006 Census data shows that 0.6% lived in Hobart and 16.6% lived outside the capital cities (ABS 2008). These statistics make a strong case for the need for research focusing on African refugee settlement in regional Australia.

Table 1: Humanitarian Program Grants by Category 2003/4 - 2008/9

VISA CATEGORY	2003/4	2004/5	2005/6	2006/7	2007/8	2008/9
Refugee	4 134	5 511	6 022	6 003	6 004	6 499
Special Humanitarian	8 927	6 755	6 836	5 275	5 026	4 625
Onshore Protection	788	895	1 272	1 701	1 900	2 378
Temporary Humanitarian Concern	2	17	14	38	84	5
TOTAL	13 851	13 178	14 144	13 017	13 014	13 507

Source: Department of Immigration and Citizenship (DIAC 2003, 2007b, 2007c, 2008b, 2010a)

Table 2: Offshore Resettlement Regional Balance from 2003/4 - 2008/9

REGION	2003/4	2004/5	2005/6	2006/7	2007/8	2008/9
Middle East & SW Asia	24.3%	26.2%	34.0%	28.0%	35.3%	33.5%
Africa	70.8%	70.2%	56.0%	50.9%	30.5%	33.2%
Asia and the Pacific	1.9%	3.4%	9.9%	20.7%	33.7%	33.1%
Europe and the Americas	3.1%	0.2%	0.5%	0.4%	0.6%	0.2%

Source: Department of Immigration and Citizenship (DIAC 2003, 2007b, 2007c, 2008b, 2010a)

In recent history, Australia's refugee program has seen a dramatic increase in the proportion of refugees with experiences of trauma (Iredale et al. 1996); first in the 1990s with refugees from Eastern Europe and then in the 2000s with refugees from Africa. The use of the criterion of 'highest needs' has resulted in the wave of refugees from Africa into Australia increasing dramatically in the last few years as the situation in Africa worsened and the likelihood of a durable solution decreased. As can be seen in Table 3, the number of refugees arriving from Africa had increased significantly in 2003/4, and again in 2004/5, but began dropping in 2005/6 (DIAC 2007a, 2007c). This means most of the refugees from Africa that are currently living in Australia have arrived in the three years prior to the research and particularly the data collection for this project. The data collection for this research was conducted from 2006 to 2008.

Thus, African refugees comprise a very new and emerging community with specific issues and challenges that are only now beginning to be understood.

Table 3: Intake of Humanitarian Entrants from Africa (2001/00-2005/6)

ARRIVAL YEAR	Number
2001/2	2 801
2002/3	5 616
2003/4	8 353
2004/5	8 486
2005/6	7 100

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Source: Department of Immigration and Citizenship (DIMIA 2007, DIAC 2007a, 2007c, 2010)

Australia's policy and procedures concerning immigration are influenced by the UNHCR framework on refugee settlement, the *Migration Act 1958* (including amendments of the Act in the 1990s) and Australia's key statement on multiculturalism: *Multicultural Australia: United in Diversity* (Australian Government 2003). Further to these, in May 2003, DIAC reviewed settlement services leading to *The Report of the Review of Settlement Services for Migrants and Humanitarian Entrants* (DIMIA

2003) which informed the *National Framework for Settlement Planning* (DIMIA 2006 b) providing a strategic and co-ordinated approach to further ensure responsiveness to the needs of new arrivals.

The Department of Immigration and Citizenship is the lead agency in refugee settlement in Australia. The Department organises the selection of potential candidates with UNHCR refugee status in countries of asylum to be offered the opportunity to immigrate to Australia. They also organise information to be given to individuals and families coming to Australia on humanitarian visas. A representative of the International Organisation for Migration (IOM) delivers this pre-departure information in the last few weeks, and often only days, before departure to Australia.

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The Department allocates individuals on humanitarian visas to an Australian state (or territory) and in some instances to a specific region. The Department makes the decision about settlement location based on the characteristics of the individual or family, in particular whether they are linked to anyone already in Australia. The capacity of the host community to offer a successful settlement environment is also considered by DIAC. Individuals and families are then allocated to a service provider in that region to support them through settlement.

The Department of Immigration and Citizenship is in charge of overseeing the tendering process for settlement service provision in Australia. In fact, the Department

is both a decision maker on allocation of refugee numbers to a certain area and the overseer of the tendering process and its implementation. This combination can cause tensions in the process of refugee settlement (RCOA 2006a). The service providers involved and individuals representing the Department primarily experience most of these tensions, but occasionally the issues that arise from this tension can affect the refugees and their settlement more directly. The tendering process can lead to instability and vulnerability in service provider organisations, and can be stressful on staff and lead to a high turnover of staff (RCOA 2006a). The nature of the tendering process is based on the allocation of funds per individual or family, and is therefore reliant on the flow of allocations by the Department, rather than on the core funding needs of an organisation to offer that service.

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The nature of the refugee journey and the refugee context internationally means that this is a sector always in a state of reaction. Concerns exist within the sector that apart from the reactive state of refugee allocation to Australia and the changes to country of origin, changes to the funding of settlement services has a strong influence on decreasing health and well-being of refugees; a factor identified in the 2003 review that has still be to remedied (Taylor 2004).

Australia has a long history of commitment to refugees in the highest need category. Australia's selection of refugees changes based on the severity of the situation they are experiencing, and the government focus on conflicts where individuals in countries of

asylum are least likely to be able to return to their homeland. This means that the country of origin of humanitarian visa holders radically changes in reaction to the context internationally, and neither service providers nor the newly arrived communities are confident of who the next wave of refugees may include. This creates issues in terms of organisational knowledge (RCOA 2006a) and in being able to offer services tailored to the specific needs of those communities entering Australia (including their past experiences and their future aspirations). For settling communities, it creates instability and the fragility of not knowing the future of their community in this country (RCOA 2006a).

The Tasmania office of the Department of Immigration and Citizenship advises the national office about settlement location in this state. However, the state office deals directly with settlement service providers. Having a state office in a small community like Tasmania has meant good access to representatives of the Department, especially for the pursuit of successful refugee settlement outcomes in this state.

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Major Source Countries to Tasmania

To understand the significance of the influence of the humanitarian migration from Africa to Australia, it is useful to appreciate the demographic details of some of these refugee intakes. The following is a summary of numbers and demographics of three of the largest source countries from Africa; those being, Sierra Leone, Sudan and Ethiopia. Unlike those refugee communities from Burundi, Rwanda, Democratic Republic of

Congo and Liberia, it is possible to provide a detailed view of the characteristics of refugees arriving from these three source countries. The details provided about these communities, however, give a sense of the characteristics of the communities from Africa generally and a strong sense of the diversity within those groups both in terms of demographics and settlement characteristics. All following tables are Australia wide figures.

Table 4: Number of People Born in Sierra Leone, Sudan and Ethiopia Living in Australia

POPULATION MEASURE	Sierra Leone	Sudan	Ethiopia
Number of People in Australia in 2001	350	4 910	3 600
Number of People in Australia in 2006	1 810	19 050	5 640
Change in Population between 2001 and 2006	416.0%	287.7%	46.7%
Number of People in Tasmania in 2006	170	530	170
Proportion of Total People in Australia living Tasmania in 2006	9.4%	2.8%	3.1%

Source: Department of Immigration and Citizenship 2001-2008 (DIAC 2008a)

Most Sierra Leoneans arrived in Australia under the Humanitarian Program. Around 46% arrived as refugees, as well as approximately 11% as women at risk and 43% as special humanitarian program entrants. Most Sierra Leoneans are between the ages of 18 and 34 years on arrival, with approximately 40% below the age of 18.

The majority of the Ethiopian-born refugees arrived in Australia after 1991, with 3 000 settling during the period 2000-2005. Ethiopian-born individuals share a common country of birth but many differences in ethnicity, language and religion within the Tasmanian community (DIAC 2008a). Many have endured notably long refugee camp stays in Africa. Individuals settled in Tasmania have experienced stays of over 20 years, with generations born outside of their home country who have only ever known camp life.

Sudan is one of the fastest growing refugee groups in Australia. Up to 2001, 4 910 Sudanese-born refugees arrived in Australia, which included a number of skilled migrants. After 2001, 98% have arrived under the humanitarian program. In the last 10 years, around 20,000 Sudanese-born refugees have settled in Australia, and in the 2001 census, they constituted 0.1% of the overseas-born population in Australia. The next tables highlight the demographics of the three largest intake countries of origin from Africa. Where possible, these are contrasted with the wider Australian population.

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Table 5: Age Distribution of African-born, Overseas-born and Total Australian Populations in 2006

AGE COHORTS	Sierra Leone	Sudan	Ethiopia	Aust ⁿ Total
Media Age (yrs)	25.7	24.6	30.8	33.8
0-14 yrs (as % of total)	20.0%	26.6%	14.5%	19.8%
15-24 yrs (as % of total)	28.5%	24.4%	15.3%	N/A

25-44 yrs (as % of total)	38.9%	36.4%	54.7%	N/A
45-64 yrs (as % of total)	11.9%	10.2%	13.5%	N/A
65 yrs and over (as % of total)	0.7%	2.5%	2.1%	14.9%
Working Age (15-65 yrs; as % of total)	79.3%	71.1%	83.5%	66.9%

Source: Department of Immigration and Citizenship (DIAC 2008a)

Table 6: Languages Spoken and Level of English Proficiency of People born in Sierra Leone, Sudan and Ethiopia in Australia in 2007

LANGUAGE SKILLS	Sierra Leone		Sudan		Ethiopia	
Languages Spoken at Home	Krio	35%	Arabic	51.2%	Amharic	38.8%
	English	17.5%	Dinka	23.6%	English	14.8%
	Creole	15%	English	4.4%	Omoro	12.2%
	Other	22.5%	Other	15.3%	Tigrinya	8.3%
	Other African languages	9.5%	Other African languages	5.5%	Other	25.9%
Number of People who Speak Languages other than English at Home	1 480		18 040		4 716	
Percentage of People who Speak English Well or Very Well	83.8%		67.0%		82.1%	
Percentage of People who do not Speak English Well or Not at All	13.6%		30.3%		15.7%	

Source: Department of Immigration and Citizenship (DIAC 2008a)

Table 7: Qualifications of People over the age of 15 born in Sierra Leone, Sudan and Ethiopia in Australia in 2007

LEVEL OF EDUCATION	Sierra Leone	Sudan	Ethiopia	Aust ⁿ Total
Higher non-school qualification	54.8%	38.8%	48.8%	52.5%
Diploma level higher qualification	17.1%	15.5%	21.3%	N/A
Certificate level qualification	23.3%	7.5%	13.1%	N/A
No qualification and/or attending education institution	66.1%	66.4%	39.4%	N/A

Source: Department of Immigration and Citizenship 2001-2008 (DIAC 2008a)

Table 8: Employment and Median Income of People Born in Sierra Leone, Sudan, Ethiopia and Australian-born in Australia in 2007

EMPLOYMENT STATUS	Sierra Leone	Sudan	Ethiopia	Aust ⁿ Total
Labour Force Participation Rate (15 – 65 yrs)	64.3%	40.3%	59.4%	64.6%
Unemployment Rate	16.7%	28.5%	13.7%	5.2%
Skill Level 1 Occupation	14.7%	17.9%	17.9%	28.7%
Skill Level 2 Occupation	5.9%	6.3%	6.2%	10.7%
Skill Level 3 Occupation	4.6%	7.3%	4.9%	15.1%
Median Individual Weekly Income	\$413	\$231	N/A	\$466

Source: Department of Immigration and Citizenship 2001-2008 (DIAC 2008a)

In the five years prior to 2006, the intake of humanitarian visa entrants in Tasmania tripled (DIMA 2006c). From 2001 to 2005, 2 000 individuals who were settled in Tasmania within the migration program self identified as having low English proficiency (DIMA 2006c). Most of these individuals arrived in the Humanitarian program. Those settled in Tasmania represented 1.2% of the national intake for that period (DIMA 2006c). In 2006, 28% of all overseas settlers to Tasmania were humanitarian entrants (DIAC 2007d). The national average of migrants with low levels of English proficiency entering Australia under the humanitarian program is 32%. In the period 2001 to 2005 in Tasmania, this percentage was 66% (DIMA 2006b), higher than any other state.

TASMANIA

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Tasmania is the smallest state in Australia with a population of approximately 500 000 people. The island of Tasmania—the 26th largest island in the world—and its surrounding islands, constitute 68,401 square kilometres (26,410 sq miles) and its capital city, Hobart, is located at 42°S 147°E. The island is located 240 kilometres (150 miles) south of the Australian continent, is separated from mainland Australia by Bass Strait and is surrounded by the Indian and Pacific Oceans. Tasmania has a cool temperate climate with four distinct seasons. Hobart includes the local government areas of Hobart, Glenorchy, and Clarence and Kingston. Other major population centres include Launceston in the north, and Devonport and Burnie in the northwest of the island.

Figures released by the Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) reveal that 5.5 million migrants from over 200 countries are living in Australia as of June 2008; which represents 24.6% of this total population. In Tasmania, 11.5% of the population were born overseas (ABS 2010); half of these born in England, Scotland and New Zealand (ABS 2006). In Tasmania, 92% of people speak only English at home, compared with 78.5% in Australia as a whole (ABS 2006). While only 8% of Tasmanians speak another language at home, there are over 80 other languages used in the state. For the purposes of this research, it is important to note that the Tasmanian context is one of low cultural diversity, when compared to mainland Australia, particularly metropolitan areas of the mainland.

Tasmanian policy and practice is guided by three core frameworks relating to multiculturalism:

- Tasmania Multicultural Policy 2001
- Social Inclusion Strategies at both Federal and State levels
- Tasmanian Anti-Discrimination Act 1998

Tasmania is considered a regional area of Australia and exhibits many of the characteristics of regional centres across Australia. Like its regional peers, traditionally Tasmania has had a majority Anglo-Saxon population, experienced population growth (older people) and decline (younger people), reduced employment opportunities and,

up until very recently, a lack of exposure to large numbers of people from diverse backgrounds living in their communities permanently. Tasmania has a decentralised population and faces the challenges of quality and specialised service delivery to the whole population, particularly in rural areas of the state.

REFUGEE SETTLEMENT IN TASMANIA

The settlement of refugees in Tasmania mirrors settlement in other parts of Australia, particularly in regional Australia, but also has distinct characteristics and issues that need to be understood in the context of this state. These issues relate, in the first instance, to isolation and the impact of critical mass on the allocation of service delivery, and secondly to the characteristics of the Tasmanian host population and its capacity to play its role in successful refugee settlement.

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Tasmanian immigration history began with a convict heritage where all immigrants to Tasmania, apart from the Indigenous population of Tasmanian Aborigines, came on boats from England as free settlers or, in greater numbers, as convicts. Southern Tasmania was the second settlement in Australia after Sydney in the early 1800s. The next significant wave was the post-war immigration that was characterised by the policy of assimilation. Since the 1970s, there has been immigration of Hmong²,

² The Hmong are one of the minority groups in Laos known as 'hill tribes'. As one of the two main ethnic groups living in the highest mountain regions in Laos, they have a minority status vis-a-vis the dominant group, the lowland Lao (Chan, 1994). During the Indo-Chinese War, the Hmong supported the Americans, many working directly for the CIA. In response to

Vietnamese and people from Eastern Europe (particularly the Kosovars under the *Safe Haven* project in the late 1990s). The Kosovo experience created a strong understanding of the refugee experience for an increased proportion of the Tasmania population. In many ways, the Kosovar experience in Tasmania laid the groundwork for successful settlement for people fleeing violence, and entering Australia through the humanitarian program.

The Tasmanian population remains predominately of Anglo-Saxon descent with residents of Launceston more likely to identify as Anglo-Saxon than residents of any other city in Australia (Boyce & Madden 2000; Flanagan 2007). The population's experience of people who are visibly different is much more limited than in the larger metropolitan areas on the Australian mainland.

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Settlement in Tasmania is split: 40% of settled refugees being allocated to the North (primarily Launceston and North West coast) and 60% to the South (primarily Greater Hobart). Specific allocation is based on a combination of the concentration of African communities, individual attributes of the family and the availability of settlement resources at the time of settlement.

persecution by the Lao government, many were forced to move into the jungle becoming refugees in their 'own' country before escaping to refugee camps in Thailand (Dean, 1993). Since 1975, Hmong have been accepted as refugees in countries such as the United States, Australia, France, Canada and French Guiana. (Julian (forthcoming))

In the last 10 years (to June 2010), approximately 1 700 humanitarian entrants from Africa have settled in Tasmania (DIAC 2010b). Further, while most humanitarian refugees in Tasmania come from African countries, in the last two to three years, approximately 500 humanitarian entrants from Burma, Bhutan and Nepal have also settled in Tasmania (DIAC 2010b). The top five African source countries were Sudan, Ethiopia, Sierra Leone, Democratic Republic of Congo, Liberia, Rwanda and Burundi (see Table 9 below).

Table 9: Number of Individuals living in Tasmania arriving from the Top Five Source Countries from Africa to Australia (2000-10)

COUNTRY OF ORIGIN	Number
Sudan	755
Ethiopia	184
Sierra Leone	178
Democratic Republic of Congo	129
Liberia	82
Rwanda	24
Burundi	45

Source: Department of Immigration and Citizenship (DIAC 2010)

Refugee Settlement Services

After 2003, most refugees making their way to Australia will have been shown material by the International Organisation for Migration on living in Australia. This material includes general information relating to life in Australia. However, it does not provide specific details about any region or state, or how each state or region may organise access to settlement services.

The Integrated Humanitarian Settlement Strategy (IHHS) is the Australian Government's framework from which service providers settle newly arrived families. Refugees are offered support for the first six months of settlement, and, in some cases, the support can be increased to up to a year. Support is allocated to the individual or to the family unit. Initial services include on-arrival reception and assistance, case coordination, information and referral, and accommodation services. They are also offered additional accommodation support to access permanent accommodation, support to access education, and familiarisation of how life is lived in Tasmania. This includes learning about how and where to shop, banking, to seek welfare support, how to use public transport, and a familiarisation of the law in Australia. Individuals can also access short-term counselling services for torture and trauma issues and referrals for longer-term assistance.

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The Community Support for Refugees program (CSR) supports newly arrived refugee families to create a life in Tasmania. CSR volunteers work alongside a caseworker in

the first six months to a year but often their support is offered for much longer periods unofficially, depending on the needs of the family and the circumstances that may arise. In many cases, groups of volunteers form lifelong relationships with refugee individuals and families. The volunteers are available to familiarise individuals with daily living in Tasmania. The refugee sector in Tasmania has enjoyed the support of volunteers over many years. In 2004, Tasmania boasted 25% of the volunteers nationally in the Community Support for Refugees program. This number of volunteers occurred in a state that represented approximately 2.5% of the Australian population. Tasmania remains a curious mix between a highly conservative community that has experienced little diversity within its population and, at the same time, it has gained a good reputation for being actively and openly welcoming. In some ways, this has created a tension within the host community. It certainly means that the experiences of newly arrived refugees are quite different from members of the Tasmanian community who have lived there for a long time.

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The Adult Migrant English service offers support for humanitarian visa holders from non-English speaking backgrounds who are older than the state education system entry age up to Grade 12. This program provides 510 hours of English-language tuition. All children go to school in the Tasmanian education system and enter school in the class appropriate for their age not their abilities or the previous level of schooling achieved. This occurs in both high school and primary school, and is based on the idea that peers (in terms of development age) are more important criteria for

class allocation than educational attainment needs at that time (Olliff & Couch 2005).

It is interesting to note that this is not always the way school children are allocated classes in some other countries in the world. It appears that for refugees coming from Africa, allocation by age, and not ability, is the top criterion for making the decision regarding class allocation. A university education is a strong aspiration for many in the refugee community, although this process can prove difficult for some individuals due to gaps in education.

Tasmania is supported by the Translating and Interpreting Services (TIS) which are run nationally. The major benefit of this national service is access to a pool of interpreters covering many languages. It is a 24 hour a day, seven days a week telephone interpreting service which covers 120 languages. The service is free to DIAC, medical practitioners in general practice and emergency services. Importantly, free access is not always guaranteed for all police work. Some settlement services also have access to the TIS service but all other individuals or organisations are subject to a fee.

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Even from this national interpreting pool, it is still often difficult to access the appropriate and effective interpreting service in some of the languages spoken by a particular humanitarian visa entrant. For sensitive issues requiring an on-site interpreter, it is almost impossible to enlist the support of an accredited professional without having to address issues of proximity of that person to the individual

requiring the service and to the community to which they belong. The question of potential conflict of interest and partiality is therefore sometimes a concern to policing.

During the time of this research, there have been a few distinct actors involved in service delivery in Tasmania. In 2005, the tender for settlement in Tasmania was held by the Migrant Resource Centre Inc that delivered services in the North and the South of Tasmania. Since 2006, the tender has been held by Centacare in the South and by the Migrant Resource Centre in the North. Particularly in the South, this has led to a loss of staff expertise in settlement generally (Boyce & Madden 2000). What is of interest in this research is how the change in actors in refugee settlement has created policies and procedures that have produced different outcomes for the individual refugees involved (Boyce & Madden 2000). On the positive side, these changes can foster an increased professionalism, although it can also create distinct disparities between the experiences of individuals and families at different times.

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A central concern in this research project was how, over time, individuals and families arriving in Tasmania have received their information about policing and the law in Australia. It is safe to say that this has depended on the organisations involved in delivery and particularly the tender requirement that they have been working under. It is not necessary to make a qualitative judgement about the differences and the reasons even though this may be relevant, but it is important to note that different people have received different amounts of information, which has been presented by different

individuals. Although in isolation this may not have caused problems in relation to either knowledge acquisition or absorption, it may have contributed to mixed ideas being held by different refugee communities in Australia about policing and the law.

ACCULTURATION

Understanding the processes of the refugee journey—in particular, settlement and integration—requires an appreciation of acculturation. Acculturation is seen as cultural change associated with social group movement resulting in the intersecting of persons who have different cultures (Carvajal & Granillo 2008). The process by which people create a new life in another country includes employment, schooling and often language acquisition. Realistically, it also includes potential negative encounters such as discrimination and racism. These cultural transitions are termed acculturation and acculturative stress relates to the difficulties in these transitions (Berry et al. 1987; Williams & Berry 1991).

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Carvajal and Granillo (2008) suggest that acculturation is one of the most important variables to acknowledge in a cross-cultural context, especially when assessing the impact of settlement interventions (Carvajal & Granillo 2008). In order to understand this acculturation process, Berry suggests that there are four types of outcomes to consider:

Assimilation: when the individual gives up the cultural identity of origin and creates positive relationships with the host culture.

Separation: when the original culture is retained and no positive relationships with the host culture are developed.

Integration: when the individual desires to retain the culture of origin as well as maintain positive relationships with the host culture.

Marginalisation: where there is no retention of the original culture and no desire to have a positive relationship with a host culture. (Berry et al. 1987)

Individual refugees have distinct stresses in their experiences of integration. Table 10 (later in the chapter) focuses in more detail on the potential sources of stress in the integration environment with reference to the possible personal and emotional consequences for individual refugees. The presentation of this material allows individual-focused insight as to how acculturation and integration may be felt firsthand. Any one person may experience any number of these types of stress and their consequences. The intensity and timing of how they experience these will be varied and influenced by many factors associated with settlement.

This framework for understanding acculturation and the phases of refugee adaptation offers a contextual understanding of the experiences of refugees. In doing so, it allows exploration of why this process may be negative in part or in its entirety. This

framework also enables us to acknowledge why some individual refugees settle well and integrate while others find themselves marginalised and isolated.

WHAT IS THE STORY OF REFUGEE ASPIRATIONS

The aspirations of refugees change depending on where they are in the process of flight and achieving relative safety in a refugee camp or later on in the settlement country. These aspirations and their associated elements such as trust and hope for a future are a fundamental key to successful settlement. These positive, forward-looking mechanisms support people through the difficulties that settlement inevitably raises.

One of the most important aspirations that many refugees and their families bring to a new country concerns the education of children, and higher education opportunities for young people and adults. Education is seen as a path to opportunity and inclusion. Refugees who are provided with the opportunity to complete university qualifications are dedicated to their education and perceive their studies as fulfilling their aspirations concerning respect and better quality jobs (Joyce et al. 2010). Motivation in many cases seems to have related positively with the difficult path that they have had to undertake to maximise this opportunity.

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Overall, refugees' aspirations are influenced by the characteristics of the individual's refugee journey, the quality of the on-shore induction and how that induction matches the individual's expectations of settlement. It is obvious that aspirations will change

over time but the focus on safety will play a central role in the assessment of the quality of daily life. This is why, in many instances, contact with police and experiences of racism have such a profound impact. They often present an absolute deviation from refugees' aspirations, especially, the dream of safety and of acceptance.

THE REFUGEE JOURNEY

This section explores the refugee story, which, in many ways, is the story of settlement in Australia. In particular, it is the story of African refugees' settlement in regional Australia. It is the story of acculturation, and of integration and the significance of community acceptance. It is a story of the aspirations of African individuals and families who have travelled the world in search of safety.

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The essence of the refugee experience is encapsulated in the following quote from, the UNHCR State of World's Refugees report:

There are as many reasons for moving as there are migrants. A particular set of reasons, involving persecution and the lack of national protection, distinguishes the refugee from other migrants. In practice, it is often difficult to pick out a specific cause for departure. People leave their homes as the result of a complicated mixture of fears, hopes, ambitions and other pressures which can be hard, if not impossible, to unravel (UNHCR 1993).

Singling out one reason for flight may be too simplistic to characterise the journey of an individual refugee or family. However a common thread for most African refugees is the high level of trauma resulting from an escape from armed conflict. In many ways, this background creates the challenges to successful settlement. Enduring extreme financial, psychological and physical hardship over prolonged periods affects the process of settlement (Flanagan 2007; Julian 2003). As such, the potential success of long-term integration and participation in the Australian community will depend greatly on the settlement support in the early period of arriving in Australia (DIMIA 2003a).

Some issues of concern in refugee settlement include high levels of trauma relating to media representations; the Australian government's responsibility to maximise opportunities to integrate and ameliorating disadvantage. The high levels of trauma in their backgrounds may also be the source of fear characterising recent media portrayals of refugees (Collins & Poynting 2000). Indeed, it may be that Australians fear these refugees because of their first hand experience of violence and conflict. This is of concern as Australia is responsible for delivering people the best and most appropriate support for integration and maximising their opportunities to become active Australian citizens. As Jupp asserts, "the overall objective of policy should be the avoidance or amelioration of disadvantage rather than simply easing the passage into Australian society" (Jupp 1994).

Phases of the Refugee Journey

The refugee journey is different for each individual and family. No two journeys are the same, although all are characterised by reaction, risk and opportunity. The refugee journey is fraught with danger. Therefore, it must be remembered that people who make it to the refugee camps are those who have survived. In the process, most will experience deprivation and many will experience violence during the journey.

Most people who spend time in refugee camps are either voluntarily repatriated to their country of origin or locally integrated into the surrounding communities in the country of that refugee camp. Before this occurs, many spend a considerable time in refugee camps. A very small percentage—less than 2%—of refugees are settled in countries such as Australia, Canada, United States of America, Sweden, and New Zealand. Figure 1 below sets out the stages of the refugee journey and some of the associated characteristics and experiences for those undergoing this process. Again though, no refugee journey is the same as another. This diagram offers an understanding of the different stages that individuals go through before they find refuge in a camp. It must also be remembered that for many people, refugee camps are also places that lack safety and are often places where various forms of deprivation occur.

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Figure 2 highlights the three options refugees have to choose from once they have the opportunity to leave the refugee camp. These options are rarely a choice made by the

individuals themselves although they can go through processes in an attempt to achieve their most desired outcome. For the small number that are resettled in countries outside Africa, there are thousands more who go through the processes of standing in queues for days, interviews and telling their story over and over again in the hope that resettlement may also be an option for them. The process of being resettled in this way requires multiple and lengthy interviews and can take considerable time to result in a decision. Once that decision is made—depending on the health of every individual in the family—departure can be quite quick. This process is a mix of extreme emotions during which refugees attempt to retain their hope for a better, and safer, life. This takes extraordinary courage and mental stamina.

Figure 1: Understanding the Journey of the Refugee

Sources: Adapted from Minnesota Centre for Victims of Torture

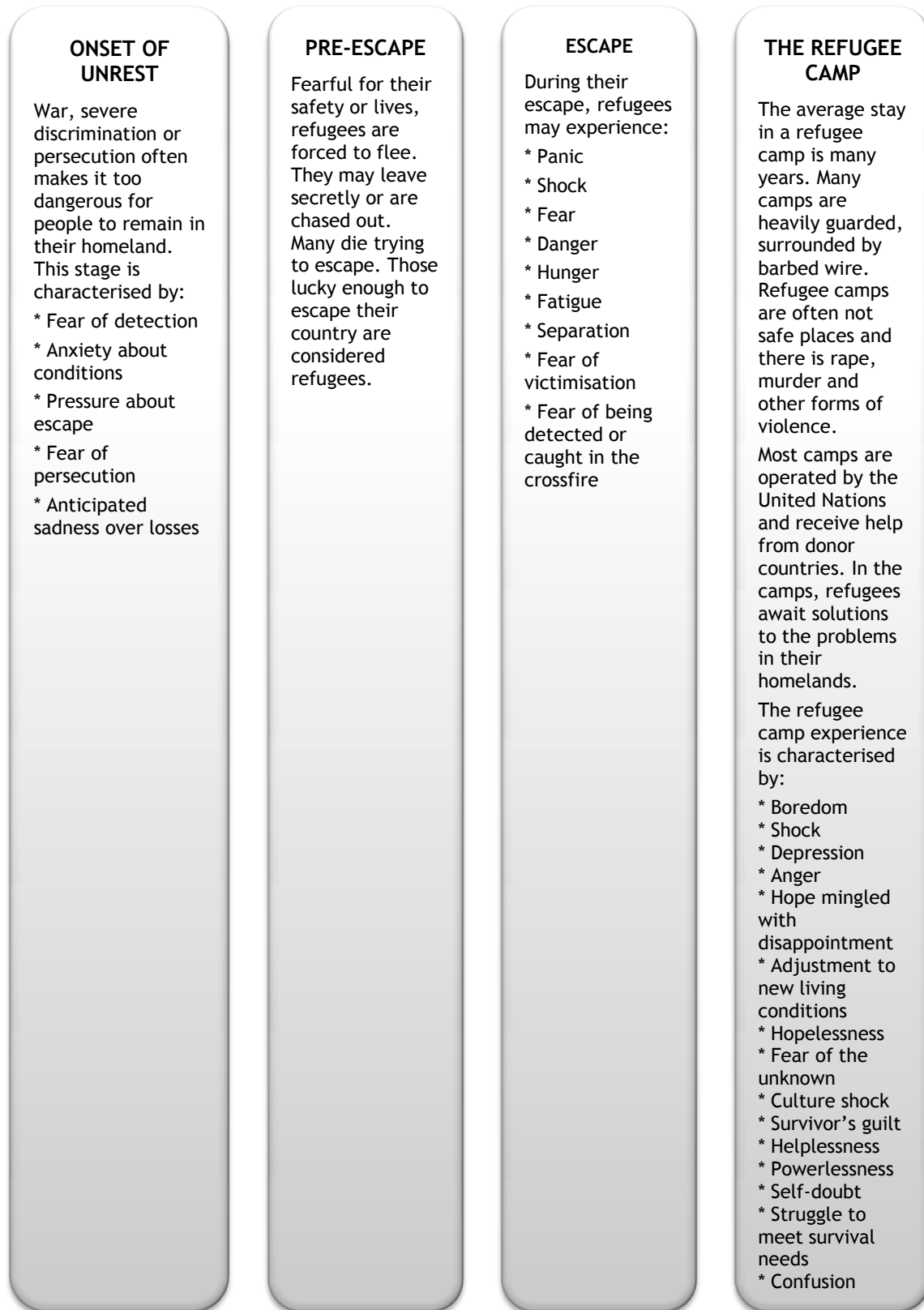
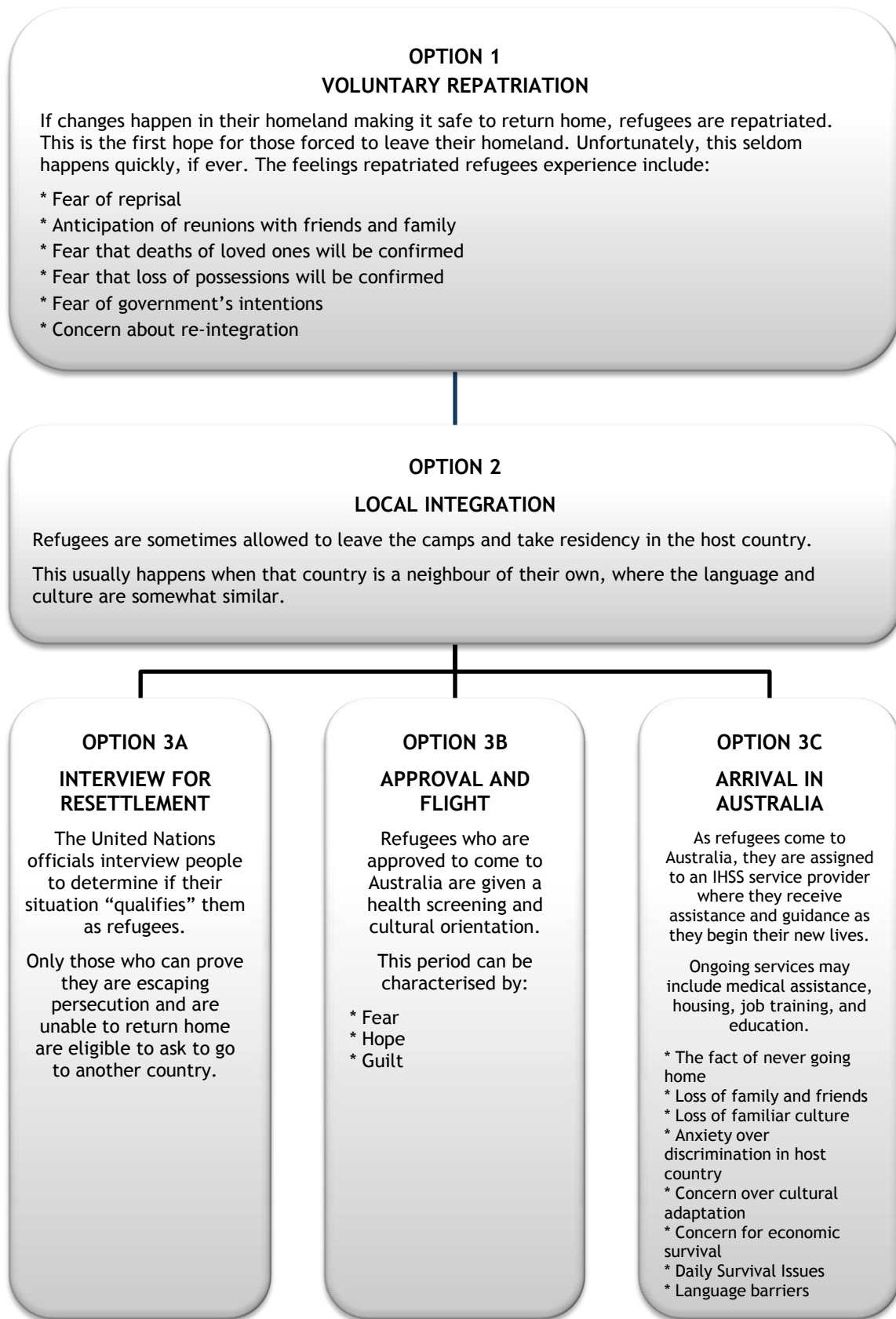


Figure 2: Phases from Refugee Camps

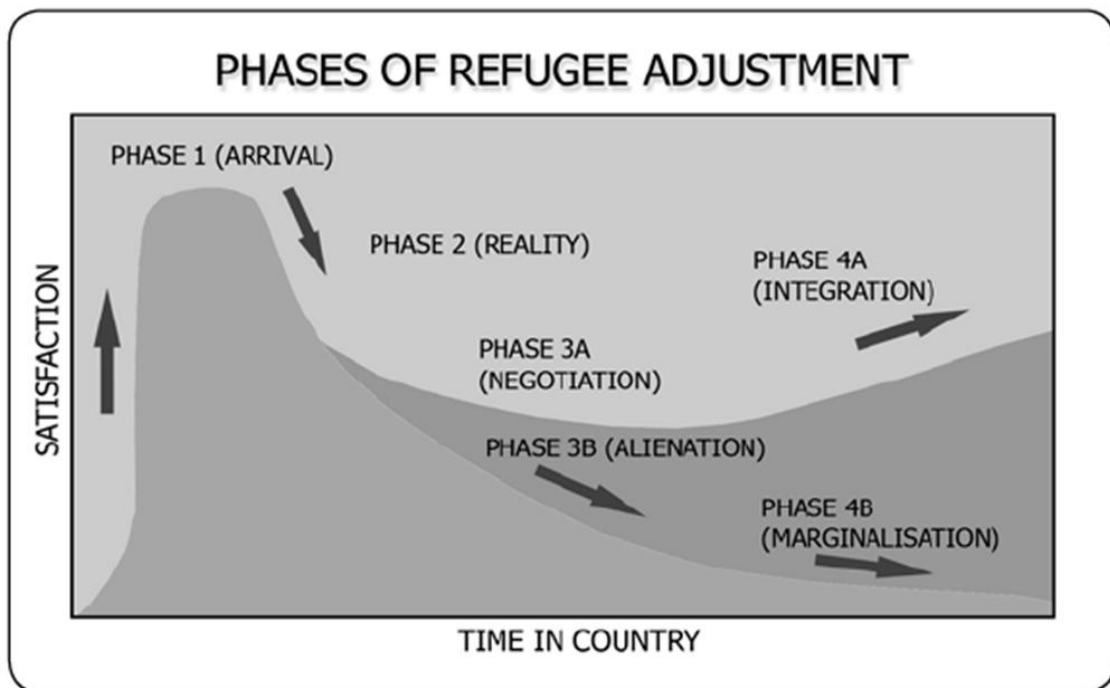
Source: Adapted from Minnesota Centre for Victims of Torture



Phases of Refugee Adjustment

Although each family and individual will have a unique experience during settlement and adjustment, some phases in refugee adjustment are common. Figure 3 offers an understanding of the phases of refugee adjustment related to satisfaction and the time spent in the country of resettlement. During the adjustment phase, individuals generally either enter a phase of negotiation (which can lead to integration), or alienation (which can lead to the marginalisation of that individual and/or family).

Figure 3: Phases of Refugee Adjustment



Source: Minnesota Centre for Victims of Torture

Many factors affect this adjustment process and each of these phases. These factors can include the types of experiences that people have in their country of settlement, the

official process of settlement support, and the individuals they meet and the experiences they have in their early days of settlement. Importantly, these factors are informed by the personality and coping mechanisms of each individual. In the case of a family, this can also include the dynamics within that family, which can either strengthen adjustment or temporarily weaken it. Coping mechanisms and family dynamics/intergenerational discomfort are explored at length later in this thesis. It must also be remembered that the experiences of the refugee journey will have great bearing on the ability of people to successfully settle and for the phases of refugee adjustment to occur in a positive way. In this way, the process of settlement may well be as much related to grieving and healing as it is to rebuilding a life. Indeed, grieving may need to occur before rebuilding is embraced fully. Both these concepts are explored in more depth in this thesis.

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Figure 4 offers insight into the refugee experience and the many stressors before they leave their home countries or camps, during their flights to 'safety' and after arrival in their new country. It highlights the experiences and the reactions that individual refugees may have during this process. It offers insight into the different reactions and experiences of both adults and children. It is important to acknowledge the unique experience of young refugees. There are many young people who do not experience normal adolescence or who have yet to have an adult experience of the world. Despite this, in many cases, these young people are often burdened by an extraordinary level of responsibility for members of their family.

Figure 4: Refugee Adjustment and Adaptation during Refugee Journey

Source: Minnesota Centre for Victims of Torture

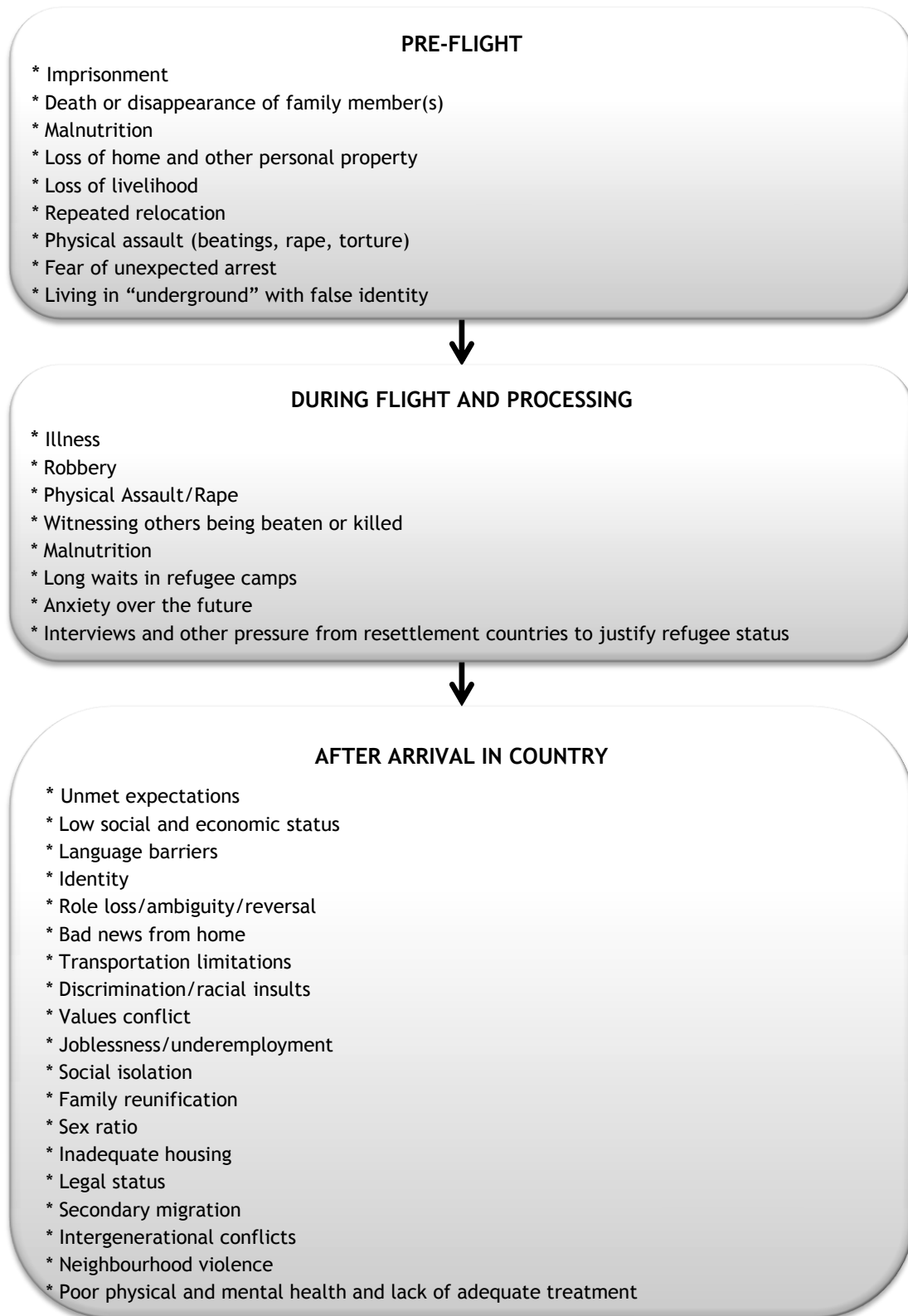


Table 10: The Experiences of Integration

STRESSORS	CONSEQUENCES
Potential sources of stress in the integration environment:	Possible personal and emotional consequences:
Continuing separation from family members Lack of understanding/hostility on the part of government officials Injustice	Loss of trust Grief Lack of family support Guilt
Minority status in a dominant culture Limited community support networks Prejudice and hostility on grounds of ethnicity, race, religion Limited access to cultural and religious institutions Poor social status Gender role and status adjustment Intergenerational adjustment	Loss of a sense of belonging Cultural, racial or religious integrity undermined Identity undermined Lack/loss of social support Family conflict and tension
Unemployment underemployment Difficulties in accessing education and health care Insecure housing New and unfamiliar environment Lack of proficiency in the language of the receiving society	Fear about the future and of not coping Altered capacity to plan the future Social and economic dependency Poor health

Source: UNHCR (2002) *Refugee Resettlement and International Handbook to Guide Reception and Integration*

Table 10 identifies the correlation between refugee experiences and their needs in settlement. It presents the potential sources of stress in the integration environment linking it directly to possible personal and emotional consequences for individual refugees. It is a useful heuristic device to understand integration and the climate that police need to consider in their interactions with refugee communities.

Individual/ Community

In reflecting on the processes and experiences of the refugee journey, it is important not to ignore the individual/community dynamic that exists for many refugees from African countries of origin. Although it is important not to generalise, most African refugees will most likely come from a culture that works from an 'us' perspective more commonly than an 'I' perspective. The 'I' culture which is so prevalent and normalised in a Western context, is not necessarily the experience of this group of refugees. The 'we' lens and the focus on oral culture can give important insight into strategies to increase both the relevance and receptiveness of communication. It may also offer indications of how to create communication and information transfer throughout the community to which these refugees belong. Overall, the dynamic between individual/community is important in informing decisions related to education and communication delivery.

THE STORY OF SETTLEMENT IN AUSTRALIA

Refugees have specific settlement needs (DIMIA 2003b, 2005; Flanagan 2007; Iredale et al. 1996; Julian 2003; Jupp, McRobbie & York 1991; Nsubuga-Kyobe, A 2004; Omidvar & Richmond 2003a; Taylor 2004; UNHCR 2002). Fundamentally, it is necessary to create an environment for individuals and their families that enables them to become fully participating members of society so that they are no longer perceived as ‘refugees’ (Iredale et al. 1996; Jupp 1994; UNHCR 2002). The term ‘refugee’ is in itself problematic in this context. In this thesis, the term ‘refugee’ has been used as a reference to background; there are no claims about the long-term status of individuals and/or families. The psychological element of labelling is a significant risk, and the concern of many refugee entrants is: “When do we stop being refugees and who decides”?

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There are significant differences between refugee settlement and migrant settlement. The specific needs of refugees stem from the nature of the refugee experience itself (DIMIA 2003b; Iredale et al. 1996; Jupp 1994; Jupp, McRobbie & York 1991; Robinson 2006; Taylor 2005) and pose the greatest challenge to any settlement process. This challenge can be even more significant in a regional settlement context (Boyce & Madden 2000; Nsubuga-Kyobe, DA 2004; Omidvar & Richmond 2003b; Samarasinghe & Arvidsson 2002; Simich 2003; Stanovic & Taylor 2005; Taylor 2005; Withers & Powall 2003). Different sectors within the refugee community will also have particular needs and experiences. For example, in 2004-05, women at risk accounted for 15.1% of total refugee entrants (DIMIA 2005), and as female-headed households—often with multiple

children in their care—they often face additional hurdles in the settlement process. Equally, youth, who comprise a large proportion of the refugee intake, have specific settlement issues (Cunneen & White 2007; White et al. 1999).

The use of ethnicity as a predictor of behaviour can trigger a dangerous process of creating assumptions about refugees that simplify a set of complex processes (Kennedy & Hall 2006). Refugees' experiences cannot be explained in terms of ethnicity alone. An individual refugee's situation is best analysed through the lens of a number of layers: ethnicity, gender, age, refugee experience and personality characteristics. An awareness of these layers assists service providers to support the negotiation of individual needs and personalities in a cross-cultural environment. As Kennedy states, acculturation is embedded in a complex social environment that is increasingly creating more self-styled versions of identity. The creation of a sense of connectedness and belonging is different for each individual (Kennedy & Hall 2006).

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The characteristics of the refugee background are valuable for understanding the needs of refugees and the issues they experience in settlement. Refugees arriving from Africa are considered more highly traumatised than many other refugee groups that have previously come to Australia (Campbell 2007a). Many have had extended stays in camps and endured high levels of danger and vulnerability during their flight. Family compositions are diverse, with many female-headed households, a number of very large families and a lack of community members over 45 years of age. In 2004, the

average age was 24 years, and 63 per cent of assisted settlement cases included children (Taylor 2004).

For some refugees, these characteristics exacerbate complexities particularly in terms of roles in families, intergenerational relations, and a lack of clarity in community leadership. It is reasonable to assume that pre-migration factors and experiences for African refugees are quite critical to their process of successful settlement. High vulnerability, low safety for long periods—in some cases generations—is the ‘norm’. As a consequence, settlement service providers dealing with African refugees are presented with new complexities that may not have been exposed to before (Campbell 2007b). Despite these similarities within the African community, there exists considerable diversity and notable differences. All countries of birth have distinct cultures and even within these country groups, there exist many different languages, often with a number of dialects associated with distinct ethnicities (Nsubuga-Kyobe 2004).

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The individual refugee may also have spent many years in a country of asylum where conditions and experiences may have been different again to both country of origin and Australia (Campbell, D & Julian 2007, 2009; DIMA 2006a). The refugee journey of fleeing conflict may have resulted in families with multiple languages, ethnic origins and countries of birth (Hiruy 2009; Kennedy & Hall 2006). Kennedy argues that often the notion of cultural identity used in practical service delivery models is too simplistic

when an individual's identification as 'ethnic' and the associated acculturation process are collapsed too easily. Over time, this influences the way an ethnic group is viewed — and views itself — in a multicultural society such as Australia (Kennedy & Hall 2006).

The educational background and levels of English language proficiency of African refugees are equally diverse, as interruption to education is a common experience (UNHCR 2002). Further, the level of educational or professional qualification may or may not necessarily correspond to the individual's ability to speak English. The average number of years of education for refugees from Africa (over five years of age) is six years. At least 42 per cent have poor or no literacy in their own language, and 64 per cent state that they require an English language interpreter (Taylor 2004). This may depend on country of origin, country of asylum, camp conditions or the nature of the process of flight for an individual. The diversity in the refugee community is broad, from a lack of literacy in their first languages, to people with higher degrees from university and specialised professional qualifications (Campbell 2007b).

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For African refugees, pre-migration experiences can also include being exposed to torture and trauma. The UNHCR report that one in four refugees being offered permanent resettlement has experienced torture or severe human rights violations, and that seven in ten have been subject to traumatic events such as prolonged political repression and the loss of family members in violent circumstances (Iredale et al. 1996; UNHCR 2002). In addition, most have experienced poor health, primarily from living

with deprivation and lack of access to medical support (Iredale et al. 1996; UNHCR 2002).

Many African refugees operate for many years in a basic survival mode, with feelings of fear, helplessness and dependency leading to a limited sense of meaning and purpose. This affects an individual's ability to plan, and hope for and trust in a future (UNHCR 2002). The loss of dignity, shame and guilt resulting from torture and trauma also create issues of personal boundaries and undermines a strong sense of identity. This includes examples such as the silence of refugee women who are victims of rape (UNHCR 2002). Another common experience is that of leaving family and friends behind and the guilt associated with feeling that they should have done or should do more for them (UNHCR 2002). The table titled 'The Experiences of Integration', presented in the acculturation section of the chapter explores these experiences.

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Individual refugees have different ways of settling with individual styles and coping mechanisms (Colic-Peisker & Tilbury 2003), however, some basic needs are universal. Basic physical needs include housing, access to income, schooling, food, employment and knowledge of services (UNHCR 2002). Meeting these needs assists refugees to regain a sense of security, predictability and control over their lives. To achieve this control over the settlement process, access to income, accommodation and health care are fundamental (UNHCR 2002). There is a need for knowledge and understanding to negotiate the systems of the host community, in both the public and private arenas of

life (UNHCR 2002). These can be in relation to banks, schools, employment, health care, education, childcare, shopping and other requirements for running a household such as electricity, gas, water, and telephones services.

If the practical needs of refugees are met, this provides an important system of support that also has significant psychological benefits. Psychological needs include safety (Ager & Strang 2004a, 2004b; Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission 1991), coupled with an understanding and hope for the future (via education, employment (Boyce & Madden 2000)). The regaining of trust, dignity and self-esteem are crucial for participating fully in a new life (UNHCR 2002), and studies show that meaningful social relations are fundamental to settlement being successful (Rees & Pease 2006a; Samarasinghe & Arvidsson 2002).

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Real barriers exist for refugee individuals and families. These include diverse language needs and issues associated with being visibly different (Colic-Peisker & Tilbury 2005). An ability to communicate is fundamental to participating in social and economic institutions and in establishing social connections (UNHCR 2002). Changes in family structure are one of the most powerful challenges for refugee individuals and families, and one of the most complex areas in terms of the provision of support in settlement (Samarasinghe & Arvidsson 2002).

It is difficult to appreciate the physical and psychological reassurance needs of individual refugees and their families in the process of settlement. The individual needs of each case requires acknowledgement by tracking service delivery, recognising the needs appropriately and having these needs supported in a timely manner. The premature withdrawal of support for refugee families often leads to frustration among service providers and the refugee communities themselves. It leaves issues unaddressed that may confirm or heighten fears expressed by the mainstream public and host communities.

The individual resilience (Colic-Peisker & Tilbury 2003) of individuals and families should never be underestimated but transition is difficult and stressful; it requires significant support systems. For most refugees, governments in their country of origin—and often the country of asylum—have, at best, failed to protect their rights; at worst many have experienced state-sanctioned violence and human rights abuses (Chan 1997). Negative perceptions of positions of authority, especially people in uniform can lead to stressful interactions. An understanding of, and sensitivity to, this issue is crucial to positive settlement experiences (UNHCR 2002). This is an important element for police and other emergency managers in their interactions with refugees, especially during early settlement and will be documented in more depth in the next chapter.

The particular stressors experienced by refugees include trauma, loss, adjustment, acculturation, and disadvantage. It is considered that these can become the triggers to both mental illness and substance misuse (D'Avanzo 1997). This also relates to the experiences of torture and imprisonment—of themselves or individuals they know—with a sense of powerlessness that accompanies these experiences. In addition, many refugees are burdened with the fears and responsibility of friends and relatives left behind (Sowey 2005), and, in some cases, individuals suffer 'survivor guilt' (D'Avanzo 1997). Loss, in this sense, refers to the destruction of people, places and possessions during the refugee journey and on arrival in a new country, and may relate to culture shock, social status and networks (Johnson 1996). Eisenburch refers to this as 'cultural bereavement' (1991).

The adjustment and acculturation of African refugees in Australia is characterised by a context of difference between old and new cultures, which potentially creates interpersonal stress and significant culture shock (Sowey 2005). Loss of roles, status and identity are not easily regained in this transition especially with a potential absence of traditional coping mechanisms and problem solving support from community. These issues are common in terms of changes in gender relations and parent/child relations, which are exacerbated by the transition to a new country. Burrett and Peel suggest that in some cases the effect of violence experienced during the refugee journey may be played out in the home (Burnett & Peel 2001). Disadvantage can therefore occur, which can lead to discrimination in their ability to

become economically independent; especially when this is coupled with the financial pressure of sending money back home (D'Avanzo 1997).

Some research has suggested that substance use and misuse are related to an individual's attempts to self-medicate particularly against the symptoms of post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) (Sowey 2005). There is also evidence of alcohol's unhealthy relationship to medication. Stewart cites four mechanisms to alcohol, which are related to self-medicating PTSD. These include the psychological where the alcohol dampens every activity to stressful events and behavioural alcohol is used to reduce behaviour that may trigger PTSD. Affective alcohol is used to block out emotions and cognitive is where alcohol is used to avoid thoughts associated with trauma. Self-medication can create a vicious cycle of dependence and can therefore become quite counter-productive for it increases anxiety and may indeed become a trigger of PTSD symptoms (Stewart 1996).

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Young Refugees and Settlement

Between 2002 and 2007, 45 900 of the 54 824 individuals entering Australia on a humanitarian visa were aged between 16 and 35 years. Slightly more females (24 500) than males (21 400) made up this group. The appreciation of youth as a distinct representation of the refugee population in Australia at this time is critical to understanding both the needs of this group and how to stimulate support for them—particularly in the creation of positive relationships with service providers in Australia

(DIAC 2008b). It is becoming widely accepted that refugee youth require a coordinated approach to support because their needs are complex (Thorell 2007; Zwi et al. 2007).

A significant stress for youth is directly related to the exposure to war during the pre-migration phase, including post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) (Heptinstall, Sethna & Taylor 2004). Research has shown that PTSD can lead to an increase in their risk of emotional and social health problems (Burnett & Peel 2001; Davies & Webb 2000). In some cases, children and adolescents have not only witnessed acts of violence but also participated in combat. These experiences—including risks of rape, torture, a lack of trust in authority figures and loss of moral perspective—may be related to risks associated with mental ill health and substance abuse (Lustig et al. 2004). This also relates to young people's experience of separation from significant caregivers and acute periods of deprivation of water, food and medical care in refugee camps.

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Lustig found that the way stress was exhibited was influenced by coping strategies and belief systems and social relationships of the individual concerned (Lustig et al. 2004). Some studies have highlighted concerns that Australia is not yet well equipped to meet the needs of refugee youth in a coordinated and timely fashion (Olliff & Couch 2005; Zwi et al. 2007). There is consensus that more research needs to be undertaken in this area.

Rousseau highlights two specific areas of concern with refugee youth. The first is the development of a sense of intensity when related to poor psychological adjustment; the second, an increased psychological vulnerability due to intergenerational stress (Rousseau, Drapeau & Corin 1996). Hyman argues that parental authority is undermined by the dependence on young people to access the wider community, both in terms of language and culture (Hyman, Vu & Beiser 2000). There is also research that suggests that refugee youth are at greater risk of homelessness than the average youth (Guerra 2010).

As can be seen, the journey for refugee youth is complex and difficult for them to negotiate (Angel, Hjern & Ingleby 2001; Bond et al. 2007; Howard & Hodes 2000). It is characterised by immense change both of them individually and for their families. It is therefore important as this group is experiencing settlement in such a distinct way, that specific strategies concerning youth are considered.

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Gender and Refugee Settlement

Any consideration of the refugee journey in settlement needs to acknowledge the profound gender shifts that occur when settling in a new country that is culturally different to the country of origin or the last country of asylum. Many fundamentals concerning gender are widely accepted, particularly the roles of mother and father, and the concept of the family unit, are often transferred culturally. What is different, though, is how these roles may change in an Australian context. This is especially the

case in relation to the running of the household, and access to money and employment. As is explored later, men often find themselves, at least initially, unable to be the breadwinner for the family and are relying on the support of the government through Centrelink payments. These payments in themselves are not a problem, although they do lead to many men struggling to find a role for themselves in the family. The way in which these Centrelink payments are distributed is often a point of contention. In a country that values women's equal access and independence—coupled with a need for an assurance that children will have the full effect of these payments—they are distributed between both the male and female adult of the household. This fundamentally changes the dynamics of the family and if the family also includes young people, they may receive separate welfare payments after the age of sixteen years. Essentially, the families are forced into a change of dynamics that can lead to discomfort between spouses, and between generations.

The other fundamental area of difference in gender relations concerns the expression of power within a family unit. The psychological and physical use of power in relationships could, in some circumstances, breach the law and may be considered family violence. This concept is not necessarily foreign to individuals new to this country. However, what may be fundamentally different is that these issues are a matter for the police rather than the business of the wider family and community. In most African countries, it was not generally the role of police and the criminal justice system to intervene and resolve these issues.

SETTLEMENT OF REFUGEES IN REGIONAL AUSTRALIA

Refugee settlement in regional Australia needs to be explored to give context to relationship building during the process of settlement. In many ways, regional Australia can provide more opportunities to build networks and connections within the host community. However, this is highly dependent on the atmosphere created by the host community and the levels of acceptance that individuals in that community have for the concept of settlement in the area. In contrast, some aspects of living regionally can put extra pressure on the process of settlement.

Regional versus Metropolitan

For the refugee being settled within a regional context, there may be differences in settlement needs from those settled in metropolitan areas. It is important to be conscious of some of the regional issues associated with refugee settlement in Australia. Regional settlement is neither better nor worse than metropolitan settlement; however, there are distinct issues faced by refugees allocated to rural and regional locations (Shepley 2007; Taylor 2004; Withers & Powall 2003). These issues relate to differences in access and differences in strategy, which in turn require different policy foundations (Stanovic & Taylor 2005). In some cases, this has quite dramatic implications for service delivery (IWDVS 2006). Service providers in regional areas are unlikely to have much experience working with refugees, and as such, mainstream services are often required to become specialist services. This transition can only be

achieved if services are supported by dedicated staff and the organisation is committed to quality service provision.

Information on refugee regional settlement is difficult to access as there are two processes through which refugees find themselves in regional Australia. Either refugees are directly settled in regional locations on arrival in Australia, or they relocate from the city. Individuals or families may choose to relocate for opportunities of employment or to be closer to friends who may have already relocated (Taylor 2005).

Since 2004, the Australian Government has actively aimed to increase refugee numbers and further opportunities to settle humanitarian entrants in regional Australia are being developed (DIMIA 2003b). Specifically, the 2003 review of settlement services recommended settling some 'unattached' refugees (without friends or family in other areas of Australia), and particularly those who come from a rural background or who have skills related to employment opportunities available in those areas (DIAC 2007c; DIMIA 2003b). Refugee settlement is a complex area of policy making (Withers & Powall 2003) and highly charged politically. As highlighted by Taylor, the regional settlement debate is influenced by population strategy, economic development in regional areas and the obligations to humanitarian goals that support successful refugee settlement (Stanovic & Taylor 2005; Taylor 2005).

Regional Settlement: Strengths and Challenges

During the 2000s, the Australian Government has been actively encouraging regional refugee settlement (Birrell 2003; DIMIA 2003b) and its intention has been that 45 per cent of refugees are regionally located (Withers & Powall 2003). In order to analyse the police-refugee nexus, it is important to understand some of the more general implications of regional settlement. DIAC is currently working to identify new regional areas for the settlement of 'unattached' refugees and refugees from rural backgrounds with appropriate employment skills. To identify new regional locations, a range of factors is considered, including opportunities for early employment, population size and diversity, appropriate housing, the availability of mainstream and specialist settlement services, and whether the location can provide a welcoming environment (DIAC 2007c).

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Regional communities are often isolated and therefore have a need to be self-reliant. This situation can create both strengths and challenges for refugee settlement. There is a potential positive in the connective nature of smaller communities and their capacity to welcome newcomers into the area. There is a claim that rural life provides people with time to help one another (Boyce & Madden 2000). The regional environment can also offer refugees an ease of access to services that in larger centres would prove difficult.

For refugees, the challenges of regional Australia include isolation from people with shared experiences of the refugee background or people from the same culture, country of origin, language or ethnicity. There may be a lack of understanding of the refugee background and therefore a limited capacity among members of host communities to connect with new community members from different backgrounds (Colic-Peisker 2005; Taylor 2005). Accessing services can be difficult in some regional areas as can accessing employment opportunities (Boyce & Madden 2000).

Recent funding increases demonstrate that the Government has recognised some of the resource issues in regional Australia. The Australian Federal Budget in 2004-05 provided \$4.9 million over four years (\$1.02 million in 2005-06) for Community Settlement Services Scheme (CSSS) grants to assist humanitarian entrants to settle in rural and regional Australia. This initiative is aimed at increasing humanitarian settlement in targeted regional locations (DIMIA 2005).

The importance of strengthening receiving host communities has been highlighted by the UNHCR. It argues that refugees will integrate themselves in an environment in which people can be empowered. To achieve this outcome, it recommends equitable partnerships in a community and that the host community in the settlement region (and the public more widely) needs accurate and timely information about refugee experiences as well as specific information closer to arrival. This argument also

highlights the important role that the media have to play (Robinson 2006; UNHCR 2002).

COMMUNITY ACCEPTANCE

The media is widely accepted as a key influence of public opinion. In addition, the importance of community acceptance for refugee settlement is becoming clear (Colic-Peisker 2005; Samarasinghe & Arvidsson 2002). Community acceptance requires the transfer of knowledge and understanding as a two-way process (UNHCR 2002), and its foundations are based on relationships and associations (Ager & Strang 2004a, 2004 b).

The expectations of the host community must be higher than just that of simple tolerance. Tolerance is 'putting up with' and in terms of the long-term health of both the host and refugee communities and the future of the collective community, tolerance becomes a very low aspiration (Ager & Strang 2004a; Burchell 2001).

Commonly, settlement situations are characterised by 'no trouble' attitudes (Ager & Strang 2004a) where acceptance occurs when there are no obvious problems and is characterised by limited interaction. However, a more interactive relationship is better for successful long-term settlement (UNHCR 2002). Processes of inclusion and exclusion are also important in refugee settlement. There is a small body of research in Australia that highlights the existence of exclusion in refugee settlement and how that impacts on individuals and families (Colic-Peisker 2005; Omidvar & Richmond 2003b; Taylor 2004) This research concludes that the inclusion/exclusion experience has a

crucial impact on the success of refugee settlement. The ways that this occurs, and the role of police in the process, are discussed in later chapters.

In the context of refugee settlement, equity is important. In the case of refugees, this may require individuals to be treated differently in order to gain equal access to services. As is often the case in communities where resources and access to resources are already stretched, the perceived special needs of a sub-population or the special service delivery given to one sector of the community can sometimes breed resentment (Robinson 2006). This is not surprising or easily avoidable.³ It is important that such a trend is acknowledged and the impact of that resentment is not felt by the individuals who are receiving the necessary, timely and quite specialised support at a time of high transition. There also needs to be attention paid to rural racism (Chakraborti & Garland 2004) where communities hold a strong and fixed ideal about their area. This is a phenomenon that makes the act of 'othering' (Riggins 1997) outsiders more likely to occur and less likely to be acknowledged (Chakraborti & Garland 2004; Garland & Chakraborti 2006). This also requires the acceptance of realistic timescales in refugee settlement and the recognition of negative community attitudes as an active barrier to successful settlement (Samarasinghe & Arvidsson 2002). The processes by which refugees enter Australia and are allocated a primary place of residence, create issues related to the unpredictability of arrival and the concentration of communities. This arrival process creates difficult timelines for the transfer of knowledge and

³ Extensive political debate and academic literature exists in this area that cannot be addressed here.

understanding to promote the acceptance of refugees by host communities. The arrival process also means that relationships between police and newly arrived communities are an ongoing project. Individual refugees are continuously arriving and, consequently, services need to be in a constant state of reaction. This leads to a tendency to be predominately reactive rather than proactive in the process of refugee settlement. As this study will show, policing is no exception.

It can be seen that the development of community acceptance is complex and vital; as such, the reactions of a host community are important. Studies have found that a friendly and understanding attitude is one of the major factors in promoting the successful settlement of refugees (Ager & Strang 2004a; Robinson 2006). If an individual thinks they are part of the community and can be accepted as part of that community, it increases their sense of self-worth and therefore enhances that individual's potential. Recent studies have highlighted issues around losing one's identity in the transition and settlement process (Samarasinghe & Arvidsson 2002; Kennedy & Hall 2006). For some refugees, this will lead to dramatic changes in intra-relations (loneliness, identity), inter-relations (roles in family), and extra-relations (employment) (Samarasinghe & Arvidsson 2002).

Research findings suggest that meaningful relationships (Rees & Pease 2006b); UNHCR 2002) are pivotal to successful refugee settlement and positive integration. The refugee experience is characterised by weakened relationships (Nsubuga-Kyobe

2004) with family members, family support networks and community. For refugee individuals the 'survival values' (Nsubuga-Kyobe2004) created in the flight from conflict need to be replaced by solid, dependable and predictable relationship networks. The nature of this dislocation is even more pronounced for 'unattached' humanitarian entrants (DIAC 2007a), for without either friends or relatives in Australia they are, in many ways, more vulnerable due to the absence of support networks. After a refugee transition, individuals normalise perceptions based on their experiences and create realistic expectations (Nsubuga-Kyobe, A 2004) and they need support to assist in this process.

MEDIA

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The media have played an interesting role in immigration in Australia. Australia's immigration history has been characterised by controversy, both politically and within the mainstream community (Iredale et al. 1996). The issue of refugee settlement in Australia has prompted interesting debate, which is in a constant state of flux depending on the origin and needs of refugees entering Australia at any one time (Iredale et al. 1996).

In 2007, concerns over refugee settlement in regional Australia became a hot topic in the media, and coalesced around the settlement of five Somali families in the Tamworth region, New South Wales (RCOA 2006c). Although Tamworth Council resolved to move ahead with the settlement, the portrayal of this debate in the media

has been noteworthy (Campbell 2007b; RCOA 2007). Equally important was the public's negative reaction to media reports of Sudanese youth and alleged criminal activity in Melbourne in early 2007 (Dore 2007; Kerbaj 2006a, 2006b, 2007; Mitchell 2007). These examples highlight the impact of mainstream public perceptions and misperceptions of immigration in shaping debate within the mainstream community (Burchell 2001). In addition, the murder of Liep Gony⁴ in Melbourne in October 2007 ignited strong views across the Australian community. They highlight the role and responsibility of the media in shaping those perceptions.

It is important to be conscious that public opinion is a crucial factor influencing the environment in which police undertake their duties (Campbell 2007a; Campbell & Julian 2007). These events are key indicators of the volatility of public opinion and its impact on communities in vulnerable states of transition into a new country. It is also important to remember the role that this environment creates for policing. A highly political environment creates a more difficult environment for police to do their work.

⁴ Liep Johnson Gony, was 19 when he died on 27 September 2007. He was born in the Sudan but his family fled to Ethiopia when he was six and eventually he came to Australia with family members in 1999, living first in Hobart and then he came to Victoria in 2001, where he and his family lived as part of the Sudanese community in Springvale South. At the time of his death he had successfully applied to study graphic design at a TAFE college and was about to commence full time employment. He died in hospital after being violently beaten and left to die on 26 September 2007 near the Noble Park Railway station in Melbourne. His assailants were not of African descent. The media reportage that followed was inflammatory especially as to the value of the settlement of African refugees in Australia. The Immigration and Citizenship Minister at the time, Mr Kevin Andrews MP was quoted saying that Sudanese refugees were having difficulties in settlement in Australia.

The role of the media is a core factor in influencing community acceptance (Rees & Pease 2006b; Robinson 2006; UNHCR 2002). The media portrayal of sectors of newly arrived refugees can have an impact on the level of acceptance those communities may experience. Refugee settlement will always create controversy and as such will remain highly political. While controversy and emotion (especially fear) 'sells papers', it remains an unnerving influence on public opinion (RCOA 2006b). Other methods to increase the depth of practical knowledge and understanding of the refugee experience and settlement among the public, host communities and specialist, and non-specialist service providers must be explored and considered in policy and practice development (UNHCR 2002).

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It is worth noting that the media and political climate of 2007 directly affected this research project. Changes in levels of trust became evident, with participants becoming more suspicious and fearful, particularly in relation to how they were portrayed in the research. Members of the African Australian community also voiced concerns about mainstream public perceptions surrounding their communities (Kennedy & Hall 2006)

CONCLUSION

As can be seen from the material presented in this chapter, the context in which investigations into police- refugee relationships occur needs to be understood and the relevant dynamics acknowledged. Equally, the issues that appeared during the life of the research are important to the research story. This chapter provides an insight into

the refugee journey, settlement and refugee adaptation, which is important as a foundation for understanding the dynamics of police and refugee relations. Equally, the concept of individual/community dynamics and acculturation offer insight and add to the framework for understanding the stages and complexities of the refugee journey. The specific reactions and experiences of refugees have been explored, particularly in relation to characteristics such as age, family structure, gender, educational background, along with the characteristics of the refugee journey that may affect settlement.

The discussion demonstrates the complexities of experience among refugees settling in Australia but, in doing so, increases understanding of how to promote positive settlement experiences, particularly in relation to police and the criminal justice system. Equally, it highlights the need to acknowledge the social context of settlement, including the challenges and barriers to settlement in regional Australia, the role of community acceptance and the impact of media. All these elements need to be acknowledged in the context of policing generally but are arguably even more important when involving vulnerable individuals who are experiencing transition during settlement.

CHAPTER 3 – COMMUNITY POLICING AND TRUST

In order to understand the relationship between police and refugee communities, it is important initially to document the context of this relationship. The chapter examines community policing in both theory and practice which can be highlighted by exploring the impact of public attitudes towards police. In addition, the chapter examines community policing in the context of vulnerable communities and explores the international literature surrounding policing and refugee settlement. Trust is fundamental in understanding this relationship including the reality that ‘mistrust for survival’ is a characteristic of the refugee journey. The chapter also explores the potential for police-refugee relations to become a mechanism to combat exclusion and promote inclusion. This discussion provides the background for an exploration of community policing and police relationships with newly arrived refugee communities in regional Australia.

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COMMUNITY POLICING PRINCIPLES

Community policing is essentially about engagement with the community, through the restructuring of police organisations including alterations in the daily activities of operational police officers (Segrave & Ratcliffe 2004). Community policing is a philosophical and organisational strategy (Trojanowicz & Bucqueroux 1990) with effective working partnerships with the community at its core (Peak & Glensor 1999).

It has been argued that communities need reassurance from police to both feel safe and

to ensure positive attitudes of police (Fleming 2005). 'Reassurance' in this sense relates to:

...the intended outcome(s) of actions taken by the police and other agencies to improve perceived police effectiveness (mainly confidence in, and satisfaction with, the police), and to increase feelings and perceptions of safety (including reducing the fear of crime) (Dalglish & Myhill 2004).

For the purposes of this discussion reassurance policing refers to strategies in community policing that actively 'reassure' members of the public.

Community policing, and more specifically, reassurance aspects of community policing are essential to encourage positive relationships between police and newly arrived refugee communities. The development of these positive relationships requires a strong emphasis on these styles of policing, particularly in the initial years of settlement in Australia. Further, increasing the quantity and quality of police citizen-contact can have an effect on reducing crime, and experiences of victimisation (Fleming 2005; Sherman & Erk 2002).

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There is a contested debate around community, or 'reassurance' strategies, and its effectiveness (Pelfrey 2004; Rosenbaum 1994 Skogan 2004; Thatcher 2001) and there is a lack of consensus about community policing and its definition (Fleming 2011; Putt 2011). A central aspect of the discussion concerns the implementation of community

policing with accusations of it being ‘many things to many people’ (Corder 1998). This dispute about who is the primary target of community policing has created a focus away from the perceived effectiveness of community policing for some parties within the community policing debate. Fleming argues that questions of definition and implementation are largely irrelevant to the public as long as they are satisfied with police in general (Fleming 2011).

For the purposes of this thesis, it is important to note that regional community policing strategies may vary from those implemented in metropolitan areas. Community policing in country stations means living in, and policing from within, those communities. Regional policing calls on similar characteristics to community policing in terms of information networks and relationships that mean many advantages of the strategies of community policing may prove highly effective in this context. This research is concerned with location-based policing strategies, and, as such, depends on who constitutes the “community” in community policing (Lynes 1996). In this research, community is referred to in a number of ways, which will be explored later in this chapter.

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ORGANISATION OF POLICING IN AUSTRALIA

Each of the six states in Australia (New South Wales, Queensland, South Australia, Tasmania, Victoria, and Western Australia) along with the two territories (Australian Capital Territory and the Northern Territory) constitute separate criminal justice

system jurisdictions. Each has its own criminal laws, police services, courts, prisons, juvenile institutions and associated correctional services. The Australian federal government also has separate criminal laws that apply to all jurisdictions, and are policed by the Australian Federal Police (AFP).

The agenda for policing in Australia is outlined in the Ministerial Council for Police and Emergency Management's *Directions in Australia New Zealand Policing 2008 – 2011* (ANZPAA 2008). This document highlights that the priority for policing in Australia and New Zealand remains a focus on service to the community and the preservation of safety and security (ANZPAA 2008, p. 4). This strategic plan also acknowledges that effective and efficient police service delivery requires police agencies to respond to changing environments and develop responsive and coordinated approaches (ANZPAA 2008, pp. 4-6). Its vision of safe and secure communities is created through police taking innovative and problem solving approaches, including partnerships with the community (ANZPAA 2008, p. 4). Particular reference is made to culturally, linguistically and religiously diverse members of the community, with the priority to enhance community confidence and ensure policing meets the needs of these communities into the future (ANZPAA 2008, pp. 4-5). To achieve this, the Ministerial Council acknowledges that it may require a whole of government approach (ANZPAA 2008, p. 6) and that community safety must be supported by an exchange of information and knowledge coupled with community safety's relationship with operational processes (ANZPAA 2008, p.5).

In Tasmania, policing is administered by the Tasmanian government's Department of Police and Emergency Management, which was established in 1899 and currently has an operational force of 1200 personnel (Tasmania Police 2010).

HISTORY OF COMMUNITY POLICING

To understand contemporary police-community relationships, it is essential to understand the history of police-community relations during the modern era of policing. The eras of policing (namely the political, the reform or professional, and the community) represent changes or shifts in the strategies and roles of police and, consequently, changes in the way police relate to communities (Scott 2010). These distinct eras were most pronounced in UK policing, however, the characteristics of these eras are also present in Australian policing; as such, they provide a context for the experiences of and attitudes to community policing in Australia.

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Police are the daily symbol of government authority with the power to stop, detain, question, arrest and, in some cases that necessitate it, exert force (Scott 2010). For this reason, police need to perform a balancing act of satisfying public sentiment concerning public safety, maintaining quality relationships with the public and enforcing the law required by government. The goals of public safety, though, often depend on the quality of the relationship between police and community. When the public is satisfied and confident in the police, they may be more likely to contribute information that will assist police in their duties.

The meaning associated with police-community relations has changed considerably in the past 150 years. Observing the way police relate to communities through the relevant policing eras highlights the potential—and the difficulties—with police-community relations. The primary focus on police-community relations was affected by the involvement of police in corruption, coupled with limited supervision and management of patrol officers that resulted in officers being susceptible and being involved in illegal activity including bribes (Scott 2010). The era has been characterised by a lack of available technology to allow monitoring of both the location and activities of officers and resulted in less supervision than has now become normalised (Scott 2010). These reforms were felt in the US also, where in early 1900s, a nationwide move toward professionalization, resulted in the separation of the police from the community (Kelling, 1988).

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The reform/professional era (1930s-1980s) saw a change from social service as a key function of policing. This shift recognised that it had become important how police acted in the enforcement of law and then how the community viewed this. New organisational structures emerged and led to a rise in professionalism and the use of technology in policing. Trends emerged during this time such as the adoption of formal qualification standards and the specialisation of police roles (Palmiotto, 2011). In this way, this period is seen as a change from the era of ‘generalists’, with police performing various tasks, to an era of specialisation with a focus on specific law

enforcement tasks (Scott 2010). In this sense, different police had different roles in response to, and in the investigation of, crime.

Community service functions of police decreased with officers trained and recruited for particular technical law enforcement responsibilities. This 'one size fits all' approach had however focused on efficiency and standardisation of police response, which had an impact on how police personnel viewed individuals in the community and their problems. The development of relationships with the community was no longer encouraged as a mechanism to support the solving of individual or collective neighbourhood issues. Technology also increased the barrier of police-community interactions particularly the way in which vehicles distanced police from community members. The use of emergency numbers also decreased the potential for positive, non-emergency interactions between police and community (Scott 2010).

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The community era (1980s to the present) is characterised by a realisation of the limitations and challenges created by distancing police from their communities. This was especially the case in relation to community concerns about physical and social disorder within their communities. It was realised that when police were more visible and interactive such as through foot patrols (Wakefield 2006), the community felt safer and had more confidence in police (Wilson & Kelling 1982). Further, some of the enforcement approaches of the professional era associated with the specialisation of officers were not directly related to crime reduction or resolution of crime related

incidences for individuals. In addition, specialisation severely restricted individual police officers and policing organisations from acknowledging the underlying social issues connected with criminal activity (Goldstein 1979). It was also found that training of police experts in specific legal issues had created officers under-qualified in policing. Without the broad support of the community, police were restricted in their tasks and their capacity to create safe and secure communities (Scott 2010, Palmiotto, 2011).

The community era emerged from the criticisms of the professional era, and developed around three broad strategies: organisational restructuring, a broadening of the policing roles and functions, and greater collaboration with communities (Scott 2010). During this transformation, some police organisations have faced many challenges to incorporate the philosophy associated with the community era into their policies, practices and strategies (Greene & Mastrofski 1991). Decentralisation and restructuring of police organisations in this era was undertaken directly to increase access to the police, including foot patrols to increase the of visibility of officers (Wakefield 2006), officers being assigned to geographical areas coupled with more responsibility and discretion to respond to the needs of the community concerned (Scott 2010).

During this era, order maintenance has become a priority, as disorder was recognised as a precursor to criminal activity and increasing fear in communities. Consultation with residents and community groups was undertaken to address the concerns related

to order maintenance. Strategies such as zero tolerance policing also appeared during this era but have been met with a mixed public response. Despite the mixed responses to some approaches adopted since the 1980s, community engagement has been seen as an essential component in policing, involving partnerships and collaborations to focus on crime control and public safety. Crime is no longer viewed as isolated incidents, and community engagement in problem solving is seen as crucial (Scott 2010, Palmiotto, 2011).

Over the history of policing, strategies to address police-community relations have focused on public relations strategies, the use of community service and community policing. Many sentiments of both public relations and community service strategies are currently present in community policing. However, the latter era—community—can be seen as a more comprehensive approach, which required changes to the organisation, its policies and procedures.

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COMMUNITY POLICING FRAMEWORK

According to Corder (1998), community policing has four dimensions. These elements include philosophy, strategy, tactics, and organisational development. Corder explains that philosophical elements in community policing are crucial to any successful implementation and without this baseline understanding successes in the other three areas will be restricted. He argues that this approach must include community as a key priority for police work, that the community plays a central role in identifying and

responding to crime and safety concerns, and that there must be broadening of the police role.

Corder explains that the strategic dimension must assist in translating philosophy into action to produce key operational concepts. That is, ideas and beliefs concerning police and community inform the implementation of programs and practices. These include:

- expanded roles and duties of police officers to enable them to think more naturally, to engage in both proactive and follow-up activities and to provide a more personalised service delivery;
- redeveloping police activities and operations, for example, through reallocating operations to focus less on patrol and more on local problem-solving, crime prevention education and developing more positive relationships with youth;
- emphasising prevention, focusing on long-term benefits and re-conceptualising how the impact of police work is measured beyond the crime and clearance rates;
- developing a more localised community specific focus on officers to generate a sense of accountability and responsibility to specific areas (Corder 1998).

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In this way, there is a focus within community policing strategies on the community's perception of safety and therefore their attitude towards law enforcement.

Corder argues that the tactics of community policing are generated out of the establishment of community partnerships and programs related to the above strategies. Many other scholars researching community policing also see community partnerships as a crucial element (Bayley 1999). Another major tactical element of

community policing concerns problem-solving techniques that focus on the underlying causes of crime and criminal behaviour. Strategies related to these elements include police officer training and officers working with the community (or communities) in the identification of problems. Finally, Corder argues that the success of community policing relies strongly on organisational levels of support, and this support will be manifested in:

- mechanisms to empower officers to work independently, including decentralised police services;
- mentoring and close supervision integrated into the management role; and
- a shift to qualitative research and evaluation to complement traditional quantitative methods (Corder 1998; Greene & Mastrofski 1991).

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The potential benefits and, therefore, the strengths of community policing are in its ability to mobilise and empower communities in identifying and responding to their local concerns. As these priorities are understood then addressed, a reduction in issues of concern can result, potentially leading to improvements in the local physical and social environment. In turn, the shift potentially increases positive community attitudes towards policing, and as a consequence, a reduction in the fear of crime.

PUBLIC ATTITUDES TO POLICE

Police officers and policing organisations can benefit from community policing with an improvement in police-community relationships and community perception of police 'legitimacy'. The overall benefits of community policing can be seen in a decrease in

the potential for police-citizen conflict, a potential reduction in crime rates, a more productive flow of information between police and community, and improved outcomes from the implementation of crime prevention strategies due to the shared goals and strategy implementation by both police and community. An increase in police officer work satisfaction is also seen as a potential benefit (Fielding 1995; Sherman & Erk 2002; Thurman, Zhao & Giaacomazzi 2001).

Most scholars and policing organisations agree that there are more benefits to be gained from increasing the evidence base surrounding community policing. Bayley captures these concerns when he asserts that policing organisations must “develop the institutional capacity to understand what is going on in their environment as well as the impact of their own strategies and to use this knowledge to provide a higher measure of safety and reassurance to the public” (Bayley 1999). There has been increasing concern in recent times from both police organisations and academics for the introduction of more systematic methods for assessing the quality of these relationships (Fleming 2011).

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These assessments would then be able to support police organisations in knowing what is beneficial to these relationships and to be able to investigate these strategies over time. Assessments of police-community relations also can be used by police to further identify issues that are a barrier to increased positive police-community relations and to enable them to strategically address these issues. Information, therefore, could be available to support positive strategic approaches, which then

increases the likelihood that the concerns of the community are acted upon. Fleming (2011) points out that one of the models cited is in the rural context whereby 'police officers often adopt a community-based model of policing in which officers become integrated into a community and establish compatible community relations' (Scott & Jobes 2007: 127) as a consideration for community policing in urban areas. Legitimacy and the future impact of community policing strategies will depend on this evidence base and are essential to convince funding bodies and policing organisations (at a managerial and operational level) of the benefits of community policing, as well as community engagement more generally.

Research in the area of public opinion reports that there is generally support and satisfaction in the police but that there is a number of individual characteristics that have been shown to affect the level of this support. Both demographic characteristics (particularly age, social economic status and race) and direct experiences with police greatly influence this relationship. Equally, vicarious experiences reported by other members of the community in their interaction with police are also shown to have an impact (Scott 2010).

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The factors of age and social economic status contributed to why different members of the community sector may exhibit varying levels of respect, trust and confidence in police. The positive reactions appear to be from older members of the community with higher income and economic stability, with support gradually reducing to negative reactions from young people and those with lower incomes and economic stability.

The most important indicator of support and trust in the police (at the individual level) relates to race and ethnicity. Debate surrounds why this might occur but it is agreed that experience in working with a diverse population may play a major role.

Community level factors in satisfaction with police also relate to the demographics of the neighbourhood or community beliefs in levels of perceived disorder, crime and social organisation (Scott 2010). Public opinion research offers insights into police organisations, particularly in relation to strategies to decrease the number of negative interactions between police and community members and increasing pathways for more positive interactions (Scott 2010). It is important that these strategies relate to both public initiated contact as well as police initiated contact.

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Skogan suggests the behaviour of officers at the scene of crime or criminal behaviour has an important influence on public opinion (Skogan 2005). He suggests that officers need to explain their actions, be seen to respond in both a polite and just manner, and provide opportunities for members of the public to express themselves. All these factors have been shown to increase public confidence and satisfaction in police (cited in Scott 2010). Another important implication for police highlighted by the findings of Skogan's research is that they need to appreciate the community context of these encounters and how they may affect interactions (cited in Scott 2010). Community concerns need to be addressed in ways that are visible and transparent in order to improve public satisfaction. Again, this highlights the balancing act for police, with a

need to engage in order maintenance while at the same time maintaining quality interactions with members of the public (Scott 2010).

Reisig and Parks (2004) suggest that citizens who perceive police favourably report fewer problems with fear of crime or perceived safety and higher levels of actual safety, and that this often assists to offset social disadvantage (Reisig & Parks 2004). These findings also support the ecological argument for community policing. They argue that police need to work to address crime and disorder by establishing mutual levels of trust, building working relationships with citizens, and strengthening both informal and formal social controls (Reisig & Parks 2004). Fleming argues strongly that networks are important in community policing (Fleming 2005).

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The research on attitude to police and the satisfaction in police (Tyler 1990, 2001, 2004, 2005; Tyler & Huo 2002) suggests that community policing is based on the premise of policing being about making people feel safe. This concept of safety includes both perceived and real threats, and in the policing context, a sense of safety may refer to both reassurance policing strategies and the policing of criminality. In general, reassurance can occur at a number of levels: mainstream community, specific community (either by location or by shared similarity, which may include ethnicity or experience) and at an individual level (particularly in reaction to an involvement in an incident). A sense of safety is also linked to an individual's sense of vulnerability (Reisig & Parks 2004).

As such, the issues that police deal with concerning refugee communities, while sharing many similarities with mainstream community members, include different needs in relation to feeling safe due to their experiences and perceptions. For refugee individuals the state of feeling unsafe is the norm and trust may only be achieved in the longer term. A person with refugee status does not instantly feel safe when he or she puts their foot on the tarmac of a safe country. The next section will explore the concepts of actual and perceived vulnerability in the context of policing.

COMMUNITY POLICING, DIVERSITY AND VULNERABLE COMMUNITIES

The concept of community policing and the procedures and practices that stem from community policing, firstly need to address the challenge of identifying what and who is community. Bartkowiak-Theron and Crehan (2011) argue that the changing nature of community and the impacts of these changes on policing raise several issues. The traditional meaning of the concept of 'community' is rapidly becoming too limited. Its primary focus on physicality negates many manifestations of community that are based on shared interests, shared experiences and shared characteristics. In Tables 11 and 12 below, Bartkowiak-Theron and Crehan outline a new community typology so as to differentiate groups in our community and, in a sense, the different communities in which one can be located (Bartkowiak-Theron & Crehan 2011). This new typology acknowledges that communities are 'complex entities' (Brogden & Nijhar 2005). In using this typology, the strengths and weaknesses of different forms of community policing can be correlated to the outcomes that are most positive for specific communities.

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Table 11: A New Community Typology

TYPES OF COMMUNITY	Description	Examples Of Primary Determining Factors	Strengths and/or Weaknesses	Examples
Geographical Communities	Strong association to defined place and space, often associated with a particular culture and identity	Space Identity	Social cohesion is less important Boundaries for membership can be clearly defined	Neighbourhood, suburb, region, nation
Geographical Transient (Transitory) Communities	Often linked to a place where people meet on a more or less regular basis, but which is left for a more 'permanent' geographical location	Temporal location Activities specific to location	Temporally convenient, although conflict displacement can occur (conflicts would not happen if regrouping in this space did not occur)	Schools, workplaces
Communities of Interest	Groups of people who share common ideas, passions, hobbies, interests, needs. They do not have to share the same geographical environment, but sometimes do	Interest Activity Ideologies Principles	Usually strong sense of cohesion marked by sharing of a same culture; rarely a source of problem for law enforcement	Sports or cultural clubs, ideological or political parties, academia, online collectivities
Cultural and Ethnic Communities	Way to identify groups of people who differentiate themselves from the majority; often associated with the concept of 'minority'	Nationality or language Culture Religion Education or economic background	Risks of discrimination; 'us and them' dynamic May assist with adjustment to new culture/nation	Refugees, religious minorities
Externally Coherent (Defined) Communities	Groups of people who do not have to know each other, but who can be (and often are) classed together due to characteristics identifiable by others (e.g. skin colour)	Shared experience	Aversion to being 'grouped' on the basis of the characteristic that makes them externally coherent to others Differences between individuals may outweigh similarities	Homeless people, some Aboriginal people, some people belonging to sexual minorities
Occasional Communities	No common interest or need that binds people together	'One off' individual desire to join in events	Usually a visible example of social cohesion	Special events guest and organisation bodies

Source: Adapted from Bartkowiak-Theron & Crehan (2011)

Table 12: Rethinking Community Policing Initiatives

TYPES OF COMMUNITY	Examples	Targets	Initiatives	Nature of Tactical Change	Principles
Geographical Communities	Neighbourhood Suburb Region/nation	Localities	Neighbourhood Watch	Special focus on local capacity and knowledge	Local community policing
Geographical Transient (Transitory) Communities	Schools, workplaces	Related transitional place (e.g.: schools)	School Liaison Police	Specialised training and powers to officers specially dedicated to schools	'Portable' policing and mobility of hierarchy, when needed
Communities of Interest	Sports clubs, cultural clubs, ideological or political parties, academia	None in particular as less of a problem	None in particular. Follow up of issues done by general duties police, crime prevention officers; problems might be looked at and solved on a case by case basis or within the framework of problem-oriented policing		
Cultural and Ethnic Communities	Refugees, religious minorities	Special needs groups or target of topical issues	Aboriginal and/or Ethnic Community Liaison Officers	Provision of specialised officers Establishment of liaison schemes Transfer of power in the case of indigenous policing	Support of 'disadvantaged' groups, or other identity groups, based on needs relating to social identity, age
Externally Coherent (Defined) Communities	Homeless people, victims associations, prison	Special needs groups or target of topical issues	Gay and Lesbian Liaison Officers Domestic Violence (Liaison) Officers Specialised Youth Officers	Provision of specialised officers Establishment of liaison schemes	Support of 'disadvantaged' groups, or other identity groups, based on needs relating to social identity, age
Occasional Communities	Special events guest and organisation bodies	Special needs groups or target of topical issues	None in particular. due to ephemeral nature of the community. While special events relating to crime awareness campaigns would see police involvement of during activities, the organisation of items is usually left to partnering agencies or private security.		

Source: Adapted from Bartkowiak-Theron & Crehan (2011)

There are dangers in approaching community with a 'one size fits all' approach. However, if this danger is considered in strategic development—within the framework of the multiple concepts of communities and their needs in relation to policing—a more effective model of police interaction can be developed. There is debate surrounding categorisation when developing an understanding of communities. Cunneen is concerned that this simplistic view could lead to something being missed (Cunneen 1992). Yet, categorisation (as a method of understanding communities) can highlight specific needs and experiences of groups of people, which may be invaluable when deciding on policing strategies and programs (Bartkowiak-Theron & Crehan 2011). Bartkowiak-Theron and Crehan explore the notion of types of communities and their needs, which can act as a foundation to evidence-based strategy and program development. One issue explored by May, concerns identification with 'community' and whether this is a self-identification or identification by external observers (Bartkowiak-Theron & Crehan 2011). Identification is particularly important for policing and the ethical foundations related to 'assumptions' that may underpin behaviour especially when assessing the effectiveness of a program or policy. All membership of a community needs to be understood as fluid and potentially transferable. It is also linked to a sense of belonging, which, in turn relates strongly to the concepts of acculturation and settlement (Bartkowiak-Theron & Crehan 2011). Community policing is about engagement with the community. As such, a clear understanding of community and the groups within it are necessary to the successful implementation of community policing strategies.

REFUGEES AND POLICE

In terms of community policing, the refugee experience presents a specific context in which to undertake the police reassurance role. Emphasis needs to be on reassurance for two distinct reasons. In the first instance, refugees' lives have been characterised by a lack of safety and in many cases long periods of danger and vulnerability. As such, the concept of 'safety' needs to be explored in the new settlement environment.

Secondly, a reassurance process has stages, which will vary depending on the refugee's personal coping capacities. As such, the type of reassurance required in each of these stages and with different refugee communities will vary. Given the traumatic experiences of African refugees, it then follows that they will potentially have a higher need of reassurance strategies than the mainstream population. In fact, they may have quite distinctive needs from groups with migration experiences or a culturally and linguistically diverse (CALD) background although they may share many common challenges (which will be explored later in the findings chapters).

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How is refugee settlement in a regional context characterised from a service provision perspective and, more particularly, in terms of police service provision? How does public opinion, particularly if negative, impact on police carrying out their duties, especially if the interaction is characterised by an element of diversity which could create difficulties (e.g. language or cultural difference)? What are the processes by which refugees access the services of police? All these questions highlight the implications for policing because most refer to an area of difference and complexity or

an area where research and empirical evidence is lacking. These concerns include the question of ethnicity and its relationship to reporting and underreporting, especially with issues such as family violence (IWDVS 2006; West 2005). There are also ethnic variations in attitudes associated with safety, security and trust.

Robinson (2006) argues that protracted social issues (such as gaining employment, accessing affordable and stable housing, and dealing with family transition), although not police work *per se*, can potentially create a climate of frustration and heightened intensity that may influence a situation involving police contact. In addition, low socioeconomic status (Robinson 2006) and/or welfare dependency can make individuals (especially women) feel particularly vulnerable (Rees & Pease 2006; West 2005). As previously shown in Table 10, these issues can become a mix of frustration and discontent, which link to the individual or family's ability to perceive a hopeful future (UNHCR 2002).

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The implications of refugee settlement in regional areas for policing can be emphasized by exploring two major areas of public opinion (Colic-Peisker 2005), racism (Colic-Peisker 2005; Garland & Chakraborti 2006) and family violence. The level of community acceptance and the direction of public opinion permeate all contact that police have with refugee communities and has an impact on the settlement environment as a whole. For the policing of communities with high visibility (Colic-Peisker 2005; Colic-Peisker & Tilbury 2005; Garland & Chakraborti 2006; Robinson

2006), high trauma and diverse language support needs (IWDVS 2006; Robinson 2006), an understanding of those complex characteristics is vital. Equally, it is argued that police would benefit from enhanced knowledge of the differential social construction of crime problems in rural and regional localities and the way this impacts on police-refugee relations, in particular the tendency to racialise questions of crime, and law and order (Hogg 2005; Hogg & Carrington 2003; Hogg & Carrington 1998). Poynting et al have explored this same process in the metropolitan context (Collins, Noble, Poynting & Tabar, P 2000; 2002; Collins & Poynting 2000; Poynting 2002). An example of this is the association often made between street presence and skin colour (Collins et al 2002; Cunneen & White 2007; McAra & McVie 2005; White et al 1999).

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As discussed above, police work is concerned with real or perceived threats to public safety. Reisig highlights that a sense of safety is linked to an individual's sense of vulnerability (Campbell 2007; Reisig & Parks 2004). A refugee background creates very particular perceptions and therefore significantly affects each interaction and police-refugee relations in general (Campbell 2007). Attitudes to police, crime and safety are fundamentally shaped by the refugee experience (Ager & Strange 2004b; Phillips & Bowling 2003; Schuck & Rosenbaum 2005; Victorian Multicultural Commission 2000). For attitudes to change, positive experiences and time may be required. Personal safety has been an everyday concern for most refugees who have been in a survival mode over long periods (Ager & Strange 2004a; 2004b; Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission 1991; Victorian Multicultural Commission 2000). It has been

emphasised that safety and security are crucial to establishing social connections and relationships in the host community (Ager & Strange 2004a). This can be particularly difficult after experiences of racism (Boyce & Madden 2000).

Diverse community views on refugee settlement are to be expected, but behaviour attached to those views in general interaction, institutional practices (Colic-Peisker & Tilbury 2005) or the media, can support the promotion of racism and xenophobia (IWDVS 2006; Rees & Pease 2006). Racism is more likely to be experienced by a visibly different refugee community. Such experiences often create safety issues for refugee communities and destroy the rebuilding of trust and hope. As well, these experiences may contribute to mental health problems such as anxiety and depression (Samarasinghe & Arvidsson 2002).

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The existence of racism can affect integration and participation in the host society (Rees & Pease 2006). Examples include access to housing and employment, acceptance of children at school, and wariness to interact in their new community (UNHCR 2002). This environment can breed stress and exacerbate experiences of isolation for individual refugees and families. Anti-racism laws support a process of creating stronger communities (Nsubuga-Kyobe 2004), however, these laws do not currently exist in all jurisdictions in Australia, including Tasmania.

Another issue that has complex implications for policing is family violence. West's (2005) research on domestic violence in ethnically and racially diverse families, points out that, historically, individuals from ethnically and racially diverse families have been less likely to speak out on violence. This reluctance is due to a real or perceived idea that reporting will lead to excessive state surveillance and that it brings stigma to their community (IWDVS 2006; Rees & Pease 2006; West 2005). Personal safety has not necessarily been seen as a real outcome of intervention especially if related to government intervention.

Protracted social issues—and the transition associated with refugee settlement—can become stress factors that influence family violence (West 2005). Changes in family structures, roles within families (Samarasinghe & Arvidsson 2002) and issues associated with identity (Kennedy & Hall 2006) are part of the myriad of changes experienced during settlement. The acculturation process presents stressors to the family environment (West 2005) and a high level of acculturation may include a real and long-term realisation concerning discrimination. A low level of acculturation may lead to being economically and socially marginalised including the experiences of isolation and lack of social supports. All of these factors increase family stress and decrease the chance of effective support and intervention in addressing family violence (West 2005). Further, alcohol abuse is always a risk factor in family violence and can appear as an exacerbating factor or a symptom of a family experiencing a high level of stress (West 2005).

The importance of training police officers in both domestic violence and racism highlights the interconnected nature of these issues (Huisman, Martinez & Wilson 2005). In addition, training supports police officers to acknowledge their attitudes towards refugees and how this influences their perspectives on the incidents (Chan 1997). This is particularly important in maximising effectiveness and maintaining professionalism as the incidents unfolds (Huisman, Martinez & Wilson 2005). The complex nature of family violence in the context of diversity is a challenge to police, particularly when factors such as limited access to resources, lack of experience of diversity and language barriers make addressing this issue even more complex (Campbell 2007).

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Despite the debate that exists concerning community policing or 'reassurance' strategies' (Pelfrey 2004; Rosenbaum 1994; Skogan 2004; Thatcher 2001; Waddington 1999) as a support for refugee settlement, especially in the regional context, community policing has merit (Campbell 2007). Consulting refugee communities is a necessary and specialised process (Multicultural SA 2004; Nsubuga-Kyobe 2004; Phillips & Bowling 2003) that needs to be undertaken to generate understanding and trust. Basic concepts (such as what community, and who is supported by community policing?, for whom?, by whom?) need to be shared by all parties (UNHCR 2002; Victorian Multicultural Commission 2000). Police-led initiatives need to engage refugee communities in the development of a shared understanding (Chui & Ip 2005), particularly sub-sectors within these communities such as 'unattached' entrants, youth

(Chan 1994; Collins et al. 2000; Collins et al. 2002; Cunneen & white 2007; White et al. 1999), and women (Dyck & McLearen 2004) who have quite specific experiences.

It could be argued that the regional context allows highly effective community policing strategies to develop (Campbell 2007). In particular, the promotion of relationships and of trust can assist in offsetting social disadvantage experienced by refugees (Reisig & Parks 2004). Regional Australia can be well placed to support successful refugee settlement (Campbell 2007; Dyck & McLearen 2004), as are small police services, especially if trust and relationship creation is seen as fundamental to successful settlement (Campbell 2007; Rees & Pease 2006; UNHCR 2002).

THE IMPORTANCE OF TRUST

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Trust is an essential aspect of successful community policing strategies. All refugees have had a long history of mistrust. Throughout the period of threat, flight and, often, in the place of asylum (such as refugee camps), refugees experience high levels of mistrust and trust violation. Refugees mistrust as a matter of survival, as many have been victims of state sanctioned violence (Pickering 2005). Survival, fear of betrayal and unknown allegiances with opposition groups were the reasons that mistrust was necessary.

In this period, refugees have mistrusted government officials, police, uniformed officials, soldiers, border guards and informers. In the period of asylum, mistrust may

extend to UNHCR, non government organisations (NGOs) and camp committees. The rebuilding of trust in the time of reception, resettlement and post-settlement will depend upon on three criteria: whether the individual can begin to trust other individuals, the ability to participate in society and the level of discrimination encountered (UNHCR 2002).

Apart from long periods of profound danger, another defining feature of the refugee journey and lack of safety is that refugees have been mistrusted by multiple actors. This mistrust is due to the fact that all people are in a state of mistrust (UNHCR 2002). Apart from these 'officials', virtually anyone encountered on the refugee journey will be mistrusted out of a need for survival. This means that the process of successful settlement is directly linked to the rebuilding of trust to counteract these experiences.

According to the Australian Bureau of Statistics, trust is a key indicator of social capital, and refers to the:

...confidence in the reliability of a person or a system [and is] based on the expectation that people or organisations will act in ways that are expected or promised, and will take into account the interests of others (ABS 2004).

The ABS considers three types of trust in their research: generalised trust, informal trust and institutional trust. The rebuilding of trust for refugees must occur in relation to all three types, but institutional trust is most relevant to the refugee-police relationship.

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Institutional trust refers to trust that individuals have of the government, police, hospitals, and the courts.

It also refers to confidence in the capacity of these institutions to take reasonable actions in the administration of their duties, which enhances the ease of acceptance of the results of these actions. Institutional trust is seen as important for the functioning of society, as many vital services may be under-utilised, to the detriment of members of the community, if trust of institutions is deficient (ABS 2004).

Given the past experiences of refugees in newly arrived communities and the ABS framework on trust, the findings of this research are valuable in considering how trust

impacts on the relationship between police and the refugee communities. The findings of the research also support the notion that a lack of trust (particularly institutional trust) is a significant barrier to social inclusion and has a strong influence on the process of social exclusion for individuals, families and communities. As such, the establishment of institutional trust should be considered a fundamental key to long-term successful settlement. In regional Australia, police have the potential to be active agents in the rebuilding of trust among refugees.

MISTRUST FOR SURVIVAL

It has been an imperative for refugees to mistrust during the refugee journey. The difference between trusting and mistrusting can be the difference between perishing or being captured, and survival. Table 13 outlines the need to mistrust on the refugee journey. The extensive list of individuals that may have been connected to danger during every aspect of the refugee journey demonstrates the intensity and the need for an individual to be on high alert during this time. These patterns of behaviour that were necessary during this period are not always easy to change when circumstances change and safety is more likely. Therefore, when arriving in Australia some of associations related to mistrust, such as uniformed government officials, will remain. They will take positive experiences and time to diminish.

Table 13: A History of Mistrust – Why and Who Refugees Mistrust

TIME PERIOD	Why a Refugee Mistrusts	Who a Refugee Mistrusts
Period of Threat		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Members of other ethnic or religious groups Informers & Spies Government agents Military intelligence
Decision to Flee		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Own government with own life
In Flight	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Survival 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Everyone
Reaching Safety and a Place of Asylum	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Survival Due to past incidents at borders Fear of betrayal Opposition groups may be from different 'vintage' (Kunz, 1973) May have different past or present political allegiances 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Government officials Other uniformed officials, soldiers and border guards Other ethnics or religious groups Opposition groups in exile Exile groups
Refugee Camp Experience	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Survival May perceive UNHCR as inaccessible diplomats and NGO personnel careerists neither empathetic to their circumstances Camp committee may contain same members as opposition group Possible existence of secondary persecution by non-state agents 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> UNHCR NGOs Camp communities Other ethnics or religious groups Opposition groups in exile Exile groups
Reception in the Host Country	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Negative experiences or hostile encounters 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Immigration officials Police Host population "Everybody"
Resettlement	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Police Host population: resettlement Housing providers Sections of 'own' community Political extremists
Post-Resettlement	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Past experiences May begin to trust some individuals? Depends upon discrimination encountered Depends upon employment Depends upon ability to participate in society 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Police Host population of area of resettlement or secondary migration 'officials' political extremists

Source: Hynes (2003)

Table 14 highlights that refugees are also mistrusted by many people in the refugee journey. The experience of being mistrusted so extensively would leave an impression on a refugee that could influence an individual's sense of self, sense of trust, sense of deserving, and a sense of hope for the future. The extent to which being mistrusted—as well as mistrusting others—has affected individuals during a refugee journey should not be underestimated. Equally, recovering from this experience may take some time after safety has been assured by resettlement in Australia. The concept of trust and its importance is accentuated when it is realised that individuals are not only trying to build trust in the new environment of settlement in Australia but also break down the layers of mistrust that has been forced upon them prior to arrival.

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Table 14: A History of Mistrust – Who Mistrusts Refugees and Why

TIME PERIOD	Why is a Refugee is Mistrusted	Who a Refugee is Mistrusted By
Period of Threat	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Due to real or perceived political connections 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Members of other ethnic or religious groups • Own Government agents
Decision to Flee		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Own government with own life
In Flight		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • People met during flee
Reaching Safety and a place of Asylum		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Government officials • Other uniformed officials, soldiers and border guards • Other ethnics or religious groups • Opposition groups in exile • Other Exile groups

TIME PERIOD	Why is a Refugee is Mistrusted	Who a Refugee is Mistrusted By
Refugee Camp Experience	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • UNHCR: At an individual level may not believe case history. At a group level may mistrust the numbers • International NGOs may not consider them to be within 'target group' or may not consider them 'real' refugees 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Host governments • UNHCR • International NGOs • Members of other ethnics or religious groups • Opposition groups in exile • Other exile groups
Reception in the Host Country	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • May be perceived as being 'bogus' or 'undeserving' • 'Culture of suspicion' • 'Culture of disbelief' • Media 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Immigration officials • Police • Government and individual politicians • National and Local Media • Sections of the host population • "Everybody"
Resettlement	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • May be perceived as being 'bogus' or 'undeserving' • Media • Irresponsible statements from politicians 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Government and individual politicians • Police • National and local media • Sections of the local population
Post-Resettlement		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Government • National and local media • Sections of the local and national population

Source: Hynes (2003)

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SOCIAL INCLUSION AND POLICE-REFUGEE RELATIONS

Social inclusion is the ability for an individual to effectively participate in all aspects of society (social, economic and civic), and relies on access to information and services. In addition, social inclusion is enhanced where the community has the capacity to assist those who are at risk of being excluded. Therefore, social exclusion is experienced when an individual is alienated from social, economic, political and cultural systems that contribute to the integration of a person into the community (Newman et al. 2007).

The settlement process for a refugee entrant hinges on access to both essential settlement supports and positive support from the host community, and the infrastructure and services that support that country's population. If an individual remains 'outside' and unable to access these services, they are at high risk of social exclusion. There are key services that are able to impact on social exclusion, and it could be argued that police, and the criminal justice system more generally, are central to this process.

Social inclusion, or exclusion, intersects with policing because at the foundation of policing is trust. This trust is fundamental to engagement with police and engagement with police is fundamental to a sense of safety, and sense of safety is what people need from policing. Safety is why refugees have come to Australia, left their home, their lives and their families. It is therefore the most important outcome of the refugee journey and for inclusion to occur and exclusion to be avoided.

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Why is trust so important to police? For the majority of the population, the ability to create a sense of safety—whether perceived or real—is directly related to the relationship that the population has with their police force. As such, policing is about relationships, which is about perspective. It is paramount to actively gain a substantial understanding of different sub-sectors of the community that are being policed.

Without their perspective, a sense of safety relative to their needs is not able to be easily achieved. This necessity becomes the basis for social inclusion, as a sector of the

community that substantially lacks understanding and access to the police and knowledge of the Australia law is excluded from full participation in a society.

Police are well placed to impact positively on the inclusion process for newly arrived refugee communities and the individual and families of which they are comprised. At worst, police could contribute to the process of further social exclusion. Refugees are individuals who have experienced some of the most powerful examples of exclusion, often over long periods of time, the impact of which has been a relentless fight against losing hope for a future. Arriving and settling in Australia can represent a turning point in that journey. If it goes badly, contact with the criminal justice system as victims or perpetrators—or, in fact, embroiled in a misunderstanding concerning the law may be the outcome. In these cases police, as actors, can and will impact on the long term experiences of that individual and their community. Police, therefore, have the ability to assist with social inclusion and reduce the likelihood of social exclusion. Therefore, the significance of the refugee voice to policy creation should not be underestimated. This voice is paramount to successful interaction and positive outcomes for both police and refugee communities. This research particularly explores the concept of police-refugee interaction a facilitator for social inclusion or, at the very least, to combat social exclusion.

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The move from exclusion to inclusion requires a conscious breaking down of the state of mistrust. This research investigates ways in which the site of refugee-police

interaction can reduce or increase social exclusion. In addition to the debate about the process of inclusion in refugee settlement, it provides an overview of issues concerning police as experienced by the individuals and families who are members of newly emerging communities.

It can be argued that refugee-police interaction is a particularly complex situation for refugees, having experienced high levels of trauma in their backgrounds. The research focuses on refugees coming to Australia from Africa particularly, due to the protracted nature of their flight experience, the high levels of trauma experienced, their visible difference and that they constituted a majority of the Australian humanitarian immigration intake at the time when the research commenced. The types of interaction with police are not necessarily different to the experiences of the mainstream community. The difference is the effect that these interactions have on the individuals and families of the African Australian communities.

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It is important that police become aware of how these interactions could deepen or counteract the problem of social exclusion and if these interactions be harnessed more actively to encourage social inclusion. . In addition, this focus by police could have a spin off effect in strengthening the capacity of the wider communities to be more inclusive.

CONCLUSION

It is clear that an understanding of 'experiential difference' of refugees by police, other service providers and in fact refugees themselves, is crucial for enhancing the settlement experiences of newly arrived communities. These are the requirements if settlement is concerned with 'normalising' the experiences of life in the country of settlement. If an individual retains the mode of survival as their mode of daily operation, they will have a distinctly different experience than an individual who finds opportunities to rebuild trust and a sense of safety as a daily life experience. As a host country, we need to ask what our overall aim is in settlement support. The answer influences the optimal outcomes for all parties involved.

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In addition, there needs to be an appreciation of how policing in Australia may cause tensions if the importance of the individual versus community relationship in refugee communities is not considered. The debate concerning the good or bad of law in Australia (or Africa) was not really the issue in this research; rather that change in awareness takes time and that successful transition requires engagement by both refugees and police. Education and transfer of knowledge concerning Australian law needs to be factual, relevant and timely. It was apparent that creating positive community experiences fostered relationship building and education for both refugees and police.

To be proactive police must consider targeted community policing strategies to enhance settlement support, the importance of strengthening communities and the impact of host community acceptance on refugee settlement (Samarasinghe & Arvidsson 2002). Acknowledgement of complexities requires proactive policing strategies and police training, which needs to focus on relationship building, the impact of assumptions and the role of media in the construction of reality for the police, the refugee communities and the host community. Community acceptance is a key in successful settlement. Organisations such as police and DIAC, can lead the debate and raise awareness concerning immigration flow, the multi-directional process of settlement and that 'special treatment' in the initial stages stimulates better outcomes for the whole community in the long term.

In this way, social inclusion and the minimising of social exclusion becomes the overall aim of the settlement process. The process involves the engagement of the refugee communities, the host community more generally and key service organisation. Police services could see this not only as a challenge, but also as an opportunity to lead in the social inclusion/exclusion field. The importance of the refugee voice in policy creation can be the key.

Social research offers an opportunity to explore the phenomenon of being human, living together and the dynamics of life's experience. Chapters 5 and 6 explore the experiences of refugees and their settlement in regional Australia, from the perspective

of both police and members of the refugee communities themselves. Bulmer reminds us of the potency of qualitative research, especially in capturing the human face and perhaps more importantly the voice of that experience.

CHAPTER 4 – RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This chapter explores the research methodology including the research considerations, research approach, such as sample selection, ethics, relationship building and negotiating access. The chapter presents the participant demographic data and the procedures: individual interviews, focus group interviews and participant observation. The chapter concludes with critical reflections on the methodology approaches including both the challenges and strengths of the research.

The fact of the matter is that we cannot observe everything. We cannot observe feelings, thoughts and intentions. We cannot observe how people have organised the world and the meaning they attach to what goes on in the world. We have to ask questions about those things. The purpose of interviewing, then, is to allow us to enter into the other person's perspective (Bulmer 1977). As the primary aim of the research was to gain an understanding of the participants' perspectives on the topic of refugee-police relations and police-refugee relations, it was important to use a qualitative research methodology (Neuman 2004; O'Leary 2005; Ruane 2005). Qualitative analysis was well-suited to the research, as Babbie argues that this approach is also useful for analysing social phenomena (Babbie 2002). Qualitative methods allowed access to a variety of perspectives about these relationships and therefore insights into what influences relations between police and newly arrived refugees. As Weber asserts, one can never really 'know' or explain social reality as such, rather we can only reasonably hope to interpret people's understanding of reality (cited in Crotty 1998). In addition, Strauss and Corbin claim that qualitative methods are effective when attempting to

understand a topic where little research has yet been undertaken (Strauss & Corbin 1990). In this way, the approach captured a variety of interactions, and comprehensively evaluated a variety of data. The choice of methodology was also important as it ensured validity of data by cross-checking perspectives using interviews and focus groups (O’Leary 2005; Onwuegbuzie & Leech 2007; Smithson 2000).

This research aims to document the human face of police–refugee relations and to give it a voice (Bulmer 1977) and research methods were chosen to maximise this outcome. Essentially the interest of this research was to understand “how people give meaning to their lives by interpreting their thoughts, experiences, actions and expressions” (Boeije 2010, p. 8). He argues that an understanding of the process of social construction can be acquired by using appropriate research methods. The ontological stance of constructivism asserts that “social entities are not pre-given but that human beings attach meaning to their social reality and that as a result human action should be considered meaningful.” (Boeije 2010 p. 6) In focusing on the human voice in this story the research strived for integrity in the research process. This allowed the hearing of voices to be maximised and was relevant to undertaking an exploration of solutions to real world problems (O’Leary 2005) and in the process, maximising outcomes for the participants (Swartz 2011).

The research involved interviews with 160 people (50 individual interviews and 14 focus groups) over a three-year period between 2006 and 2008. Participants included police, individuals from the African refugee communities in Tasmania and key service providers. The research was also informed by insights gained from participant observation, including forums organised between police and members of the African refugee community, training at the police academy, the courts and observations of police on duty.

The police participants were from various locations in Hobart and Launceston and of varying ranks. Most had experienced contact with newly arrived African community members in their line of work. This data was enhanced through contact with a considerable number of police personnel during observation of training and operational policing. The key service providers included people working with the refugee communities in settlement, health education and direct advocacy roles. All had had experiences related to the refugees' contact with, and/or attitudes to, police.

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The data collected from the refugee communities involved 25 individual in-depth interviews and 14 focus groups (consisting of 110 participants) ranging from 1-2.5 hours. It included individuals from all African countries of origin that were settling in Tasmania. At the time of the research, these included Sudanese, Burundi, Congolese, Ethiopian, Sierra Leone, Liberian and Rwandan.

A mix of qualitative research methods was used to make it possible to observe interpretations, specifically the creation of meaning in specific settings, by examining social processes and participants in their social context (Neuman 2004; O’Leary 2005). It allowed insight into the experiences of police, members of the African communities, key service providers and the interaction between them.

TERMINOLOGY

As mentioned in the introduction, throughout the research the term ‘refugee’ is used despite the problems that arise from this terminology. This term was adopted particularly because of the mixed audience of the research, as it focused everyone’s minds on the experiences rather than the legal labels, including a focus on the refugee journey. In this thesis, the term ‘refugee’ has been used simply as a reference to background; it makes no claims about the long-term status of individuals and/or families.

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RESEARCH CONSIDERATIONS

Ethical tensions are often an everyday aspect of social science research, particularly around a social phenomenon that is causing angst within the community (Babbie 2002). These ethical tensions were a consistent challenge during this research work (Miller 2004). Procedures and methods needed to be refined to address these tensions (Flick 2002; Hynes 2003; Liamputtong & Ezzy 2005; Ruane 2005) and the limitations of qualitative research methods (Onwuegbuzie & Leech 2007). In alignment with

Mason's view, this research adopted a qualitative research methodology based on the premise that qualitative research involves data generation not just data collection (Mason 2002). The research required reflective data collection, which focused on relationship creation and maintenance in order to acknowledge any tensions and to allow these be addressed (Hynes 2003). In undertaking this research, the issue of inequity was also strongly considered (Truman, Mertens & Humphries 2000). In addition, a transformative emancipatory perspective was also a consideration in the selection of methods (Mertens 2003) maximising the experience as a positive process for participants (Boeije 2010; Swartz 2011).

The literature on research into sensitive topics is relevant to the research considerations especially in relation to risks to researchers, participants and the emotional nature of this type of research (Dickson-Swift et al. 2006, 2008a, 2008b, 2009). Considerations were made in the research to acknowledge that:

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Data collection can be an intense experience, especially if the topic that one has chosen has to do with the illness experience or other stressful human experiences. The stories that the qualitative researcher obtains in interviews will be stories of intense suffering, social injustices, or other things that will shock the researcher (Dickson-Swift et al. 2008a, p. 327).

The well-being of all participants, research assistants, transcribers and the researcher were considered in the research design. In particular, to acknowledge considerations of cross-cultural research related to methodological and ethical concerns, as in the

work of Liamputtong, was invaluable (Liamputtong 2008). Liamputtong's research was important in assessing risk in relation to vulnerability as she has contributed important work to the research of participants considered at least temporarily as 'vulnerable' (Liamputtong 2007).

To understand some of the methodological decisions, it is important to understand the researcher and their relationship to the ARC Linkage project. Unlike many ARC projects, this research encompassed the entire project funded by the grant. It was not just part of a larger project. The reality of this meant that the researcher had a project management role in the project and worked directly with all stakeholders. Although this presented some tensions for the researcher, in managing the expectations of these stakeholders to ensure the integrity of the research and not be influenced inappropriately by the wants of the stakeholders, the overall outcome was positive. The situation was able to ensure that the researcher fully understood the context of the research and that the understandings emerging from the findings could be presented in a way that increased the likelihood of both relevance and uptake by all parties involved. This is discussed further later in the thesis.

RESEARCH APPROACH

Ethics

To undertake the collection of primary data, ethics approval was sought from the University of Tasmania Human Research Ethics Committee. The application adhered to ethical guidelines in research as outlined in the *National Statement on Ethical Conduct in Human Research* (Australian Government 2007; see Appendix 1 for the detail of the ethics application). However, due to the complexity of the research environment, an amendment to the ethics application was submitted later to allow a change to the approach of data collection. This change became necessary to counteract some issues related to media coverage and heightened suspicion within the African refugee communities in Australia (see Appendix 2 for details of ethics approval revision for the research). The practical way in which this affected the research data collection is explored in more detail later in this chapter.

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In the data collection phase, a strict research protocol was followed to obtain consent from participants to ensure their privacy and the confidentiality of the research data(see Appendices 3-7 for detail of consent forms). It was of the utmost importance that participants felt that they trusted the process so as to allow the richest data to be explored. This process also ensured that the likelihood of undue risk to the participants was minimised (Miller 2004).

During the process, though, concerns arose concerning ethical tensions in the research and the stipulations of an application for ethics approval. In particular, and as Guillemin and Gillam (2004) highlight, there is a distinction between procedural ethics and "ethics in practice". When undertaking the research and considering ethical concerns there was full consideration of the issue of inequity (Truman, Mertens & Humphries 2000). These two issues led to particular decisions being made concerning research methodology and processes.

In this research, these tensions became tangible. One of the distinct problems was that all ethics requirements for participant involvement required written information and approval. This posed two issues. Firstly, it raised the issue of English language proficiency. Secondly, and more importantly, it highlighted the issue of official documentation and its negative association related to the refugee journey (Hynes 2003). The informed consent process was confronting for some of the participants.

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Both issues were raised with the Ethics Committee and this led to the development of a verbal introduction to both the individual interviews and the focus groups to counteract these concerns.

The conversation with the ethics committee (only through formal written processes offered) left an unsatisfactory gap between the university's standard concerns for participants and a practical understanding of this client group and the effect this research process may actually have on them. A deeper understanding of particularly

vulnerable groups is necessary than currently exists in the ethics process. Although it is unrealistic to expect an ethics committee (particularly due to the voluntary nature of most of the membership) to automatically process these skills and understanding, there needs to be expert knowledge in the relevant field informing the ethics process. . What was absent was a mechanism for the researcher and supervisor (or lead researcher) in a project to discuss both their own and the committee's discomforts concerning research design and participants. Instead, the process was long and drawn out, lacked clarity and still relied on the researcher, with superior knowledge of their client group, to make appropriate adjustments.

Instead of this being a process of ensuring quality, it was left feeling more like 'fitting a square peg in a round hole', and adjusting it to make it fit. The protection and experience of the participants did not feel like the most important driver of this process and questions emerge as to how respectful these processes are to highly vulnerable groups in our community. Research in these areas is important and difficult social research and the ethics process should support it to be undertaken with quality and to support all parties in the process.

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The other element of the ethics process that was surprising was the distinct lack of discussion about protections in place for the researcher. Research involving highly traumatised clients can be designed to maximise protection for all parties but no environment can be controlled when dealing with highly traumatic and emotional

experiences undoubtedly, at times, leading to strong reactions to the topic of the research, in this case, police. Both the length of a PhD and the time taken to gain ethics approval leaves little time to extend the data collection over a period of time that may minimise researcher lethargy (emotional and psychological).

When the researcher did indeed suffer from some vicarious trauma issues, it became clear that unlike the participants, who were well covered for external support, the researcher (as a PhD student and not considered under staff conditions) received no support in recovery. There was no other option on offer other than to suspend candidature and use the public health system or her own finances to recover. This disparity between participants and researcher in terms of the duty of care criteria stipulated by the university ethics committee undermined the integrity of the ethics approach. This represents another weakness that currently exists in the ethics process.

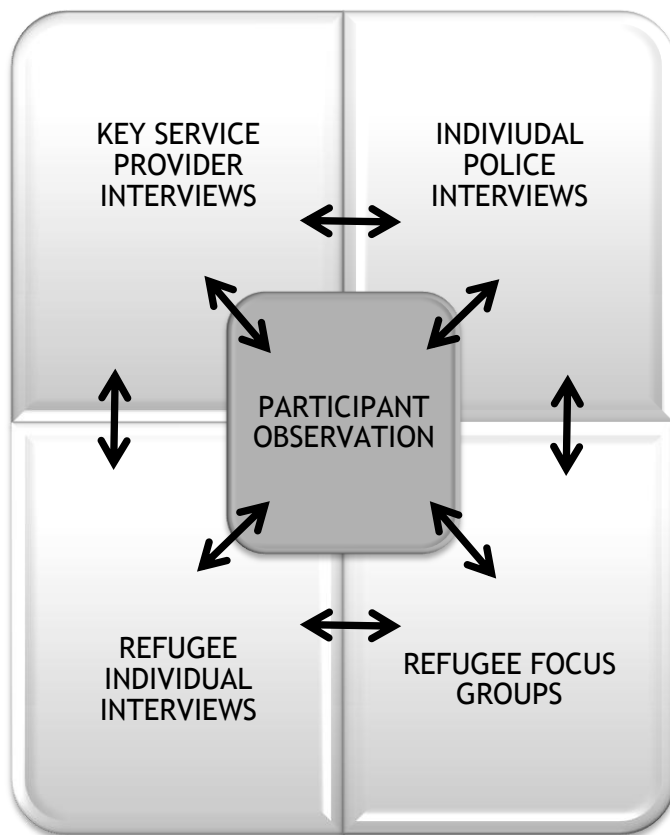
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Methodology

The research focused on reflective practice in the data collection, and on relationship creation and maintenance, to counteract the tensions and suspicion associated with such a sensitive issue as refugees and policing. Figure 6 illustrates the overarching model adopted to ensure that the data collected was both effective and iterative, which meant that all aspects of the data collection related to the overall research goals. In simple terms, the information gathering fed the quality of subsequent data collection by being able to tease out and pinpoint more subtle aspects of participants' concerns.

The mechanisms illustrated in Figure 6, were also useful in the analysis of data to ascertain the perspectives of a particular group. For example, these reflections were important when gaining an understanding of the perspectives of refugees generally or more specifically perspectives of refugee women or young people. This method resulted in the data informing the process, which kept participants engaged, and indeed enthusiastic about their involvement in the research. This was important research to the refugee communities, particularly because the topic area was confronting and sensitive in nature. It also meant that the process of research was stimulating, challenging and due to the impact of the results, extraordinarily satisfying for the primary researcher and the research assistants (see role explained on page 150). This model allowed the research to stay engaged with the process organically but at the same time grounding the data collection process in a strong methodology (O’Leary 2005; Ruane 2005).

Figure 5: Research Process & Methods of Data Collection



Relationship Building

One of the keys to the success of this research was relationship building. Relationship building is a component of all qualitative research, but when the topic is highly political and sensitive, then this becomes vital and crucial to achieve in a timely manner. It was this area of the research that caused the most concern in relation to the timescales allowed for in a PhD research process. The arbitrary nature of these timelines became a frustration particularly with the additional burden of the negative media coverage. The dramatic change in the relationship after Mr Kevin Andrews'

comments⁵ (Power 2010), required modifications in the research design to rebuild the relationship and refugee participants' willingness to discuss sensitive issues such as policing. Without commitment and energy in the pursuit of relationship-building the research outcomes would have been severely limited.

Sample Selection and Recruitment

The primary subjects of the interviews and the focus groups were members of the Tasmanian refugee communities and Tasmania Police personnel particularly those who had had direct contact with members of the refugee communities. Key service providers including stakeholders from Government and community organizations, Adult Migrant English Service (AMES) teachers and Community Support for Refugees (CSR) Volunteers were interviewed as contextual informants of the research setting.

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The processes related to both police and key service providers will be detailed in discussion on these interviews later in the chapter. The next section will focus primarily on the processes related to data collection and members of the refugee communities.

In addition to the interviews, background information sessions were undertaken prior to primary research formally commencing (Miller 2004). The research followed ethical procedures adopted in previous studies to ensure that the informed consent of

⁵ In late 2007, Mr Kevin Andrews MP in his position as the Minister for Immigration and Citizenship made comments criticising the Sudanese refugee community and made claims that they had significant settlement difficulties.

humanitarian entrants complemented these previous approaches to this topic (Julian 2003; Julian, Franklin & Flemingham 1997). Prior to interviewing humanitarian refugees, extensive consultation was undertaken with refugee groups/organisations where they existed (e.g. the African Reference Group in Hobart, the Sudanese and Sierra Leone Associations), the Community Support for Refugees (CSR) volunteers, Migrant Resource Centre (MRC) workers and others who work regularly with refugees.

The objectives of such consultation were to provide information on the aims and expected outcomes of the study, and to ensure that procedures for voluntary participation, confidentiality and anonymity were understood. The position of the researcher vis-a-vis Tasmania Police and Department of Immigration and Citizenship (DIAC) was explicitly addressed, feedback mechanisms to refugees were explained and opportunities for refugees to provide feedback to the researcher (on methodological and substantive matters) were provided (O'Leary 2005; Ruane 2005). All these stakeholders later assisted in advertising for participants in the interviews and focus groups. For interviews and focus groups, interpreters were employed at the request of the interviewee/s.

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To undertake the individual interviews it was necessary to apply a snowball sampling technique which is a good technique for 'hard to reach' groups (Walter 2009). Snowballing begins with a group of known subjects and the number of participants

increases as the first participants add names to the list and those in turn identify more potential participants (Germov & Poole 2007). Refugee interview participants were selected through their expressed interest originating from their knowledge of the research from key service providers, CSR volunteers, refugee affiliated organisations, police personnel (specifically, Multicultural Liaison officers) and other participants. These stakeholders were asked to provide information on the research to refugees who then contacted the researcher with their interest in participating.

This method is effective in a cross-cultural research context especially when employing qualitative research techniques. These methods were necessary to assist in overcoming general mistrust in the refugee communities concerning research but also due to the sensitive nature of the material (Miller 2004). These concerns in the refugee community required conciliation in order for individuals to be comfortable with discussing such material prior to the interview. To do otherwise may have led to many false starts resulting in inefficiency of the researcher and participants' time. False starts could also potentially contribute to a fear and discomfort about the topic area and the research, therefore resulting in contradictory outcomes (especially in terms of providing a supportive environment for the refugee community to find a voice on such important topics). This technique of recruiting was successful even though during the research it did become more difficult to recruit due to external tensions and a heightened suspicion in the community.

Negotiating Access

Research assistants were employed from each refugee country of origin or 'community' to assist in the organisation of focus groups. This included communication with possible research participants about the date, time and location of interviews, and, in most cases, the research assistant acted as an interpreter. The research assistants all had interpreter qualifications in their respective languages and were used in focus groups with all groups (Sudanese, Liberian, Congolese, Rwandan and Burundi) except the Sierra Leone participants. This 'gate opener' model enhanced trust between the researcher and participants (Miller 2004) and ameliorated the mistrust that had been undermined by media attention on these communities (Dore 2007; Kerbaj 2006; 2007a, 2007b; O'Leary 2005; RCOA 2007). The research assistants were all well respected members of their communities and held the relevant skills required including interpreting skills. Employment of these community members was an important aspect of the research, as it gave formal recognition to the significance of their role in their communities, and in the research.

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Hospitality, place of safety, time and place were all considerations important to the success of the interactions particularly considering the context of heightened suspicion (Hynes 2003). There were a number of areas of interaction between police and the refugee community that were raised in the interviews, which were then explored more deeply in the focus groups. Some focus groups were organised around country of origin while others were organised on the basis of common attributes such as age,

gender and visa type (e.g. unlinked entrants). The process of gaining access to participants was different with each group and involved being creative in making links that would allow ease of access and a willingness to discuss such a sensitive topic.

The interviews with members of the African communities took place in participants' houses, or another familiar place known to the participant or participants. These included a school, the Migrant Resource Centre, a local park and the University of Tasmania. The most important requirement was that participants felt safe, at ease and comfortable. The decision concerning location was made in consultation with the participants and/or the research assistants. In most cases, appropriate food and hospitality was provided to increase the likelihood of both comfort and trust (Miller 2004; O'Leary 2005).

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An aspect, which is useful to understand, is the relationship between the researcher and the research assistants. Firstly, the assistants undertook no data collection at anytime. Their role was facilitation, of time and place, creation of a 'safe' environment (informed by cultural and familiarity considerations) and in many cases in language facilitation. This ranged from direct interpretation of the sessions in their entirety to an approach of interpretation of only the complex sections of the session. The later approach was found to be important to some groups who had begun the process of learning English but may have important gaps in their knowledge, especially related to policing terms. It was an element of pride to not 'require' interpreters but there was an

acceptance that the detail and subtleties of what they were saying was important to capture. This interesting area needed to be negotiated sensitively during the research.

SAMPLE

The research with the members of the refugee communities involved 25 individual in-depth interviews and 14 focus groups (consisting of 110 participants) ranging from 1-2.5 hours. All refugees had been living in Australia less than 8 years, with a majority for less than 5 years. Interviews with police involved 15 in-depth interviews and ranged from 45 minutes—1.5 hours. Police personnel were of a various ranks.

Table 15: Number of Participants in Individual Interviews and Focus Groups

RESEARCH PARTICIPANTS	Number
Police	15
Refugee – Individuals	25
Refugee – Focus Groups	110
Key Service Providers	10
TOTAL	160

In addition, the participant observations involved a number of individuals. These are referred to in Table 21a, 21b and 21c. The most significant of these observations, in terms of field note data collection, was the ‘Conversation with Police’ that involved two forums between police and individuals in the refugee community in Launceston. This involved a group of youths between 18 and 25 years and a group of adults, and included both men and women. Both groups involved representatives from all the countries of origin with the exception of some members of the Eritrean (due to prior work commitments) and the Rwandan community (who are only settled in the South). The forum details are discussed in more detail in the participant observation section of this chapter.

Table 16: Launceston Forum Participants

FORUM PARTICIPANTS	Number
Youth	17
Adults	20
TOTAL	37

In addition to the basic number of participants involved in the research, it is also informative to provide a summary of participant demographic data. Note that this summary relates only to those who were individually interviewed or participated in one of the 14 focus groups. It does not include data from the Launceston forums.

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Participants in the research were asked if they were willing to voluntarily provide information about themselves. The information included the country of origin, their age, their primary language, position in the family, who is in Australia with them or if they are single, the length of time they spent in Australia, the country of asylum and the length of time of flight from leaving their country of origin to arriving in Australia.

Although not representing a definitive list of characteristics of the participants, it does serve as a good indication of the diversity of individuals involved in the research. Due to the nature of the refugee journey and the sensitivity of the research topic, it was important that the participants did not feel any pressure to supply these details if it

made them feel uncomfortable. In the same way, individuals were comfortable to sign consent forms when they understood their function and importance. Individuals' reactions to giving this information were mixed; some provided all demographic data, others provided limited demographic information and others requested that no information was collected.

PARTICIPANT DEMOGRAPHIC DATA

Refugee interview participants represented all countries of origin arriving in Tasmania from Africa at the time of the research data collection, including Sudan, Ethiopia, Sierra Leone, Liberia, Democratic Republic of Congo, Rwanda and Burundi. A diversity of ethnicities from these countries was also represented in both the individual and focus group interview sessions. The number of participants from particular countries reflected the numbers settled in Tasmania. There were therefore higher numbers from Sudan and Sierra Leone (with populations in their hundreds in Tasmania) than a country such as Rwanda, which is represented by a community of fewer than 30 individuals. Interviews included people of different ages, gender and positions in family (O'Leary 2005; Ruane 2005). The type and length of camp stay in the country of asylum and the characteristics of the transition period were diversely represented.

Table 17: Research Participants – Country of Origin and Gender

COUNTRY OF ORIGIN	Men	Women
Sudan (Northern Africa)	11	7
Ethiopia (Horn of Africa)	5	5
Sierra Leone (West Africa)	10	6
Burundi (Central Africa)	6	6
Rwanda (Central Africa)	3	2
Democratic Republic of Congo (Central Africa)	7	5
Liberia (West Africa)	5	3
TOTAL	48	36

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Age and Gender

The majority of participants were under 35 years of age. The relative youth of the research participants reflects the youth of the refugee intake in the period 2001-2005. In that period, most Humanitarian Program entrants (67%) were under 25 years of age (DIMIA 2006).

Table 18: Research Participants – Age and Gender

AGE COHORT	Men	Women
18 - 25	15	7
26 - 35	10	8
36 - 45	8	7
46 - 55	4	2
56 - 65	0	1
No answer	11	11
TOTAL	37	25

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Although this table seems to suggest that there were fewer women in the study, in fact the numbers were quite similar even across age groups. What is interesting is that many women were more reluctant to offer these demographic details. Of those who referenced a country of origin, 22 were not willing to complete all other details. All 'no answer' numbers are based on those who filled in country of origin but omitted other sections as a base line. Obviously, this does not include all 135 individuals interviewed or who participated in focus groups. The process of self-identifying with the collection of demographic data highlights the issues related to the divulging of information especially if the information is perceived for official purposes.

Languages Spoken

Participants spoke a diversity of primary languages. These included Creole, Krio, Arabic, Dinka, Omoro, English, French, Amharic, Tigrinya, Kirundi, Kinyarwanda, Swahili and Lingala.

Settlement Time in Australia

The length of time in Australia indicated the range of settlement phases that may be represented in the sample. The fact that most participants had been in Australia for 1 to 4 years and few had been in Australia over 8 years is representative of the settlement patterns of Africans in Australia under the humanitarian immigration stream at the time of the research.

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Table 19: Length of Time in Australia

TIME PERIOD	Men	Women
< 6 months	4	3
7 - 12 months	10	3
13 – 23 months	15	9
2 – 3 years 11 months	14	14
4 – 5 years 11months	2	4

6 – 7 years 11 months	1	3
8 – 10 years	0	0
No answer	2	0
TOTAL	46	36

Countries and Length of Time in Asylum

The responses concerning length of flight are interesting for two reasons. It demonstrates the length of uncertainty and lack of safety in the period prior to arrival in Australia of the participants interviewed. This highlights the human experience of these individuals contributing to the research. The fact that a majority of participants chose not to share this information is an indication of the intensity of this experience and individuals' reluctance to remember the experiences related to this time in the refugee journey. Participants had found asylum during flight in the countries of Ghana, Uganda, Tanzania, Gambia, Zambia, Egypt, Kenya and Sierra Leone.

Table 20: Length of Flight

LENGTH OF TIME	Men	Women
6 – 24 months	2	1
2 – 4 years	10	4
4 – 6 years	8	5
6 – 8 years	2	0
8 – 10 years	1	1
10-12 years	3	1
12-14 years	3	0
14-16 years	1	3
Over 16 years	2	0
No answer	16	21
TOTAL	32	15

This summary of participant demographics is an important reminder of the diversity within these newly arrived communities. It is a reminder of how important it is not to collapse the concept of the refugee experience too simply especially when individual coping mechanisms are also considered (Hynes 2003).

PROCEDURE

To ensure that the interview schedule would produce the type of data the researcher was seeking, two pilot interviews with members of the Launceston community were conducted. As a result of these pilot interviews, the interview schedule was modified in order to better elicit appropriate data of the type needed to address the research questions.

The rationale for the selection of particular research procedures was directly linked to both researching in a culturally diverse setting (Miller 2004) and the context of refugee settlement in Tasmania. It also considered the vulnerable background of the refugee individuals, their communities and the trauma that most had experienced (Hynes 2003). In addition, as the research was focusing on an undoubtedly sensitive area, utmost care was taken not to highlight the relationship as problematic or negatively as a 'fait accompli' (Swartz 2011).

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Due to the research focus, it was paramount that the process of undertaking the research did not lead inadvertently to the problematising (Truman, Mertens & Humphries 2000) of a participant group. In Rheume and Roy's research with homeless youth from ethnic minorities, they found that a risk associated with emphasising differences in interviews with these groups was the possible increase in marginalisation. At the same time, ignoring the differences between minority and majority groups could also lead to the "weakening of the youth's identity structure, or

worse, to the denial of his own cultural and ethnic roots” (Truman, Mertens & Humphries 2000, p. 245).

Further, Swartz suggests that it is important that a researcher's integrity should be judged on their honesty to acknowledge the complexities of their research environment and their relationship with the client group (Swartz 2011). Central to an assessment of research integrity was a critical reflection of the assumptions and norms adhered to by the researcher, including the advantages of Australian citizenship. It needs to be remembered that power dynamics exist due to the fact that some hold information and understanding. They therefore hold power passively over anyone new to this country especially if their circumstances were remarkably different to Australian living pre arrival. This is the case for most refugees. The professional experience of the researcher and therefore the extensive knowledge of the field allowed for the maximising of outcomes in the research in terms of collection of data whilst remaining highly sensitive to the cultural considerations necessary to achieve these outcomes ethically.

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Consideration of these aspects of the researcher-participant relationship has been positive to the interaction but have required the researcher to constantly check that the power dynamic was not inadvertently undermining the integrity of the research. Its presence needed to be considered at every stage of the research process.

The choice and implementation of the research methods was paramount to the success of the research (O'Leary 2005). Babbie asserts that there are three basic approaches to in-depth interviewing: the informal conversational interview, the semi-structured interview, and the standardized open-ended interview (Babbie 2002). Each approach serves a different purpose and has a different process. Babbie's work was considered in the design of the research particularly the interview components to maximise the quality of the data collected and ensure a positive process for the participant.

INDIVIDUAL INTERVIEWS

Refugees

Interviews with newly arrived refugees involved a number of strategies. The in-depth semi-structured interviews were conducted with individual refugees including community leaders. These interviewees included men and women, youth and adults representing different settlement periods. It was important that the research established a comfortable and trusting rapport with the participants (Ruane 2005). Each interview lasted approximately 45 minutes to 1 1/2 hours.

The aim of these interviews was to explore perceptions of, and experiences with, Tasmania Police in the early stages of settlement. These interviews informed the research of the issues in the relationship between police and refugees or difficulties connected to an understanding of Australian law. These issues were then explored more fully in the focus groups.

Participants were encouraged to express their perceptions and opinions in their own words. The semi-structured interview style was valuable in this context as it allowed individuals to express their opinions, feelings and experiences through discussion both with the facilitator, research assistant and, in the focus groups, with other participants (Babbie 2002). This appeared to have the effect of putting individuals at ease and was less confronting than a straight question/answer style of interviewing (Hynes 2003). The style was meant to provide participants with information in a form in which they usually experienced it (Lincoln & Guba 1985) specifically, conversational in an oral tradition. More detail was possible using this method although it was ensured that the focus was not necessarily lost, as the researcher and, in some cases, the research assistants were very aware of returning the interview or focus group to the aims of the research.

The interviews collected some demographic data on the participants at the beginning of the interview. This also allowed a chance to support the participant to feel at ease and for the researcher to assess if there were any considerations required in the interview. For example, levels of stress were noted, as was the clarity of the participants articulating their answers. The interviews explored both traditional and community policing components of the police-refugee experiences. After the demographic knowledge as an introduction, the line of questioning explored that individual's contact with police in Australia, contact with police in any other country

or contact with police by anyone they knew. As a topic was raised, the following questions were introduced;

1. What is this problem for your community?
2. What are the symptoms for your community?
3. What are the solutions to enhance police–refugee relations in your community?

The simplicity of the three questions (which constituted the bulk of the semi-structured interviews) was conscious and had been decided on through the process of pre-trial discussions with key members of these communities. Considerations were made to maximise a sense of comfort and to minimise the effect of misinterpretation of data due to relying on assumptions. When these questions were asked in interviews the researcher asked additional questions to clarify or expand on aspects of the issue (Travers 2001). The participants were also asked about their opinions on best practice in terms of the settlement period and police-refugee relationship building. For more details on interview structure, see Appendix 14 and 15 including verbal introductions to the interviews.

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It was important that the ‘problem’ was not constructed in an Australian context or framework, which may have been easily misinterpreted for those born outside Australia. This created an important distinction, and valuable data emerged that highlighted the areas of misunderstanding that were definitional and cultural in nature

although they could have been assumed as representing resistance or guilt. In the same way, the solutions to the issue were not assumed in a traditional policing, community policing or general Australian lens but allowed for the insights from this community to be explored. Importantly, the research wanted to highlight the fact that these individuals may have formulated more thoughts on these issues than anyone, primarily because they feel them most strongly. They have the experiences and they have the most to gain or benefit from positive police-refugee relations.

In the interviews conducted with individuals from the refugee communities, some also worked as professionals in sectors that worked with refugee clients (settlement sector, health, employment, or as interpreters). These individuals acted as 'key informants' in that they reported professional observations as well as offering their personal experiences. The use of these 'key informants' was a conscious decision on the part of the researcher to ensure that data could be analysed as either unique to the individual or typical of a subset of the communities. These subsets included youth, women, married men, parents and unlinked male entrants.

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All interviews and focus groups were recorded and later transcribed but always with the permission of the participants. The process involved a detailed explanation of why and how the material would be used and who would have access to the material. All names and details other than gender and age were removed to ensure confidentiality and guarantee the anonymity of participants.

Police Personnel

In-depth semi-structured interviews were conducted with members of Tasmania Police who had experienced some interaction with refugees on a regular basis. Fifteen police officers, stationed in Hobart and Launceston were interviewed. Participants comprised of various ranks and performed a variety of roles within Tasmania Police. The in-depth interviews ranged from 1-2 hours. Specifically, these interviews included police at Commissioned Officer level (ranks of Inspector and above), police of various ranks working in the community policing and officers who had direct contact with the refugee community as operational police. The focus in these interviews was on their understandings, perceptions of, and experiences with, newly arrived refugees in Tasmania.

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Police personnel were sought through the Tasmania Police Multicultural Liaison Officer and mainly included police who had had experience with the refugee community or indicated an interest in this area. Selection aimed at variation in rank, length of service and gender, and aimed to represent a range of police policy makers, crime investigators and general duties officers. This variety of perspectives was also enhanced by the diversity of officers accessed in the participant observation phase (discussed below).

Access to police was made possible through the community policing section of Tasmania Police, particularly using the networks of the former Inspector in charge of

Community Policing. The Multicultural Liaison Officer verbally informed police personnel of the existence of the research and assessed participants' previous experience with the refugee community or their interest in this area. They were then given the contact details of the researcher to follow up if interested in participating in an interview.

Police were predominantly interviewed in work time, at their place of station, the Tasmania Police Academy or an appropriate place of mutual convenience. The organisation of interviews was severely hampered by the busy nature of policing as an occupation, especially as it related to changing shift cycles.

Police personnel were asked about their background including their own cross-cultural experience such as travel or work in different jurisdictions. They were also asked about their understanding of the concept of community policing, its strengths and weaknesses, and their experiences of community policing. The interviews then explored any details of experiences involving members of the refugee communities in Tasmania and any feelings or reflections about these experiences. The organisational context and support for contact with newly arrived refugees (such as training, use of interpreters and any additional support in police for cross-cultural experiences) was also discussed. Participants were also asked about the barriers that exist in working with refugee communities, and why and how they can be assisted in terms of existing policing strategies. For more details of these interviews, see Appendices 11 and 12.

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Quotes utilised to illustrate data in this thesis have been distinguished by rank or job type to provide some context for the comments at the same time as ensuring confidentiality.

Key Service Providers and CSR volunteers

The selection of key service providers and Community Support for Refugees (CSR) volunteers involved contact with a cross section of stakeholders working in the industry with different levels of policymaking and grassroots experience. Information regarding the research was sent to all relevant agencies, government departments and volunteers who work with refugee communities. Access to key service providers was facilitated by the researcher's by pre-existing relationships with those who work within the area of refugee settlement. Interviews with key service providers were held at their place of work for maximum convenience for the participant. The in-depth interviews ranged from 1-2 hours, and consisted primarily of people working with the refugee community in settlement (including CSR volunteers, health, education, government policy, immigration and direct advocacy roles).

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The interviews commenced with their job description and the level of professional and personal involvement they had with either newly arrived refugees in Tasmania or Tasmania Police. These pre-existing relationships were explored to further understand the context of their views. Participants were also asked to document their understanding of community policing and their experiences of police-refugee relations

in terms of the extent, the issues and outcomes. The interviews to police-refugee relations were explored including the impact of refugees' past trauma and how this trauma could be overcome. These barriers included their experience of witnessing refugees' perceptions of police and police perceptions of refugee communities and its members. Participants were also asked to explore best practice settlement in relation to maximising positive police-refugee relations and strategies. More details of these interviews are provided in Appendix 13.

FOCUS GROUP INTERVIEWS

Focus groups were conducted to establish whether the views expressed in the individual interviews were widespread, specific or corresponded to a certain group within the refugee community. Some focus groups were organised based on country of origin, while others were organised on the basis of common attributes such as age, gender and visa type (e.g. unlinked entrants). Fourteen focus groups were conducted with members of the Ethiopian, Burundi, Liberian, Sudanese, Sierra Leone, Rwandan, and Congolese communities. The participants varied depending on whether these focus groups were conducted in Launceston or Hobart (due to differences in the settlement patterns). Specific focus groups were conducted with African youth and African women in both Launceston and Hobart.

The focus groups took place in a familiar place known to the participants. These included a college, the University of Tasmania and the Migrant Resource Centre in

Hobart and Launceston. The most important criteria for selection of the sites of these focus groups was that participants felt safe, at ease and comfortable. The decision concerning location was made in consultation with the participants or the research assistants. In most cases, appropriate food and hospitality was offered to increase the likelihood of both comfort and trust.

Participants were informed of the focus group through the research assistants, interviewees, service providers or police personnel. The noticeboard and newsletters of Adult Migrant English Service (AMES) and Community Support for Refugees (CSR) were utilised. Focus group participants were sought from among interview participants, in addition to individuals associated with or interested in the issues being discussed at that particular focus group. As in the refugee interviews, participant diversity was sought in the selection of focus group participants. Participation in these focus groups was voluntary and participants were given an information sheet and consent forms to sign. Subjects were informed of the research aims prior to agreeing to participate.

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A number of focus group interviews were conducted to address specific issues with particular parts of the community that arose from the individual interviews. These issues concerned police-refugee relations and/or the reason for contact with police (e.g. family violence, youth street presence, assaults on refugee community members). These focus groups investigated the issues from the group's perspective, documenting

symptoms of these issues highlighted by refugee community members. It also addressed the question of potential solutions and preventative approaches to these issues by police, service providers generally (where appropriate) and by the refugee communities themselves. These issues included young people and the police, family violence, trauma-related violence (such as assaults), licensing and traffic, substance abuse and mental illness. The specific issues addressed emerged inductively through the interviews. These focus groups were primarily conducted in the second year of the data collection.

The focus group questions referred to topics that had emerged from the individual interviews and previous focus groups. The group raised many of these topics naturally without prompting. All groups raised the issues of traffic (driving and licences) and family violence. Other issues affecting these communities were consistently raised including racism, community acceptance, public opinions, and the role of the media. All focus groups were asked the same three questions:

1. What is this problem for your community?
2. What are the symptoms for your community?
3. What are the solutions to enhance police–refugee relations in your community?

For more details on focus group structure, see Appendices 16 and 17 including the verbal introduction provided at each of the focus groups.

One of the most important benefits of the focus groups was the conversations and debate that occurred between the participants whilst answering the questions or discussing a topic. These discussions provided rich data (Silverman 1999) and assisted in establishing the variety of views on any one issue (O’Leary 2005). During the focus groups, I did take notes of some of these confusions or hesitations concerning information about police or the law in Australia, and referred back to them at the end of the focus group directly or through the research assistant. I was always careful that this information was presented in a way that did not make participants feel ‘wrong’ but allowed them an avenue to clarify. This offer of clarification was made as an ongoing offer from both myself, the research assistants or as referrals to other service providers who may be able to support specific issues. The process of asking for this community knowledge and solutions was met initially with hesitancy and a question of “why do you want to know?” After a short time into the discussion, there was a strong sense of empowerment that indeed members of the communities could feed into the future of these relationships with police.

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The process had the unintended positive outcome of an opportunity to clarify earlier responses from interviewees (especially in relation to specific laws, policing practices and referral pathways). In addition, participants were offered the opportunity to identify how they could influence their own situation. This outcome of the focus groups was particularly obvious after the dramatic increase in assaults in 2007 and the issue of under-reporting. After the focus groups, some participants stated that they felt

empowered to act to support positive change in their situation. The extent of this was often fed back through the research assistants at a later stage in the research process. This is a clear example of transformative, emancipatory research processes (Mertens 2003). Boeije asserts that participation in well constructed research can be beneficial, offering a feeling of relief to have a voice, feeling worthwhile from the process and a sense of helping others (Boeije 2010). All of these were witnessed during the research.

PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION

Participant observation was undertaken over the duration of the research and these opportunities came in three forms. Firstly, opportunities were taken up to observe sessions that were already being conducted by an external provider, such as settlement services or police concerning the Australia law. Secondly, opportunities were taking up through invitations to present and observe in various situations (such as training of recruits and tours of the Police Academy). Thirdly, some opportunities were created by the researcher in reaction to needs highlighted during data collection or when asked to assist in creating an initiative (particularly in the Emergency Management Australia project). Of this third form, the most prominent events were forums held in Launceston between police and the refugee communities to promote interaction that is more positive.

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During the course of the research, participant observations were conducted in the Tasmania Police Academy, in the local courts and at numerous presentations. Each

observation allowed an insight into the issues both directly and indirectly influencing refugee-police relations. These insights both enhanced the research by indentifying issues or patterns concerning this relationship and/or confirmed findings already established in interviews and focus groups. The potency of some of this participant observation was in observing the same experience from multiple perspectives.

The observation and participant observation opportunities are presented in Table 19 and include a description of the event and the frequency in which these occurred. They offer valuable insight into the broader context of police-refugee relations, community acceptance, policing, police training, the courts and the criminal justice system more generally. Specifically, they offered the opportunity to observe interactions between police and members of the refugee community, which were independent of the specific aims of the research project.

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Participant observation also assisted in overcoming some issues that the research faced. It presented opportunities to test the significance of data more widely (O'Leary 2005). One of these was the difficulty in finding time to interview individual police officers. These sessions created a balance in hearing the police voice, their concerns and their self-reflections on their strengths and weaknesses as individual officers, and of the police service as an organisation. It allowed the researcher to observe the police 'in situ' and overcame some of the tendency for researchers to hear either the organisation's

'line' on a topic or what they think is 'right' to say. These sessions meant observations could be made on what was actually done and how the theory was followed through.

Table 21a: Participant Observations Conducted during Research – Details and Benefits of Observing Existing Sessions

SESSION	Description and Benefits	Frequency
Observe Inspector in Charge of Tasmanian Police Community Policing	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Given the opportunity to observe the inspector in charge of Tasmania police community policing section in consultation with refugee clients to resolve an issue that required clarity of understanding by the client In some cases included police officers involved and refugee clients were also involved. 	6 times
Arrival Information Sessions by police organised under IHSS requirement for newly arrived individuals under a Humanitarian Visa category	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> To observe presentations by police in the early stages of settlement for new refugee clients. The benefit was observing presentation styles, effectiveness and in the observation of the audience to gauge responses and levels of understanding of particular communication methods. The questions and answers element was also enlightening through hearing the concerns of refugees immediately after arrival. 	3 or more times a year
'Safe at Home' presentations to refugee communities	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> To observe the presentation of particular sessions focused on the 'Safe at Home' in family violence legislation in Tasmania. The legislation had recently undergone changes particularly in the pro-arrest component. These changes required a community education programme as part of its implementation. These were very emotive sessions to observe. 	3 sessions
PCYC initiatives and 'Police in Schools'	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Discussions with officers at the PCYC and schools. Able to observe some of the initiatives that were being trialled and discuss with the officers about the responses from the people. 	4 times
Courts	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Followed a number of court cases involving refugee clients to observe interaction and support for the client. Particular interest in body language and how the use of legal terms in the court may be experienced by the client. Of particular interest were the support systems surrounding the client and the use of interpreters in the court system. There were some benefits of observing this highly stressful environment but the difficulty of knowing exactly the timing of that particular client's case meant it was not effective in terms of resources of time. 	12 sessions representing 4 cases
Work experience of young African man in joining Tasmania Police recruit training for two weeks	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Spent time at the Academy with a young African –born man undertaking a work experience placement on one of the police recruit programs. Opportunity to observe him with his fellow recruits and discussed with him his experience and the challenges and opportunities it created. Observed him with media and how his experience was portrayed. 	3 sessions over 2 week period

Table 21b: Participant Observations Conducted during Research – Details and Benefits of Observing Sessions Initiated by Other

SESSION	Description and Benefits	Frequency
Tasmania Police Academy Training with Multicultural Panel	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Able to observe the training surrounding policing and multicultural communities with a panel of representatives to present and answer questions from the recruits. • The presentation was introduced by the inspector in charge of community policing. The structure was informal and allowed the recruits to explore issues of concern to them. • It was more visionary in nature than a focus on strategies. It was interesting to see the style of presentation and the reactions from the recruits. On a number of occasions, I was asked to speak. 	<p>4 times</p> <p>Groups of between 25-40 recruits</p>
Tasmania Police Academy Training	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Able to present to the recruits on my research particularly as part of a component of them dealing with multicultural communities or as the presentations now refer, 'vulnerable populations'. • These sessions were both interactive and allowed a certain amount of reflection and questions from the group. The session's focus was strategically on principles and strategies for police officers to be able to make confident and good judgement in the field. The sessions were received well. • Able to observe the recruits, especially their reluctance to ask anything that may be considered politically incorrect. This is presented as an environment where it was safe to ask and better to explore now rather than make an error of judgement in the field. 	<p>4 times</p> <p>Groups of between 25-48 recruits</p>
Tours of Tasmania Police Academy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Able to join tours of the Academy for both African refugee adults and young people at school from both the Hobart and Launceston area. • Able to observe how the time spent familiarising with the concept of policing in Australia and police officers themselves seem to lessen people's anxiety. The questions asked were also of benefit to give the research context. 	<p>3 times</p>
Tours of Tasmania Police Headquarters in Launceston	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Able to join a group having a tour of the police headquarters in Launceston. • Able to see what was of interest to the individuals are the questions they asked of the police officers during a visit. 	<p>Once</p>

Table 21c: Participant Observations Conducted during Research – Details and Benefits of Observing Sessions Actively Created

SESSION	Description and Benefits	Frequency
Emergency Management Australia (EMA) Ethiopian Fire Safety Day	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> This joint EMA project for Tasmania was organised in response to incidents within the Ethiopian community and to enhance emergency services knowledge of that community. This project enabled me to be part of the steering committee who initiated the idea. This involved instigated the planning and communication strategy, negotiated the learning mechanisms and outcomes to be utilised and running the day in partnership with Tasmanian Fire Service. The day was attended by almost 100 members of the Ethiopian community. The adults and children in separate groups participated in a series of presentations and activities, which involved hands-on understanding of both the danger of fire and appropriate responses when it occurs including how to utilise the emergency service procedure. It was incredibly successful day in that the community fear of the uniform decreased dramatically through this interaction. The Ethiopian community cooked lunch for the fire service. 	4 months planning One day event
Forums in Launceston	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> This consisted of two session of a forum between police and refugees. It was incredibly beneficial to observe interaction between members of the refugee community, both adults and young people and police officers of varying rank as well as immigration officials. 	6 weeks planning One forum with 2 sessions

TRANSCRIPTION

All interviews were transcribed in full or in part by either the researcher or an independent professional transcription service. Individual interviews and focus group interviews were recorded and, in the case of the focus groups, the key areas of discussion were transcribed. The individual interviews were more straightforward to transcribe in full, but the focus group contained discussion between participants so the

reflections on these discussions, dynamics and the key points were considered the most important data for the research (Oliver, Sertovich & Mason 2005).

The focus groups were too difficult to give to another person as the accents and multiple voices were difficult to follow if the material was being heard for the first time. Some material had to be listened to multiple times to ensure accuracy and a process was established to avoid the researcher imposing his/her own interpretation and meaning on the text (particularly in reference to the conversational aspects of the interviews and focus groups) (Silverman 1999). The process of transcription presented issues related to risk for the researcher and the professional transcriber, including issues such as vicarious trauma and related stress (Etherington 2007; Oliver, Sertovich & Mason 2005).

DATA ANALYSIS

The data analysis comprised a thematic analysis of the qualitative data (Boeije 2010; O'Leary 2005). Analysis and documentation of primary data was made in reference to comparison with international literature to explore any perceived differences and similarities to regional Tasmanian data. NVivo, CAQDAS (computer aided qualitative data analysis software) package was used to code the primary data for analysis. This was necessary to effectively deal with the amount of data that had been generated during primary data collection.

As is explored by Green et al., the role of data analysis is pivotal to generating the best evidence from qualitative research (Green et al. 2007). It calls for transparency and for data analysis to occur concurrently with data collection. In this process of thematic data analysis, there are four aspects to be considered: immersion; coding; categorising and generation of themes (Greene et al. 2007). Figure 6 illustrates the data collection approach and confirms that the processes used during this research were not linear but more cyclic in nature therefore constantly informing the research process. Hunter et al. also claim that after immersion, incubation is an essential part of data analysis. This is a critical stage during which the data starts to 'make sense', as this phase focuses on analytical interpretation (Hunter et al. 2002). These works informed the analysis during the research in order to maximise the value of the research outcomes and their capacity to inform the creation and maintenance of positive police-refugee relations in regional Australia.

CRITICAL REFLECTIONS ON THE METHODOLOGY APPROACHES

Challenges

The following were considered as weaknesses or challenges of the research and included (1) the challenge of the changing research environment (2) the constant problem solving and management of stakeholders, (3) the time consuming nature of access and the cross-cultural research setting including associated risks to researcher, and (4) the challenge of some of the participant observation settings.

During the research, there was the challenge of the changing research environment where so much of the broader context altered. It became a moving target for a time midway during data collection. These changes particularly related to the Liep murder, associated media, increased suspicion and the trust necessary for quality data collection to continue. These challenges have been detailed earlier in this chapter.

Both the problem-solving required during this research and the management of stakeholders presented challenges. A constant state of problem solving was required to sustain high quality relationships in a culturally diverse setting when concerned with highly sensitive material such as policing. This, and the above-mentioned context shifts, provided some difficulties during the research process although the outcome of this is seen as a strength overall.

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Concerns could be raised over the nature of the researcher's relationship to all the key stakeholders and in particular how to objectively pursue the research line of enquiry without being inappropriately influenced by the opinions or needs of any particular stakeholder. These challenges were extensively considered from the outset and throughout the research. The integrity of the research was discussed with all stakeholders and its success hinged on the relative perspective being approached and presented in a manner that encouraged effective and willing future interactions. For this reason, unnecessary dwelling on blame was not considered useful, only in the

context of discovering the origin of behaviours that may well need to change to improve refugee-police relations in the future.

Another challenge was the time-consuming nature of access and the cross-cultural research setting including associated risks to the researcher (.Dickson-Swift 2008a,2008b) The problem with the in-depth interviewing was the time taken, especially related to accessing the participants. This was especially difficult in relation to police due to unpredictable workloads and shift rosters. Access to refugee participants was also difficult and a number of participants' interviews took a considerable amount of time. The contextual changes only made access more difficult. One of the disadvantages of the qualitative method in a cross-cultural setting was that it is time consuming, and the researcher is able to communicate more easily with some participants than others, when using research assistants and interpreters. The process of interviewing such a large number of participants, transcribing and analysing data presented challenges related to risk for the researcher due to the disturbing nature of much of the data(Oliver, Serovich & Mason 2005).

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The research presented challenges in some of the participant observation settings. Observations were undertaken on a regular basis by the researcher in each of the two sub-regions in Tasmania (North and South) that receive settlement of African refugees. Observations took a considerable amount of time and seizing the opportunities required great flexibility on the part of the researcher.

The court observations were not satisfactory as they were too disjointed, with a high level of unpredictability and were extraordinarily time consuming. However, they were useful observations for understanding the challenging environment in which police-refugee relations occur.

Strengths

The following section explores those facets of the research design that were considered as strengths of the research. There were four key areas of strength. These included (1) the quality, breadth and depth of the research scope and outcomes, (2) the use of the researcher's background knowledge to achieve quality in the research, (3) the ethical and risk considerations made by the researcher in the research design and modification in the face of an altered research environment, and (4) the maximising of benefits to all parties involved and the management of this engagement in the research for the entire period.

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One of the key strengths of the research is the quality of the breadth and depth of the research scope and outcomes. Both the number of participants and the representation of multiple refugee countries of origin, police and key service providers were significant. These have been detailed throughout this chapter and represent a significant contribution to this area of research.

Another strength of the research was the use of the researcher's background knowledge to achieve quality and extensive scope in the research. Apart from the professional knowledge and networks, the researcher often had some knowledge relevant to a participant's culture to avoid making stereotypical cultural assumptions (Gerrish, Husband & Mackennzie 1996).

The ethical and risk considerations made by the researcher in the research design and modification in the face of an altered research environment were also a considerable strength of the research. The ethical considerations were a strength of the research by considering such issues as access, risk of trauma and of the issue of inequity (Truman, Mertens & Humphries 2000). Although the ethics process had a strong risk management focus, greater understandings of this client group and the effect this research process may actually have on them is necessary than currently exists in the ethics process. The researcher addressed these deficiencies in the research design. This balance is paramount to the wellbeing of all parties and the success of the research.

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Adamson and Donovan discuss the "methodological, interpretative, and practical issues that arise when there is a difference in ethnicity between researcher and informant in qualitative research" (Adamson & Donavon 2002, p.816). They highlight the concept of 'researching the other' and "believe that qualitative research should be judged by the plausibility of the findings and by the critical evaluation of the way in which the research was conducted and the reflexivity of the researcher" (Adamson &

Donavon 2002, p.816). Their discussion informed the considerations of the research design.

The strength of this research can also be measured by its ability in the maximising of benefits to all parties involved and the management of this engagement in the research for the entire period. The participation of multiple players in police-refugee relationship achieved multiple perspectives, insights and outcomes as all parties were involved in the research from outset to delivery. This increased the likelihood of uptake of strategies from the research. As the research advocates, all parties need to be agents of change to achieve the most timely and positive outcomes.

The researcher's close relationship with all parties has been discussed in the earlier section on challenges, but was undoubtedly also a strength of the research and its successful uptake. This relationship maximised understanding and minimised the research being derailed in an emotional and highly political environment. This approach also supported the action research element of the research. Although the management of these parties put pressures on the researcher, it was an important element of the research's success.

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In terms of the strengths of relationship-building and recruitment, many of the individual interviewees were asked to nominate individuals to join the focus groups (Ruane 2005). Recruitment strategies also utilised the networks of the research

assistants in the same manner. The research assistants were also requested to consider the importance of voice in the research process including the strategies to include “loners” (Ruane 2005) or individuals who had chosen withdrawal as a method of coping with the stress of settlement.

The benefits for participants came from the transformative emancipatory perspective in the selection of methods (Mertens 2003) in maximising the experience as a positive process for participants (Boeije 2010; Swartz 2011). Refugees are groups that are researched regularly and it is questioned by some academics whether they benefit from the process. For this particular community, the issue was that a lot of information was generated in the past that never seem to be used in any way to support the changes that the communities needed. As can be seen in the findings so much of people’s sense of safety, although not directly linked to actual safety, is related to the expectation or hope that things can be different/better.

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CONCLUSION

The research methodology chapter has presented the research considerations and details of the approach adopted. The ethics process has been explored in detail along with concerns that the ethics process does not fully comprehend the needs of vulnerable populations such as refugees. The process of organising data collection was examined including the methods, relationship building, sample selection, recruitment, and negotiating access. The sample demographics were presents to demonstrate the

diversity of the participants that allowed the collection of such rich data. The chapter also explored the procedure and how data was collected in the individual interviews, focus groups and participant observation elements of the research approach. It also highlights the methods adopted to maximise outcomes for all parties in the research process and how this was managed by the researcher. The chapter concluded with critical reflection on the challenges and the strengths of the research. The next two chapters (Chapters 5 and 6) present the findings of the research from the multiple perspectives of refugees and police, including data on police-refugee voices during interaction that was collected through participant observation.

CHAPTER 5 – THE REFUGEE VOICE

The following two findings chapters (Chapter 5 and 6) demonstrate that it is useful to understand police-refugee relations from both the perspective of police and the perspective of individuals and families of the African Australian communities. The two findings chapters present the refugee voice, the voice of police data on and the interaction between police and refugees. The findings presented in both chapters explore the influences on refugee-police relations in the regional Australian context. The discussion and analysis concerning what can be done to affect the creation, maintenance and sustainability of positive police-refugee relations in regional Australia, and who needs to do what, is explored in the two chapters that follow these findings chapters (Chapters 7 and 8)..

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In Chapters Five and Six, data is presented on how the past experiences of refugees influence the direct and indirect relationships individuals may have with police. The data also includes reflections on, and references to, how the host community and the media play a part in the creation and maintenance of positive police-refugee relations, especially in relation to issues such as racism and reporting. The discussion and analysis concerning how to affect the creation, maintenance and sustainability of positive police-refugee relations and who needs to be involved are explored in part in these two findings chapters, the discussion chapter (Chapter 7) and in a more practical solution-focussed format in Chapter Eight.

Specifically, this chapter will focus on the interaction and contact that members of the refugee communities have with police. Secondly, it will explore the five main reasons for contact, those being driving and licensing, family violence, contact with or initiated by youth, mental illness and substance use or abuse. Thirdly, the themes that emerged from the perspective of members of the refugee communities and the refugee voices are explored in detail.

Overall, the chapter argues for the need to increase understanding related to experiential difference on the individual level and community dynamics at the community level. Only then can all parties develop a deeper appreciation of the influences on the police-refugee relationship and how this can change positively. The chapter will also highlight the many ways in which transition influences experiences in the early settlement period and how these experiences influence the environment of police-refugee relations. Undeniably, though, throughout these findings it is the foundations of trust, or its absence, that can be seen as an ongoing theme.

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THEMES IN POLICE-REFUGEE RELATIONS

The findings in this chapter are about the refugee story. This is a story about transition, change, hope and rebuilding lives. As one refugee woman said:

What are you going to do if you lost your kids, if you lost your husband, you lost your job. You have lost everything. You are alive....but it is hard. To put all those pieces back together and it is not going to be the

same picture. It is going to be different. The picture is going to be different altogether. Because certain factors are missing in that picture. And painting that picture is going to be hard (Female, 30-39 yrs).

The purpose of this section of the chapter is to present the themes that emerged from both the individual interviews and focus groups with refugee participants. .

Primarily, the individual interviews consisted of individual's personal stories and reflections on the experiences of their community. The focus groups produced these aspects with the added dimension of debate and conversation within the group. The interesting data that emerged from this debate, the clarification provided by participants and the researcher and/or research assistants has also been captured both in the quotes and in the analysis that follows. Echoing the themes in previous research on settlement more generally, there were four distinct themes that emerged in the current research: (1) background and transition, (2) initial settlement, (3) knowledge acquisition and education, and (4) reactions to present experiences. Each of these had sub-themes specific to settlement and the relationship with police and Australian law.

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During the process of data collection, it was important to make sure that it was not assumed that a law or policing activity would be referred to in the same way by members of the refugee community, as it was understood in a mainstream community context in Australia. Therefore one of the initial or clarifying questions during the research was: what does this problem look like to you or your community? It is important to realise that the business of police and the boundaries of the law are not

going to be as clear in the minds of individuals who are newly arrived. In addition, there would be many individuals who compare policing and the law with experiences of elsewhere, both in countries of origin and countries of asylum. It was therefore important to begin with clarifications on what a problem looked like and not to discount comment referring to aspects that were 'outside' the law or policing as irrelevant as these aspects highlighted the tensions in the environment in which policing occurs.

It was very important to ascertain what individuals were referring to in these discussions and understandably, the topics shifted in and out of what were the boundaries of Australian law and the role of police. I felt that this was important information in itself. In the analysis of themes that are presented in this chapter and the quotes that are used, I have attempted to maintain the refugee voice about what these problems are like to them. There are important learnings in these viewpoints that follow in the thematic presentation of the findings. The findings are supported by quotes to ensure that the human face of the experience of police-refugee relations is poignant in both the research process and the policy considerations that can be informed by this research.

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The generalist nature of the presentation of some ideas concerning the law was a conscious decision by the researcher. To include concrete examples from such a small population would risk the participants being identified and therefore break

confidentiality requirements in conducting ethical research. Although this is not ideal, it is the reality of research in regional context, which may not be as much of an issue as in the metropolitan context where the likelihood of people being able to relate examples back to individuals maybe potentially less likely.

Theme 1: Background and Transition

Past Experiences of Police

It was found that respondents had numerous negative experiences with police during pre-migration (Schuck & Rosenbaum 2005). These were direct experiences as victims or perpetrators, or as witnesses, and in some cases, were as part of experiences shared with friends and family. Most refugees coming to Australia have experienced state-sanctioned violence in the process of fleeing (Pickering 2005, Pittaway 2004). Some respondents chose to refer to the experiences that influenced their suspicion or fear of police personnel or anyone in uniform. It became clear that the relevance of those experiences was still a daily life consideration. These findings are presented as those concerning reactions to uniform, experiences and attitudes to bribery, the processes of flight and violence, and, in many cases, the association between police or uniformed officials and losing family members.

Uniform

Uniforms represent a particular significance for individuals who may associate uniform with experiences related to violence or a lack of safety. It is especially significant for those who may have experienced state sanctioned violence as indicated in the following quote:

Look I really, really get nervous.... when I come across police, when I see a police car, I feel scared. I really get nervous and if a police car is following me I try and stop and let them go. ... I'm thinking I don't like you, I don't want to see you... I see someone who is corrupt, someone who is going to abuse me, use his powers, kill me, take my money, because my experience is this. So when I look at a policeman whether I am right or I am wrong, it doesn't matter, he's got the power, he's got that male power. .. I have to run away. Even if something goes wrong, it's hard to think about (calling the) police (Female, 30-39 yrs).

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In terms of past experiences with police or officials in uniform, participants referred to bribery, experiences of violence (directly or against their families/community), a strong sense of association with armed professionals and their uniforms, and stories of family members who just disappeared. In relationship to experiences of violence, these were both one-off interactions, opportunistic contact during border crossings and there was a number of people who had had prolonged experience of violence, torture and trauma at the hands of officials both inside and outside institutions such as prisons or during flight. Some of these experiences happened in the country of origin, some happened

during various phases of their flight, some happened in countries of asylum and some experiences occurred during stays in refugee camps.

Some participants spoke about these experiences quite objectively and rationally.

Although this seemed surprising, some participants mentioned distancing the idea of these experiences as personal confrontations but rather viewing them as the symptoms and consequences of war and places that lacked safety. Others were obviously left burdened by the weight of their experiences.

Bribery

Bribery was a common experience during the refugee journey and often set the agenda for the relationship between individuals and police. It influenced the way individuals may approach (or not approach) police, the understanding of the role of police and how the law may be viewed as rigid or malleable at a price. These experiences can make the transition to understanding police in the Australian context difficult. The following two quotes illustrate how bribery has influenced images of police:

... attitudes towards police in many countries which refugees come from, or where they were living , what happened is people have a very very negative attitude towards policing because police bribe money and they take your money (Female, 30-39yrs).

These experiences occurred throughout the refugee journey:

One day we were walking with my wife and five of them came and stopped us and they know that I have the documents and some of them knew me but one of them said 'look, we know you have the documents, we don't care about what documents you have, we need money'. I can't bribe them, I don't believe in bribing but they said we can't release you until you give me 1000 shillings (a good sum of money in Kenya). Then they intentionally asked my wife to go away. I would have kept quiet or asked to see their boss but my wife didn't know what to do and she doesn't know whom to call.... we don't have anyone to call anyway and we are refugees and it's very frustrating. I had a big sum of money in my pocket, I knew that they would take it and then my wife said you got the money, you give it to them and then they took it and they said you are a friend now. This is how the police were and what happens is you don't like the sight of police (Male, 40-49 yrs)

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Flight and Violence

Participants spoke about the reality of contact with police and the military during flight:

When we were fleeing yes. Because you have to cross the border but because in my country there is a war so you have to hide somewhere or just, you walk during the night when people are sleeping and but in Tanzania before you cross Tanzanian border, you meet police (Male, 30-39 yrs).

This contact usually involved bribery, long periods of containment and being separated from individuals travelling with the refugee participant:

No, it's not easy because they have to ask you so many questions and then during that time that's when things happen. For example, a woman or a young girl will be raped by police because they have to take you away separately. People who come together are separated and then things will happen. And again they will ask you money perhaps, you know, so they can pass and I think Tanzania is, if it not the first, the second time for the corruption so you have to pay something so you can get some safety (Female, 30-39 yrs)

The result may be that they are allowed to cross, may be forced back to their country or sometimes, people just disappeared. There is no guarantee at such a time, and many participants felt like the outcome was just luck.

Yeah that's what happened to me. We were a group of men and women and then they would say, 'older men come here, older women go there'. And then after because how they are organised there, then in the morning all the women came. They were crying so they didn't tell us what happened, they were just crying and then they said 'Go!' and they go. But they still keeping the men (Male, 30-39 yrs).

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Losing Family Members

A couple of participants spoke openly about their experiences in Africa relating to the loss of significant people in their lives. The most alarming of these recollections were from professionals who experienced targeted persecution. These seem to relate particularly to professions associated with the government or the media.

....because of my profession I got so many lives lost. So many.... being in the government and seeing things going wrong and I don't want to be a part of that so I have to speak up and go against it. So I was tried for treason, condemned to death. Some of my in-laws were killed; my sister's husband was killed. My brother-in-law, when I went into hiding, was targeted; beaten to death. My sister's husband was locked in a container for almost six months. Just trying to break them so that they would turn me in... Some of my colleagues were killed. Most of my family members got killed because of me...I lost two of my kids.....My sister lost her baby. She was about seven months pregnant. She was beaten, kicked and she was – she had a still birth...I was hiding and they were searching for me. That mother of mine was tied and beaten....there's a sense of responsibility that will be forever (Female, 30-39 yrs).

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These experiences were not uncommon. Often professionals are targeted as another refugee woman explains:

That's just the tip of the iceberg. I can't be in government and see things that are going on. He is sacrificing your own people for somebody else's people to live in comfort and happiness; just doesn't go down well with me....It shouldn't be. So, I was pregnant when I was arrested. My baby was killed. I was injected with a lethal injection. Thank God, I didn't die. I have the mark of it. I didn't die. I was only paralysed until I gave birth. My baby died at the age of a year and three months. When she was taken to the hospital, she was also injected and that was when she died (Female, 40-49 yrs).

Some participants spoke about a need for the refugee experience to be understood more widely to enhance service delivery, especially policing. In the same way, community members who are settling need support to understand policing. Changing attitudes and perspectives was the key but developing a better response to police takes time and resources.

The understanding of this influence may need to be contextualised by a professional not just refugees themselves:

Yes but that doesn't help because generally people here are sensitive to the fact there are cultural differences – fair enough. But if you are going to deal with people who are from a completely different cultural perspective you don't have somebody properly employed. They might not want that - but you need someone who could consult or give a consultancy service. You don't have necessarily to employ someone 100% but you can get consultancy on specific issues they might get someone at the university to do with speaking to Africans, whatever they use, but there is – for me there is a need for that information. But there isn't because people are thinking, like they would definitely think negatively about the police because of where they come from. It will change and is changing and many people understand how police are their best friends here and also in the orientation we talk about that. Like in Africa you ran from the police. When you go here you run to the police (in Australia). That's the expression from where you live because it's an easy expression, running from and running to. Because when you are in trouble you call police here (Male, 30-39 yrs).

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This change, though, takes time and affirming experiences with police.

And that's what I think in terms of changing the image – not to change the image of police in Australia, it's quite positive here but to change the image of police that refugees might have is an issue to consider. Really reinforcing that and explaining that whenever they need it, police are there for them (Male, 40-49 yrs).

Although these quotes do not directly relate to the action of police, they illustrate the reasons behind the high levels of mistrust of authority that characterises the refugee community. The intensity of all these experiences with police mentioned above impacts on the ways in which relationships with police are approached in the Australian context.

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Diverse Coping Strategies

It became clear during the research that refugees arrive and develop different coping strategies. How these remained similar to those in the post-arrival stage or evolved to suit the experiences in Australia (especially related to relations with police) depended on how positively the negative perceptions were challenged. This change often related to access to information. The lack of consistency in the dissemination of information and in its absorption meant that some respondents were living in a vacuum in relation to understanding their rights and responsibilities under Australian law. Even those who had dealt with Australian laws expressed concerns including remaining confused

about the facts of the laws and their ramifications. Individuals had very different coping strategies on arrival in Australia and different abilities to take in all the new information (Ager & Strang 2004a, 2004b). These abilities will be different over time and diverse among members of a new and emerging community (Halcon et al. 2007). One man explained the influence of past experiences on coping mechanisms and the presence of trust:

... as a refugee you tend to, even if you live as a refugee one single year or three months, what happens is you would be robbed of your confidence as a person (Male, 30-39 yrs).

Theme 2: Initial Settlement

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Initial settlement is a crucial time in laying the foundation for future experiences and importantly the interpretation of those experiences. The next section explores the dislocated relationships, and a need for healing. Social inclusion, Australian law, reporting, and media are examined. Police contact and interaction during incidents are also explored in this chapter.

Dislocated Relationships

Both the refugee journey and settlement in Australia are characterised by dislocated relationships. One young man spoke about how he had met his wife in a neighbouring refugee camp. He was now in Australia with his wife and children, but had known

none of the members of his African community now living in Tasmania before he came. Nobody he had known before he met his wife had come to Australia. Therefore, he had only known the members of that African community for two years. This is a common example of how the refugee journey is fraught with dislocated relationships. It is related directly to the refugee journey and the fundamental need to mistrust as explored in earlier chapters.

There is an assumption by people outside the African communities, and in some ways a tendency by members of the African communities, to expect that establishing relationships within these groups from the same country of origin would be easy because of the shared experience. The reality is there that has been a diversity of individual experiences, a diversity of reactions, and people are living their lives in Australia with different attitudes. This is what is meant by experiential difference. This dislocation of relationship has a strong history for the members of the refugee community and becomes a type of isolation that affects people's sense of support and hope for the future. It is also known to affect the identity building process that people are going through during early settlement in Australia. As one refugee participant explains:

So that makes it hard to create a really strong supportive community – you have a lot in common but you don't share experiences together that are longer than two years (of being in Australia) (Male, 30-39 yrs).

Some participants raised the issue that unlike in Africa, they are now living in a community where they are not finding out about problems until they get to the point of the police being involved. These comments were related to a sense of isolation, aided by the feeling of disempowerment and were not necessarily specific to whether the police involvement was legally justified or not.

Comparisons were made with Africa although people stressed that there was much diversity in Africa between countries and regions and other forms of diversity such as between metropolitan and rural traditions. Participants referred to a general African model of resolution, where if a problem gets too intense then community support is enlisted to diffuse the situation and support people to achieve a resolution. Typically, this involves community elders, immediate family members, extended family members and in some cases, the court system.

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Need for Healing

Participants referred both directly and indirectly to a need for healing. Individuals spoke about how some shy away from conflict and anything political as a reaction to their experiences in Africa. The following quote demonstrates the avoidance behaviours that can characterise refugee settlement:

So, yeah. Because of that, anything to do with – because I was going into politics in Africa – I tend to keep away from it. I see and hear nothing. I just lie low and let my family be happy. So, that is me. All this

happened to a lot of people. A lot. Some of them have lost their kids because some of the kids have been captured as child combatants. Lost them through it and how a mother can sit and see her child being snatched away from you, only for you to look and feel she is not coming back. Then there is so much hurt that people are trying to heal (Female, 40-49 yrs).

It was considered important that individuals be given time to heal from their trauma. Without it, individuals remained vulnerable and the potential for extreme reaction increases, taking the form of either withdrawal or heightened frustration.

Well I was thinking that it's a time of – it's a healing process. Let us be. But, yeah, "Oh, put the past behind you and move on." Yes, but there should be that healing period. Get yourself – because we're just coming from one complex situation and bang, into another, and it's like trying to take all this in (Female, 40-49 yrs).

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There's also a lot of grieving to be done. Not just healing but grieving where you are trying to balance up your feelings about separating families, about being in safety but other people aren't in safety, and grieving – leaving your culture. All of that. That's all grieving. People are overwhelmed. That takes time (Female, 30-39 yrs).

Australian Law

For refugees, in the initial stages of settlement, knowledge of the Australian law did not always rate as important. Instead, issues like housing, banking, school and

employment were at the forefront of people's minds. If individuals missed an opportunity to gain knowledge of the law at the beginning, there were not necessarily other opportunities provided. There was evidence that not all communities even had access to this information in the first six months. There was a lack of continuity in the delivery of information regarding the Australian law to new arrivals. This was perhaps as a result of the nature of multi-agency service delivery in the settlement sector. Nevertheless, responsibility for realising this gap in knowledge cannot be expected from those who have recently arrived. The following quotes illustrate the confusion concerning Australian law:

For me the better way is to involve people in community education, to dispel some of the wrong thinking and some of the wrong attitude. People might react because they had a common experience and human nature is like that. If you have been exposed to a traumatic experience you seem to respond in a certain way. And if that works to keep that, and then that becomes part of your frame of reference (Male, 30-39 yrs).

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There were also concerns about the transfer of information due to the tendering process of settlement in Australia:

...because of the tender process I haven't seen one agency working with refugees that tends to advocate for the rights of refugees (Male, 30-39 yrs).

Other participants articulated how past experiences influence understanding of law but also created certain behaviours:

The policing of camps of asylum -- what happens is they abuse refugee rights and there are many agencies that are trying to fight that but it doesn't matter because you are a refugee -- you don't belong in that country. They develop an idea of 'okay if I get something, I don't care' ...you don't fight for your rights as a refugee, you just make the best out of what you get. I'm sure if you ask every refugee, everyone is very thankful that they have been assisted by the government of Australia -- that becomes the beginning, which becomes the end. And they appreciate that and then they don't question whether we get enough service or not, we don't question, I was grateful ... I just kept quiet. (Male, 40-49 yrs).

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The survival skills that you have been using in the camps would still go on for some time and sometimes you might end up in trouble because you maintain a certain attitude, which would conflict with the basic principles and the basic legal framework that is here. So there is conflict, many refugees would say what happened "I didn't do wrong" that is what they would say (Male, 40-49 yrs).

Many participants mentioned having heard about Australian law before they came, others had heard about it on arrival and some had both experiences. It became clear that there was no consistency with this trend, though it may be related to their date of arrival in Australia and the associated changes in policy direction.

What I was saying was there is much concern on Australian law because here it's really hard, you know, for us Africans, we have come in as a new team and then to get used to the culture of this country. It's really something very difficult and very hard. Also, it also works with, you know, the law of this country and all that. So there's a lot of misunderstanding between the African community, the police and all that (Male, 30-39 yrs).

For those that heard about Australian law before arriving in Australia there were mixed results both in terms of knowledge acquisition and the way it made people feel in terms of confidence in their settlement and an understanding of where they might fit in this new culture. They talked about being:

...told about Australian laws and how we are supposed to behave when we arrived in Australia (Male, 30-39 yrs).

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It was notable that the transition for some people was a case of a division between theory and practice, whereby some people were able to successfully make the translation into the reality of being in Australia and more importantly their own family situation. Others were obviously finding this process very confronting personally and in supporting other members of their community.

Individuals referred to the 'new freedoms' in Australia and there were various discussions about the merit of these. Some spoke positively about the opportunity of freedom that was made obvious to people on arrival in the formal settlement

presentations, but also discovered in the first few months of arrival. What were less tangible were '...the rules that guide those freedoms' (Male, 30-39 yrs). There were people in the community who thought that this had not been explained consistently to all individuals. Some participants had strong opinions about the fact that individuals should make the effort to understand Australia law.

Many people mentioned about Australia, about rules, and we cannot blame anyone. (Female, aged in 30s).

Some participants therefore held the opinion that individuals may be actively ignoring the law and not really understanding the danger of doing so or the consequences.

They had great concerns:

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so when something happens, that will be the time when you start blaming yourself (Female, 30-39 yrs).

There was a mixed response to whether everyone has the ability to absorb this information at the time of stress on arrival and settlement. These concerns led one person to state that during settlement in Australia:

I have been in terrible stress, as though other people wouldn't concentrate on what I say...I do not know what is happening but I need to concentrate. I have to set up a new life. This is a new country. They have different laws. This is all things that happened before. I have to start a new life (Female, 30-39 yrs).

Another explains the repercussions of learning the law (in relation to family violence) the hard way for the whole of that refugee community:

... So the best way for me is to avoid it, yes you can do that but the hardest way by taking them away (men) ... you sacrifice a certain generation but the next generation will learn. But you can still do it better if you make some effort to train and inform the community members who are coming. Ways of informing them could be different... it could be in a series of meetings, it could be included with the settlement... through the government. For instance, I have never been given substantial information whatsoever (Male, 30-39 yrs).

The findings clearly demonstrated that attitudes towards, and experiences with, police and the criminal justice system are closely tied to the process of induction to Australian laws, and, in turn, are significant factors in the process of successful refugee settlement.

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Reporting

Comments by research participants, particularly in the focus groups, clearly highlighted changes in crime reporting trends as communities became more aware of the ramifications of the laws (Rees & Pease 2006; West 2005). This included references to under-reporting, over-reporting and a few cases of false reporting of family violence. These trends indicate that the safety that these laws are designed to ensure may not be effective in all cases. Under-reporting was affected during the media attention following the comments made by Kevin Andrews MP in relation to the settlement and

integration of African refugees. Police also confirmed this trend although unfortunately it had taken time for Tasmania Police to become aware of the extent of this trend. An example of the reluctance to report is as much related to hearing the experiences of others, as of a response to the participants' own experience. This links to the concept of community mythology as an influence on police-refugee relations.

I heard this story of an African woman who reported her husband to the police and the police then wrote a letter, which, I don't know what it's called; it's like family restraint order or whatever. Then he was deprived of his kids and his wife. Then she was frustrated. Yes, there was domestic violence but when she sees the result, she didn't mean it. She thought that they would come and give him some warning and that he would make sense of it and then he would come back to the relationship... That was her intention. But when she found out that he was given that [restraining order] and the kids were telling, 'you are the one who did this to our father, and you have destroyed...' and she couldn't live with that. It was very hard for her to understand why that happened because she didn't know that they would do that. Her intention was not like that, and I can tell you what happens back in Africa you report to the police, the police would come, would advise the person 'look these are the consequences if you do this again and we are not going to tolerate this but the wife should say then 'ok if he would agree with that I am happy to live with him', or something like that so ...that's what they expect anyway (Male, 30-39 yrs).

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There were many references to reporting particularly the lack of or hesitancy to do so. Reasons for these positions were a belief that nothing would happen or a fear of

retaliation in the case of reporting assaults. To a lesser degree participants did make mention of a period where there was over reporting (or in some cases false reporting). This was concentrated in a time and primarily related to family violence incidents. The period where assaults and harassment increased over approximately 18 months was characterised by a significant decrease in participants willing to report incidents to police.

Social Inclusion

Elements of social inclusion (or exclusion) were raised including racism, public opinion and community acceptance. The constant presence of racism in their encounters with the police and wider community distressed interviewees as much as any particular incident in itself. In many ways, incidents that happened as part of normal daily routines, and in the hours of daylight, affected people profoundly as there was less anonymity in the interactions for both the perpetrator and the victim. Incidents that happened on the streets at night in some ways were made sense of by the elevated and common danger of the situation. These were considered less personal, especially when they involved substance use by the perpetrators—particularly alcohol, which interviewees linked to aggressive behaviour.

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The immigrant story—especially that of a refugee who is visibly different to the majority of the host community—can be fraught with negotiating racism, discrimination and a sense of how to belong (Hiruy 2009). The importance of

community acceptance should not be underestimated (Samarasinghe & Arvidsson 2002) and racism and associated experiences can undermine an ability to feel acceptance and belonging. A young woman who said that when she sits down next to people on the bus, they move was an example of this. These seemingly innocuous acts of rejection can have a profound impact on the rebuilding of identity in a new place. It is not a single experience of racism that damages the sense of belonging because of its characteristics or its intensity, but often the constant and never-ending experiences of rejection or, at least, a lack of acceptance, on a daily basis.

Many participants spoke about how these experiences were exhausting, demoralising and stripped away their identity. In some ways, the fact that no-one understands the experiences of the others in these interactions is where the real sadness lies. Bauman argues that if people could realise how much dignity all parties lose, how much energy is exhausted and how damaging this is to a community, they may feel compelled to review their choices (Bauman 2001).

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The ability to influence the situation positively does not always lie easily with the new arrival, as forcing oneself to meet a stranger may not be culturally appropriate in this country. Equally, concerns about political correctness mean that many people may be anxious about speaking to someone who is newly arrived, particularly if they are physically different, and fear that they may offend. Participants spoke openly about their lack of contact with neighbours, which made them feel distressed, and there were

many cases reported when neighbours were openly hostile. The idea of this lack of hospitality generally runs in the face of African tradition and therefore can feel incredibly personal (Bauman 2001). Participants struggled with the idea that this was racist at its foundation.

Many participants spoke about feeling trapped by stereotyping of Africans, refugees, and outsiders more generally. Often respondents asked: 'in Australia, where is the community?', as many had a strong sense of dependency on community. An assessment of absence of community in Australia led to newly arrived individuals feeling very anxious. This is another way in which the communal 'we' and the individual 'I' culture presents itself. Vasta (1995) explains that, individuals who are used to having people around them then find themselves at the other end of the spectrum when they leave their relationships and struggle to locate themselves in any sense of place and belonging. Individuals, by virtue of being human, gravitate towards familiarity and in doing so compare present with past experiences, which often leads to a feeling of insecurity if they cannot know what to expect, and this becomes an underlying anxiety for individuals during resettlement (Tsolidis 1995).

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Media

It was clear that many participants had experienced the power of the media and had felt its impact. More specifically, a number of participants discussed their concerns about the comments made by Kevin Andrews MP after the murder of the young man,

Liep , and the way in which the Minister's comments concerning Sudanese had given people 'permission to act badly' (Female, 30-39 yrs). It was clear that following these comments the media played a significant role in defining the experiences that characterised the subsequent period.

So after his [Mr Kevin Andrews MP] comments, bad things happen. You know, people who are friendly, like, now after maybe his comments, they think "I'm living with the enemy". These people are not good because the comments he made were not about one person. But if they were about one person I think it should have been made very clear, then people will be focusing on that person. But since it was made generally, then everyone is feeling concerned (Male, 20-29 yrs).

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In terms of the timing of the comments, many participants were confused about the transition from initially a discussion about the murder (allegedly committed by two white men) of a young man who was a fully participating member of the Australian community, (studying at university, part-time job, quiet family man) to allegations against the Sudanese community in Australia. How did the comments go from the murder to the allegation of large numbers of people not settling well in Australia? Undeniably, there was more at play than a politician's choice of words. The initial media attention, and then media frenzy that followed, changed the story from one of concern and sympathy for the senseless taking of a young man's life, into allegations about the 'right' groups of people to be in a community. This is a classic case of moral panic (Poynting & Morgan 2007).

Members of the African refugee communities are very aware of the power of media.

This quote demonstrates the impact of past experiences related to media:

Especially in Africa, being a journalist is like centre stage because you are the eye-opener of every government. You are the watchdog. And funny how people listen to me more than the government. Because it is on the news, it is in the papers. And what you read and what you see and hear carries a lot more weight. Because probably your government might be hiding certain truths that they won't want you to know about but that's why your watchdog is there, to balance the state (Female, 30-39 yrs).

Police Contact and Interaction During Incidents

A key finding from the data was the diversity of the way participants have had contact with police in Australia. Among the participants, there were people who had been victims of crime, people who police thought had been victims of crime (particularly family violence) and also people who had been witnesses to crime both concerning people they knew and people who were strangers. Many participants had been in the role of supporting someone in the process of understanding the law. This was in relation to their role of supporting individuals who were newly arrived, by answering questions or being involved in discussions and debates about the issues in Australia to do with police, the law and the criminal justice system. Many had also been involved in supporting African refugees who had had contact with police, as victims, witnesses or perpetrators. Support also included helping families or other community members

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to understand processes and consequences involving individuals that they knew who were in contact with police.

A number of participants from the refugee community and a number of service providers had directly supported individuals who had been accused of breaking the law. The reactions towards police, of individuals who were having a secondary experience of contact with police, were mixed and depended on how successful, complex or unsatisfactory the contact had been. The experiences of these individuals were undoubtedly contributing to community knowledge of police and the law and also to the creation of community mythology. These different positions and perspectives influenced how information flowed through the new and emerging community. Further, this mechanism was often the fastest way in which individuals received information in this time of transition.

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The material in the interviews and focus groups with African refugee community members and police focused primarily on policing. Within the focus groups, experiences referred to community policing and the reassurance involved, contact with police through specific incidents, how police responded to incidents and other tensions, which had become precursors to police contact. The topics that emerged related to driving and licensing, substance use, family violence and issues concerning youth. Mental illness was also raised in some sessions and it became clear that the concept of mental illness was approached very differently by refugee communities

than in the mainstream Australian context. Each of these topics will be discussed in some detail.

Driving and Licensing

Many interviewees indicated that much of their contact with the police related to unlicensed driving and unregistered vehicles, drinking and driving, and safety on the roads more generally. Difficulties in gaining experience of driving—and the driving qualification process itself—was discussed and in some cases was related to the other breaches of the traffic laws. Participants spoke about the importance of a licence for both practical and symbolic reasons. Problems were raised in relation to driving without a license and drink driving. For example:

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Yeah if you do not have your license it is not easy to get a job. People ask you to have transport; you must have your license (Male, 20-29 yrs)

Participants also spoke about how difficult it is to build up to 50 hours of learner driving experience which is a prerequisite for applying for a license.

It is... because also, if for example the test officer sees that you are not confident ... also the problem is how to get the fifty hours, it's very expensive. You do not have your own car, even if you have your own car you do not have someone to sit because you know here, everyone is busy doing things. Even if he will come to you for two hour or one hour in one

week or two weeks so how long does it take to finish the fifty hours?

(Male, 10-19 yrs)

Traffic trouble is common: driving drunk and speeding and only sometimes is it because they don't always know the rules (Male, 20-29 yrs)

Driving without a licence and got caught and used my brother's name, the other boy in the car told my brother who told the cops. Many people don't have a licence because of drinking and speeding (Male, 10-19 yrs).

Participants discussed how access to flexible transport such as a car is pivotal to engaging in the community and therefore to successful settlement.

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When I have not got a licence I cannot do anything (Male, 20-29 yrs).

Having no licence causes the problem: are you breaking the law because you don't know or would just want to do what you want to do (Male, 20-29 yrs).

The way in which settlement and policing are interconnected is demonstrated in the data that highlights how important driving and licensing is to police-refugee relations as it is a key point of contact between the parties. Traffic policing is an important point of contact with police especially in the initial periods of settlement. This experience was especially pertinent to relations with young men in the refugee communities. These findings mirror the literature related to licenses and driving (Novak 2004; Schafer et al. 2006; Tomaskovic-Devey, Mason & Zingraff 2004). Although the severity of the law

breaking is not high, many attitudes of both police and newly arrived refugees are created during this interaction (Novak 2004; Schafer et al. 2006; Tomaskovic-Devey, Mason & Zingraff 2004).

Some people think you can do what you did in Africa ...sometimes if you are without a license ...that is if you got pulled over you could just give him \$10 and go again. Bribery is common in Africa (Male, 20-29 yrs).

When it was explained to interviewees that in Australia both police and the person involved in the bribe would get in trouble, the young people were very surprised. It demonstrates the way in which these behaviours from past experiences remain 'normalised' for some individuals in the newly arrived refugee community. Debates about driving and cars can be a topic which causes disagreement in families as one participant explains:

And I don't know who should do it but that's one of the ways when it comes to family conflict. There are conflicts when it comes to understanding laws related to driving and I can tell that sometimes, particularly here, for me I learned that driving is one of the most important skills that you need, if you are going to get jobs, if you are going to get integrated properly into the community. And it's frustrating to find out that kids need to go to a football field or a soccer field but you don't have the transport so they are isolated. It's like people will tell you that there is access and equity for all services but there are hidden barriers. One of the hidden barriers is the fact that you are unable to

drive, become a barrier for your kids to access all the services that they might have. So parents are frustrated and I can tell you they have spent thousands of dollars saving from what the Government gives them, just for driving. And yet some of them were not able to pass their tests even if they did it seven times and they have to pay every time they did it, they might have to pay around \$90 including the car so you can even count that but they have to drive 50 hours before that. And the system, the assistance that they get doesn't consider this and it's frustrating for them to do that so what happens is, particularly the young ones, tend to take the law into their own hands and they start to drive without acquiring, because they couldn't acquire it properly because it becomes very difficult, there is no support system so they just drive (Male, 40-49 yrs).

It was apparent that people were very concerned about how the inability to access personal transport made participants different from the mainstream community. This was especially the case in relation to children and the capacity to maintain family support for them, their education and their participation in the community activities, which are normally associated with this period of children's lives. Public transport in Tasmania remains limited and inconvenient to the needs of families with children. Many considered these activities as fundamental to building a life, participation and the need to be included, especially for their children. The issue is that the need to drive is fundamentally linked to successful settlement but the problem is both in relation to access to cars and to the required training hours to achieve this important goal.

I need to get from A to B. Yes. I have to go there. I mean it has happened, I read an article where what happened was these members of the lost boys, like a gang, young people and what happened was they were not able to get one (a license) so what they did was, they were driving without a license and the irony is they are caught only if they are involved in a big accident and that's when the media and everything switches attention to them. Like saying a person without a license was driving, sometimes drunk and he was involved in an accident. Nobody refers to the fact that this guy has been driving for the last two years without a license. He was driving ok until then... (Male, aged in 30s)

This sentiment highlights why the topic of driving and licences needs attention. There were two undesirable scenarios presented by the interviewees. In the first, some individuals are dogmatic about the need to use a car and they used this to justify unlicensed driving and/or unregistered vehicles. The second was the consequences of an individual then being involved in a car accident; both in terms of the normal danger to themselves and others, but also the additional backlash from within the mainstream Australian population. In these cases, the actions of a few led to the judgement of whole refugee communities. As Novak and others have pointed out, prevention in relation to driving offences becomes very important for the sake of everyone (Novak 2004; Schafer et al. 2006).

Youth

The issue of youth contact with police is consistently raised in the extant literature in this field (Gillford; Maschi, Bradley & Morgen 2008; Sidhu & Taylor 2007; Thorell 2007; Umana-Taylor, Bhanot & Shin 2006). The topics raised in relation to youth were quite diverse although the essence of a majority of the discussion appeared to be related to assumptions and judgement. These concerns were especially from youth themselves but also from older members of the refugee community. The discussions covered topics such as street presence, youth and cars, and assumptions about dress and behaviour. Participants also expressed frustration about the automatic assumptions about who was in the wrong when there was youth of mixed race having contact with police, which often led participants to believe that racism was at the centre of these encounters. During these discussions the issues of racism were also raised. In some cases, the young people were acting in the way they had seen other 'local' young people behave, and did not understand why there was a difference in their encounters with police. Importantly, these same topics were raised by police personnel, which will be discussed in more detail in the next chapter. As one participant said, sometimes for youth in transition, it is as simple as being:

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...a bit confused about what they are doing (Male, 20-29 yrs).

Some older interviewees voiced a concern about an increasing lack of respect by youth:

In our society [in Africa], it's hard for you to find boys like this [boys who are partying] of this age – now here, sitting and drinking and partying awayand it hurts me. And they talk - the other day I had to caution about five or six of them. They were just talking disrespectfully. "All right. Okay." To a police officer... I had to get mad..... Rudely, to the police officer. I had to stop and say, "When you were in Africa, do you do this?" "Oh, man," Excuse me. "Shit, man." (Female, 30-39 yrs).

Young people also expressed concerns about transition:

Parents get confused and children say if you touch me I will go to the police. It has all changed now in Australia [concerning parent's confusion in parenting] (Female, 10-19 yrs).

....a lot of young people are influenced by music, which has bad lyrics ...it does not say anything good ... it just sounds like bad things were like 'fuck'it confuses a lot of people. They like to adopt these things thinking that it is a good thing to do rather than get on with their life and the good (Male, 20-29 yrs).

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For youth the themes that emerged in the data analysis were related to transition and how quickly and successfully this was occurring in all the facets of their lives such as school, peer groups, and family life. Often these processes were in contradiction because transitions were happening at a different pace. Many young people felt they were living in multiple worlds with very different expectations. One young man stated that it is complicated and confusing to some young people, particularly about:

...how to stay on track with their real dreams. When you grew up with other kids, you were all kids of your neighbourhood and then you go and do things together and if you do things wrong your parents say to you don't do that or they say to the other parents 'what you doing, why aren't you looking after this child?' (Male, 20-29 yrs).

...in Africa we have rules for the children so when you make a mistake you eyeball him and he will remember. In Australia is very different ...it is really hard here. It is very hard and takes a long long time to adapt. Because I am used to doing that in Africa it is very different and I did that from a long time. For years and years, we have had something we understood and it is very hard to change (Male, 20-29 yrs).

Ideas about hope and trust evoked strong sentiments from youth and women, and were perceived as an important need that was linked to a necessary healing process. These sentiments concerning healing, hope and dreams are explored in more detail later in this chapter.

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Substance Use and Abuse

Research shows that there is a relationship between trauma exposure, post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) and substance misuse. PTSD is considered a common characteristic of individuals experiencing a refugee journey (D'Avanzo 1997). African refugees in Australia are seen to be at even greater risk of psychological distress and substance misuse due to the particular characteristics of their refugee experience (Sowey 2005). Johnson argues that the nature of forced refugee relocation is an added burden during a time of adapting to life in a new country (Johnson 1996).

Johnson also explains that individuals will adopt the social norms of the new country in relation to alcohol and drug use (Johnson 1996). When a host country normalises or has a lenient attitude to drug use, the potential for substance misuse increases (D'Avanzo 1997; Johnson 1996). Australia's strong acceptance of alcohol could affect newly arrived refugee usage. Many participants saw a strong link between alcohol and distress:

You know the people consume very huge amounts of alcohol. As a result they disagree... what happens if someone insists that one side is against and the other supporting, and then it will end up in violence (Female, 30-39 yrs).

There was agreement by participants that all behaviour is exaggerated whenever alcohol is involved:

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There has been a few cases in the Sudanese community whereby the husband had been drinking alcohol, went to the house, in morning and after maybe a long argument, they revert to maybe call in the police and when the police come, yes, that man is arrested (Male, 40-49 yrs).

These findings complement the literature on substance abuse. Stressors related to the refugee journey are considered to put refugees at an increased risk of mental health issues and, therefore, a higher risk of substance misuse (Teesson & Proudfoot 2003).

The correlation between the experience of stressful events, both in the country of origin

or refugee camps, or the distress of experiencing culture shock, could also account for substance misuse (Gonslaves 1992; Johnson 1996). Although data are not conclusive concerning substance misuse and cultural minority communities, it is clear that the risk factors are high amongst these populations (Sowey 2005). The variations amongst individuals may depend on the characteristics of crisis in flight, reception of host community, degree of cultural difference to host community, and personal coping mechanisms (Gonslaves 1992; Johnson 1996).

Mental Illness

Mental illness can be viewed as an aspect of diversity that needs to be considered in policing. During data collection, references to mental illness were not usually direct. Instead, it was spoken about as high levels of distress and accumulative tension. It is important to note, though, that it is unlikely that mental illness would be less prevalent than in the wider population generally. In fact, some studies have estimated that post-traumatic stress disorder amongst refugees can be 10 to 200 times the rate of the mainstream population (Sowey 2005). Some of the mental health issues explored by interviewees were intertwined with young people's substance use.

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Yeah that's true because you don't tell anyone while you're young because you feel like 'I don't have to', 'I don't have a problem' but later on you realise that it's affecting you, it's affecting your children, it actually goes beyond one generation. You react in a certain way because you have ... I would probably keep on saying to my children when they

want to do something, remember where they are coming from. You tell them that, 'I was not fortunate like you are, I lived this way'. It's like probably your parents who lived in the 50s telling you 'in our time there was no electricity in that place' or something like that. Those stories - that is what I am saying, those stories. So those stories are part of any community. They can't fade away so that means you are affected by what has passed through, they pass it to you because they tell you. It will happen here. Like what will happen is, people who have endured a terrible trauma would tell their story and tell it to their children and that part of thinking becomes part of their living (Male, 40-49 yrs).

The next participant offers reflections on mental illness and support mechanisms such as counselling, particularly how it may be viewed in the refugee community:

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And so I think it's a very complex issue you cannot say 'OK do counselling and you can get rid of them' I don't think so. Counselling probably might help you to realise your situation, and why you are acting in a certain way and why not the other way so you become more self-conscious than you were. Otherwise, it will not take away the whole pain. No. It probably gives you tips, how to deal with that past but it cannot wipe out that past completely. That is impossible I do not think there is medical or psychological practice that can do that (Male, 40-49 yrs).

The follow participant discusses concerns about the relationship between mental distress (and illness) and substance abuse. He is becoming concerned that this will be a challenge for his community, especially for youth:

It's not happening here yet (in Australia), from my experience what happens is when particularly youth who seem to have lost identity and who could not find place in society, they will find it somewhere and what happens with people could be involved with... that's a possibility I haven't seen it yet to come, because probably, from the African community perspective, it's a new community, it's evolving, it's developing (Male, 40-49 yrs).

Gender and Intergenerational Stress

Gender and intergenerational stress and a lack of balancing agents within the family was a strong finding in this research. Change in family structure is one of the most powerful challenges for refugee individuals and families, and one of the most complex areas in terms of the provision of support in settlement (Samarasinghe & Arvidsson 2002, Barn 2007; Davies & Webb 2000; Dillion et al. 2008; Hyman, Vu & Beiser 2000; Iredale et al. 1996; Julian, Franklin & Flemingham 1997; Papadopoulos 2001; Umana-Taylor, Bhanot & Shin 2006). Participants discussed gender and intergenerational conflict in terms of changes in power and differences in access to resources such as money, which were disrupting familiar understandings of the family unit.

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One father discussed the attitude of young men particularly to break ties with the family without having a realistic plan to do so:

Because he thinks that, if he moves and is on his own and independent then he will have good life with his mates (Male, 30-39 yrs).

Financial components were cited as the most important trigger for this type of stress and its associated problems. Many participants voiced concerns about the perception that Australia is a women's world and parents voiced concerns about their children. In addition, young people felt uncomfortable with the power they had over parents through access to knowledge and language but acknowledged that they could not always resist using it. It was very clear that money was the major source of conflict in families:

Yeah money is the major source of family violence conflict because, for example, this is back in Africa where the man is the head of the family and the kids will not be under, like the concession card where all the kids are under the name of your wife and then some will realise all my power has gone to the wife (Male, 20-29 yrs).

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Yeah for some it is very hard to accept and again that has been the origin of the conflict between the families. I was also involved in a case where the family wanted to separate because of that. The wife was saying that in Africa you were beating me. Now I have a lot of money, all my kids now. I'm going to emergency so they can help me to find my house because you were beating me there you were not maybe buying good clothes for me. Now I have money. So for example after paying the rent, he was getting \$120 while the woman was around \$800 per fortnight (Male, 40-49 yrs).

...learning becomes difficult when you are from a different community, another community and people might not view it that way. Like we were

talking about parenting issues and I said 'you guys seem to think that African families don't know parenting' and that you will teach them parenting. I said, 'this is ridiculous. Are you the ones who raised their children? No.' But we have a different style of parenting than you have...You do what you do because you have certain values. It is natural to draw your principles and your practices from your values. And if I have certain values that I do, I am doing because I think it will reinforce those values in my children and reflect that so if there has to be any education it has to be participatory education and it has to be about sharing different experiences of parenting. Not telling people that you don't do it this way – not that way of teaching but just tell them that they have another way of parenting. We do it because we have these values (Male, 30-39 yrs).

In reference to disputes in the family, one participant discussed the different strategies in Africa and reflected on the strategies used in Australia:

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But people tend to expect that here and when it happens like somebody was telling me that a woman was taken off her husband because she reported some domestic violence and all of a sudden the police came and removed her and hid her in some other place. And this created a sort of violence in the man's heart and then he said 'ok if that's what you do'. I'm not sure whether this is a true story but I was told about it, and then later on he followed her, his own wife, he did not intend to do that, but he got so angry that he killed her and called the police himself. It's very difficult to understand but for me the system has contributed towards that reason because I think, "what are you looking for as an end result?" Is it a community which would live in harmony and that comes through

understanding and education, not necessarily through courts, through law enforcement?The first thing is you will have to make people aware how the laws work here and what it means, what the consequences are. Then they will be aware and then they will act different and they will cooperate with the police (Male, 30-39 yrs)

To survive, refugees have had to use resourcefulness, initiative and coping strategies. Sometimes the idea of living like this becomes "normal". Therefore, to settle in Australia may prove difficult, as it is an extreme change and not just a different culture due to country of birth, culture, ethnicity and/or religion. Most refugees are trying to change from an extreme life to what will become a normal and familiar life. To some people this may be like a detoxification process. Extremity can become normal, where a strong sense of feeling is commonplace and a sense of safety may even trigger feelings and result in individuals becoming disengaged. In the case of youth, no longer experiencing the intensity that had become so familiar can be a fast track to boredom.

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The cultural change is from the refugee experience to settlement and safety in a country like Australia. Even though it may be welcomed and positive it can still be a jolt. It could be argued that in these circumstances, men face the most difficulties in the integration process. It can be a time of tension between old and new, between the roles of men and women, between parents and children, and between the sense of relief at safety and the responsibility of those who are left behind or did not survive.

Individuals cope with this in their own personal ways: some positive, some negative,

some overwhelmed by determination, some overwhelmed by confusion and depression. Some will turn to others to help, some will use the resourcefulness of refugee survival and some will turn to alcohol. Individual coping mechanisms are different. It is commonly known that members of immigrant families can find this process very stressful, become depressed and in some cases they became aggressive when they arrive in a new country (Beshir 1993; Papastergiadis 2000).

For men, seeking to protect their families —and the institution of the family—the lack of influence they have over aspects of their relationships can leave them feeling confused and distressed. In Africa, these men may have been used to making the important decisions that affect the family (Beshir 1993). In an African context, if a family is not in good shape, the community will lay blame on the man. In the Australian context, this may not seem as obvious and therefore leaves a sense of loss of identity. In its most active forms, this can turn to a sense of failure and shame for a man, to have not lived up to expectations of the people he loves and respects (Scheff 2003).

Berry reminds us that migrants who find themselves in a strange, new and unfamiliar environment can have a strong sense of discomfort and for some it can be terrifying (Berry 1997). Life can feel chaotic, disorganised and strange (Beck & Beck-Gersheim 1995), and as a result, can lead to stress and a sense of unhappiness (Ward, Bochner & Furnham 2001). A lack of social order in the family can affect men in terms of their

pride, their sense of power and their ambitions for their life. It would seem to have a strong relationship with a healthy sense of hope (Connell 1995). Women do not seem to have the same issues with adjustment. Theirs is a different journey (Baldassar 1999; Julian, Franklin & Flemingham 1997; Vasta 1995).

Differences in expectation in families from an African context to an Australian context are highlighted in the next quote, which indicates why discomforts about increased independence, especially of young people may caused anxiety in parents:

Comparisons were made with Africa and the fact that people may live with their families until they are 30, until someone asks her hand in marriage. Before that... you don't need a house. Until the family sits together and say, "you can, you are now old enough. You need your space." That is when you are going to leave, the family still keeps an eye on you. But here is not so. Even 16-year-olds can get out of the house. And it's okay because that's your society, but it's not ours. You know, it is not ours. And when they try to force the issue, they say, "well she doesn't want to stay with you" (Female, 30-39 yrs).

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The next quotes refer to the issue of respect and how it is demonstrated in both an African and Australian context:

That is why most Africans, they don't look you in the eye. It is not that they are afraid, but it is a sign of respect and bow their heads. Some other parts of Africa you may kneel down. If my husband wants to visit

my family my mother, she prostrates. She goes down. It is not that she is being an old person, no. But it's a sign of respect. Here it is not so. And so because of that kids go haywire and, guess what? When they fall into trouble, they call the parents. Your child is here... so it comes back to us. So why don't they give us that authority? We love our kids. Other than that we would never have got them here. (Male, 30-39 yrs). We discipline them. We do not kill them. We do not use them, we give them caution that you have to be morally upright. But only a few years... in only a few years you see most African kids being drunkards and drug addicts out there. I'm not wishing for it but that's how it is. Because right now they all think the world is in their hands. And when they go live somewhere else and then don't go to school, school calls me, "your son is not coming to school". I say, hang on this independence yes. He is on his own. Why call me? I thought you said that he had the right to live on his own -- why call the parents if my authority has been undermined. Because the law is in there I cannot do anything (Male, 40-49 yrs).

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Participants expressed concern that this system, when it creates such a divisive gap between husband and wife, was in fact contributing to serious violence. The opportunity of reconciliation is reduced by the rationale of risk management and safety to the victim but may also accelerate the breakdown of the family. For many people this breakdown was the ultimate loss.

Communication yes it is really hard. And also had a case, when a woman who had a husband go to jail, and when the police attended she reported it to the police but it was the opposite because you translated

directly to her own dialect. It had the opposite meaning. And then she put her husband at more risk. He went to jail. The police lay charges against her husband. She just didn't know how to say it and when she said it she said it wrong. She said it wrong and the police took it seriously and then it was recorded (Female, 40-49 yrs).

Family law is difficult. Sometimes without community, you find other people -- some people, the way they talk, even normal talking, to the Westerners looks like violence. Already my neighbours spying and looking through windows, "Oh, No, there's violence. Look at them." But no it's just loud voices. Just normal (Female, 30-39 yrs).

Participants expressed frustration about behaviour being judged as violent when the context was not at all violent. The most common example was that loud voices mean different things in different languages and that speaking quietly is more highly valued in Australia.

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It was hard for participants to understand the 'Safe at Home' program⁶ especially the mandatory arrest policy. Many participants were concerned that this assumes someone has to be right and another wrong. Many participants felt this is too simplistic. If there is a certain level of violence, someone has to be arrested, and this means that the decision goes out of the hands of the individuals involved very quickly.

⁶ The Family Violence Act (2004) is the legislation. It is part of the set of policies called 'Safe at Home'. The 'Safe at Home' program in Tasmania was launched in 2004. It involves a suite of services and initiatives designed to protect and support victims of family violence including children. Safe at Home emphasises that family violence is a crime and is much more than just a private family matter.

There are good reasons why that legislation had evolved in that way and the information to refugees the focus needs to be on these reasons for Safe at Home it makes sense. For many participants though, this is not how they learnt. Certainly in the context of a lack of understanding, it can lead to both a lack of theoretical understanding and a lack of practical understanding of what it is to abide by Australia laws. The other element to be conscious of is the fact that people are absorbing so much information when they arrive and will absorb this differently, at different times in their settlement process. What can happen inadvertently is newly arrived refugees resistance is built up to some of these repercussions.

It is very difficult, for instance and I understand the fact that you can't have two laws in the country and the refugees need to learn the laws of the country and everybody understands that -- that's not the problem. But the problem is when someone ends up in court, you can't have the excuse that I don't know the law, doesn't work, the legal system in any part of the world doesn't work that way. It's up to you to understand the law from a legal perspective. But from a community perspective it would be worth making the effort to educate people about the consequences and so of certain laws. For instance, this Safe at Home program. The main purpose is to make sure that there is no violence against women in Tasmania. No one would disagree with that (Male, 30-39 yrs).

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And in the program (Centrelink), if they are sixteen and over, and that's another source of conflict in the family for example. The young people do not help the parents with babies or anything because they are getting

money. Yes, they have to contribute something ...No, they give money ...And then they say 'no I can go and they live on my own' ... that's another problem what's also happening with the family. And since I am here there was a young kid, 17, he decided to leave that family and he was going then towards leaving them. He was getting money and all the money was going, was just to put into his account, he was not contributing and his parents were paying all the bills, just buying food for the kids, everything and then they decide because they buy a car for the eldest son and they say if you bought a car for my brother, buy also a car for me. Because if they buy a car for the family that is to help them go and do some shopping because they were living far away from the shopping centre things like that. And now the boy ended up, now he is living in a share house in South Hobart (Male, 40-49 yrs).

In Africa if they fight with the husband, then the elders will come to your family. The elder will come and talk with the husband. If they find I'm the one who made the mistake then they will say to my husband, "she is the one who made the mistake so what we need, we need you to stay like this... we don't want violence. We do not want this to happen because you are saying this to the kids and we don't want this to happen in the family. Then they go back and stay together. If I get my husband in the wrong, then my parents will take me away and they will meet with my husband. Then they make him say what he did is bad then he will go to our family and say, what he is bad, now I need my wife and I won't fight again so this is good. Then my family say, okay now never do this again" and then he would go back (Female, 30-39 yrs).

Participants recognised that these models do not account for extreme violence where people's lives are at risk, but participants did explain that because these mechanisms may be able to intervene in a situation at an earlier stage, it may have a stronger prevention element than how the law and police attempt to protect families in Australia. Understandably, intervention occurring earlier is more possible in a community support model than in a legal framework. In addition, it may also provide further support to the prevention of escalation in the situation. As such, it supports individuals who could otherwise be left isolated during such an experience. These aspects positively affect the idea of victims and means that the responsibility for asserting that this behaviour is unacceptable, dangerous and detrimental (particularly where children are involved), becomes a community responsibility and not a responsibility that an individual has to face alone. This is not to glorify or have a lack of acknowledgement around the issues involved in gender relations and roles within African families. In some cases, wives and women in the family are seen as possessions, whilst others in the family have a right to power within the family. This does not sit comfortably with the Australian model of intervention which is a rights-based approach for any individual in terms of protection.

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If I talk to my husband four times, or 100 times, and he is doing the same thing, I will talk to someone who I know and she would be able to talk to my husband and help (Female, 30-39 yrs).

The idea of mediation resonates strongly within the 'we' culture and community sentiment within many African situations. It is about getting things resolved before they get serious, people being provided with a cooling off period and the community intervening with a strong message about appropriate and inappropriate behaviour. One participant highlights the importance of strengthening community networks for a person who is having problems:

We talk to each other, we always do and I really look forward to it, if we have someone who will come, let us talk to about what problem they may have. Just trying to pour out what happened to her, so that she will tell us. The more they talk then the more they release what is inside
(Female, 30-39 yrs).

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Women talked about the importance of having that place of safety within a supportive group to explore their situation, to normalise their feelings or frustrations and to brainstorm what might be some solutions. These mechanisms had not been created or utilised as easily for men and women, after settling in Australia. There were mixed messages as to why this might be the case. These included a lack of shared history with those individuals, a strong need to give the illusion of coping in settlement, diversity in the factors triggering family disharmony and confusion as to whether they could receive support. These triggers were around money; particularly, the view that access to money was to be shared by both genders and that Centrelink payments would be divided. It is also related to the concept of a rights-based society where every

individual, regardless of gender, was able to exert choice over their situation. It was not that people were in disagreement with the approach, in theory. However, there was a struggle to accept these practices, particularly for men. Many claimed that it was a disempowering process characterised by their loss of control. Many felt like there was little sense of how to regain a sense of hope and any impact particularly as a parent over a situation that did not resemble the more traditional model with which they were familiar. Many also expressed the fact that there seemed to be many frightening temptations and influences in Western society that their children, and indeed their women, had not had to encounter before.

There also remained confusion about multiculturalism, values, rights and responsibilities.

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...like I was saying, the country of multiculturalism, but when it comes to the law then it is no multicultural about it (Male, 30-39 yrs).

Particularly with family values. Like I said before, what we might see as a crime, it's not the same view. All what you might see as a crime, it's not with us. So that's where the conflict comes. And the police who really need to deal with it understanding that we come from a society where the man is the head of the house and he has absolute control. But here it is not so. It's a balanced power, or if I should say, more power is here has been given to the woman. But it's like the man says I'm a weaker vessel now. I don't have any authority and the kids go haywire because they're not used to this kind of lifestyle (Male, 40-49 yrs).

And it's like that in the family home. The father can no longer exert his power because the child says, "after all you're not caring for me" (Male, 30-39 yrs).

One man explained the frustration of how particularly youth learn about their place in Australian society. He asserted that the focus is too heavily on rights initially without the context of responsibilities and that teaching these later is too late:

It's been like -- I will say they're all confused and they're trying to grasp it. And by the time they understand the law, it's too late because they think, 'I have the right'. And the result has been that they don't understand their responsibilities (Male, 40-49 yrs).

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Family Violence

Family violence, gender relations between husband and wife, the Safe at Home program in Tasmania and relationships and processes in Africa were a common topic raised by the interviewees. The other family violence issues related to parent/child relationships and intergenerational conflict. These topics were accompanied by both high levels of frustration and confusion, and some participants became very emotional during these conversations, something that has been found in other research on this topic (Malley Morrison & Hines 2007; Pittaway 2004; Rees & Pease 2006; Stanko 2007; Umana-Taylor, Bhanot & Shin 2006; Uslucan 2005)..

For an African man, when people talk about family violence it is like you have to prove that you don't hit your wife as opposed to it being proved you do (Male, 30-39 yrs).

... this is my wife and I bought her from Africa. I was taken to court -- I had been on drink after that everything was really complicated... talked to social worker. They took her to another place for a while. There was no more violence after she came back home. This is a very hard way to learn (Male, 20-29 yrs).

One individual described the response to a Family Court consultation held with members of the refugee community in Tasmania in 2004 as a representation of the attitudes in the African community concerning family violence and family breakdown.

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They had brought community members from all the Africans represented here in Tasmania and the major issue was, the discussion was, the judge I remember was saying like 'if you come with conflict to the court, the court by law will have to deal with it, and it means, often, divorce – often separation' so some of the Africans were saying 'no, that's not what we are looking for'. Because in the African context you look for a sort of reconciliatory judgement (Male, 40-49 yrs).

Theme 3: Knowledge Acquisition and Education

The next section refers to the themes related to the negotiation and integration phases of settlement. It can also relate to the alienation and marginalisation phases if the experiences are primarily negative during this period. Knowledge acquisition and

education is paramount to the success of these initial phases and to reducing the likelihood of a path to marginalisation.

Confusion, Hesitancy and Extremity

In terms of the acquisition of knowledge and education, if people felt unsure about facts then their behaviour could become more exaggerated. It led to confusion, hesitancy and in some cases extreme responses. Participants identified a tendency for exaggerated behaviour, in some cases, including behaviour associated with both withdrawal and high levels of anxiety. The concern is that in neither of these states do people have straightforward relationships to the police service or a sense of safety (Phillips & Bowling 2003; Victorian Multicultural Commission 2000). There were different coping strategies to deal with this lack of knowledge: some withdrew, whilst others became very vocal in an attempt to access the knowledge. In the passive responses of withdrawal, the most obvious example was with laws relating to personal interactions, especially within the family. People had some information about the ways in which to manage their family relationships but they did not necessarily know how to put it into practice effectively. As such, in many cases, not only had the knowledge impacted on family relations but undermined a parent's ability to parent because their confidence to judge what was right and wrong in this new context was undermined. Many felt children and youth held the power, as their children had better access to support and information. Children and youth were actively being encouraged to have this information at the tips of their fingers, and older participants realised that there

was an imbalance between the learning of rights in Australia and a practical understanding of their responsibilities. Parents felt children suffered from this imbalance and it exaggerated their behaviour. As one man explains of an unsettling experience with his little boy:

“I will ring the authorities if you hit me Dad”, says my 5-year-old when he came home from school. I have never hit him (Male, 40-49 yrs).

I did not know what I was allowed to do when my son was annoying a woman on the plane coming to Australia. She kept looking at me but after seeing the pre-departure video, I did not know what I was allowed to do. So I did nothing (Male, 50-59 yrs).

My daughter seems to have child protection (phone) numbers on every page of her school diary (Female, 40-49 yrs).

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There were also references to more active responses on the part of African refugees. If the grasp of knowledge was tentative, it seemed there was a risk of a reversion to survival behaviour, particularly behaviours related to survival mode. Concerns were also expressed that in response to an incident, a heightened sense of anxiety may lead to exaggerated exchanges between police and members of the refugee communities.

Attitude is very important because if you have quite a balanced attitude towards a certain element you react that way – your reaction comes from your attitude. This can be a problem because if you choose or if you perceive that that person or a police officer is a very bad kind of person it will make a difference. If someone thinks in their mind that police is bad

person for instance if they are caught in a situation whereby the police have asked them to stop, the immediate reaction from their mind is to flee not to stop. They might have done nothing wrong but they will still flee (Male, 20-29 yrs).

People Wanted to Know why the Law Exists

Participants expressed a lack of understanding of the reasons that various laws existed which then had a profound impact on their acceptance of the laws. This lack of knowledge meant that some respondents found the law more confronting and they decided that it was aimed at their community particularly. This was particularly true of aspects of family violence laws and the laws surrounding the discipline of children. Importantly, however, when these laws were explained, acceptance was increased.

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In observing training sessions, it became clear that sessions that were specific to an aspect of the law rather than a broad overview of Australian law, led to increased understanding at a practical level. Furthermore, when the sessions were weighted more heavily to question and answer sessions, it promoted increased acceptance of the laws and an increased sense of empowerment among the community members. These observations were further substantiated in the individual interviews and focus groups. For example, in a workshop presented by police, attendees were informed that the 'Safe at Home' program in Tasmania came into force after seven women were killed by their intimate partners between 2000-2003. The question from the group was "Were any of those women African?" Similarly, from a participant who had been here longer

than six months: “Are the laws for men *and* women?” (Male, 30-39 yrs). These responses demonstrate the need to clarify the assumptions underpinning specific laws in Australia and the need to determine whose responsibility it is to ensure that newly arrived refugees understand their rights and responsibilities concerning the law. It was apparent throughout the process of data collection that people do not know that they do not know something.

Similarly, when an explanation was provided as to why Centrelink payments were distributed in favour of women, attitudes shifted.

But people need to know even when we are in Africa doing the orientation about Australia customs ...we were not told about that. That is the problem, but now ...it was very hard for those who arrived here for the first time because other people were speaking other language. Now other Burundians who are coming it is easier to explain to them then you have to do this and this because they meet us here and then you are learning and getting something from Australian culture but for us it was very hard work (Male, 30-39 yrs).

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Theme 4: Reactions to Present Experiences

The next section explores the reaction of refugees to present experiences. It highlights the dangers of assumptions, concepts related to coping, communication, and the assisted transfer of knowledge. The concept of community mythology and its influence both in refugee communities and directly on police-refugee relations is

explored. The important findings of feelings of less access to justice and limited follow through by police highlight how the concepts of both restorative justice and procedural justice have appeared in these findings.

Assumptions about Refugees, Coping and Communication

Participants strongly expressed concerns over assumptions made about refugees, the refugee journey and settlement generally. Specifically it was said to be frustrating that assumptions were made about refugees' coping mechanisms and ability to communicate. These assumptions were seen as dangerous as it meant the decisions about interaction were made externally to the individual refugee, disempowered that person in terms of access, self-expression and some even claimed it had the ability to directly influence the construction of reality. That is, if an assumption is expressed often enough, it becomes the 'truth' that is believed. As one participant explains:

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I'm happier because like, for us, coming from the west of Africa, it's quite different from others coming from that part of the world. But everybody thinks all Africans are the same (Female, 30-39 yrs).

There are lots of things that happen within the community with police. Actually, it does not mean we do not like the police. We really liked them because there are other issues that the police do not respond and others they do respond. And just because of the stereotyping, because people stereotype those refugees as people who doesn't understand or doesn't know what is right and what is wrong. And when they call

them, sometimes the police ignore and sometimes the cases that they ignore are the serious cases (Female, 40-49 yrs).

And another woman said:

....and in some cases that they take seriously are not actually serious. It also depends on the language because really the refugees sometimes cannot really explain themselves properly. So it is really hard to present these issues to police. However, sometimes when I had a problem it is hard to exactly -- how can I present this case to police so they understand that I'm at risk? It is hard (Female, 40-49 yrs).

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And their languages is another problem because even if they you can speak English, sometimes the way how Australians can speak very fast, but they can just say something that we don't really understand. Is that right? And they say, yes. That's it (Female, 40-49 yrs).

Just a word can get you in trouble (Female, 40-49 yrs).

And the language around police and the criminal justice system is foreign to all of us and you only get to understand that if you have to use it or someone actively teaches you. People angry that people outside Africa think it is just because they are African...And to tell you we Africans are such loving people, because looking at Africa there is also a peace abounding there (Female, 40-49 yrs).

There was anger or, at least, disappointment that some Australians held the idea that Africans (in Africa) create their own problem. Participants stated that this notion was simplistic and ignored external pressures on African countries or regions that have influenced the equilibrium, and therefore resulted in conflict.

Where do you think it's coming from? The best diamonds that you can find in the world comes from our land. And you see these "white folks", coming in and saying, "Listen, you can be rich." They know that this piece of diamond goes for that much and they buy it for peanuts. And some of these countries had to suffer, you know, for you to go this wealth. Power makes people do horrible things, even to their own people. You know, all that, when I look at it, it hasn't been our hope. You go and see what America has done to our mining fields. Mining. And the people living there remain in abject poverty and when you speak up you are silenced. You want to just tell the world about it (Female, 40-49 yrs).

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I have been also attending some workshops with the police and also I've been in contact with police asking me about doing some mediation with what's happening within the community. And that's what I am doing, I was doing it even today because there is a policeman in Glenorchy who is in charge of one case so, and that case involves two Burundian. One of the Burundian has been in trouble with the police and then he has been charged so the policeman is trying to ask me to do some mediation so that, to avoid that person being taken again to the court. Otherwise, he will be charged and then he will go to jail (Male, 30-39 yrs).

Community Mythology

The data indicated the existence of assumptions being developed in the refugee communities concerning police and Australian law. The experiences—as individuals and families—in each community became the mythology on which the community based their actions and their beliefs about the police and the Australian law in general. Community mythology was contributing to the construction of reality. For example, the presence of family violence (even though in only one or two families in some communities) meant the experiences of these few families was accepted as “the way it is” in Australia. Importantly, the general public also develops understandings of the law in the same way.

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However, for a community with weak social links to mainstream services and communities, and whose members have not been socialised into these laws, this mythology creation is even more powerful. It can exacerbate already existing feelings of confusion and misunderstanding. Acquiring information in this manner leads to negative outcomes. In the words of one participant:

It's not learning it's 'fearing' (Male, 40-49 yrs).

Assisted Process of Knowledge Transfer

There was definitely a strong sentiment that people needed to understand what was going on so they feel that they were part of a process they could respect. An assisted process of knowledge transfer and creation about Australian law and the associated acculturation for individuals, families and communities (with a focus on practical application) needed to be overt to overcome the effects of past experiences

Participants were also concerned that when police were contacted — by either neighbours or the individuals involved — and became involved, , often when violence is not actually involved and a person is taken away it leads a lot of confusion. Often the person requesting support from police wanted the situation to be calmed down:

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I did not expect that their husband would be taken away to 'jail'. She did not mean it that way. There was a misunderstanding. Not about the law but what would happen (Female, 30-39 yrs).

In many cases such as these, participants expressed concerns that individuals regretted involving the police and they were concerned that this would lead to non-reporting or, at least, underreporting within the community. Some elaborated that it was important for refugees to understand what was going to happen even when the situation was quite emotional. Even if the person involved was not able to reflect on that information at the time, 'in the light of day' it gave that person a sense of understanding what just happened. It was also considered beneficial if individuals felt

that they could follow-up with the police and clarify the situation. These concerns were also linked back to the positive or destructive mechanism involved in the creation of community mythology.

Feelings of Less Access to Justice or Limited Follow Through

Participants referred to feelings that they had less access to justice than for other Australians and that there was limited follow through by police for newly arrived refugees. This was a complex area in the findings. Nevertheless, the influence of this finding has the potential to be far reaching in the communities. A feeling of lack of access to justice and/or follow through was a sentiment that was deeply felt by some members of the refugee communities. Many people referred to unsatisfactory contact with police, particularly when they may have been a victim, where follow through had been limited.

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A lack of information, which had often been promised, meant that people were left wondering whether or how the law had been enforced. The importance of follow through was very significant for some participants and, in its absence, people were left feeling that the police had not supported them.

Even if there is blood (in Africa) the law has been broken. Isn't my blood as important? (Male, 10-19 yrs).

...in the African context you look for a sort of reconciliatory judgment... in the law, what happens is the legal system has conceded the cultural values and its importance... and probably the difference is your laws seem to have emanated from the fact that the individual right is the most important right. Our laws probably, like many African countries; the laws there might come from a collective angle which is like from community, ethnic groups are more important (Male, 30-39 yrs).

One of the most important thing is that if someone assaults you and there was some kind of stick used by those people who came to assault you. So when the police come and they are supposed to collect those things and leave with them as evidence. Instead they didn't take those things they gave them back... You know, those things are supposed to be used as evidence for this fight. You know, we had this as evidence. Then the victim would feel a big relief (Male, 30-39 yrs).

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It is my observation, I would suggest that maybe in the future if there's anything here the first thing if anything can happen police need to examine exactly the cause of the problem and how did the victim get involved to the problem. Because that one will make things a bit easier to understand.... so, if everybody understands what happened then you can prevent or you can keep yourself safe or you can understand. If people are left with no information... (Male, 30-39 yrs).

...because right now if I am a police officer, and someone calls me that there is a problem somewhere. Well, now that it is bare the first thing I have to do is ask what caused the problem will start or how it started. Is there a witness? You need to know the cause of the problem and who is involved in the cause of the problem. After getting that, then you can

move on to the victim's side. Then you will be able to come up with an appropriate procedure and then handle that case. Have you get those things on the table, you can start examining the problem will stop this way, everyone will feel happy, even the let me say the criminal will confess (more likely) (Male, 30-39 yrs).

These sentiments relate to the fear of retaliation and a fear of not feeling safe but also a strong sense that there needs to be a deterrent.

...because there is enough, sufficient witnesses and there is enough evidence, where it prove guilt. Then the victim will also feel happy, a bit more safer, that there was a problem and the problem has been solved. This way, I am happy. And the police have my record so, in that in the future, anything happens, this is the suspect. Yes (Male, 30-39 yrs).

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When asked what their experience and thoughts were about the relationship between communities and police, including how this may be changed over time as people settle, participants answered:

Yes. My own experience is that the police are really listened to our need oral request but there are other things that concern people more. It is that if police does not take action straight away. Like, we had a few people in that instance and being attacked by some of the community members and these issues were reported. Nothing has been done up to now. Some people had accidents, knocked by car, and being this issue has been reported but there is no response from the police (Female, 40-49 yrs).

We even had one case that actually they could not find the data. They could not find the statistics. When did this happen? They said when did this happen? ... There was no case. And it happened; one of the refugees was knocked. He was riding a pushbike when a car knocked him. It's actually the driver of the car was mistaken because he was riding on his wide lanes. And this was reported, police attended, the police took that person to the hospital to the emergency department but afterwards he was discharged. Nothing was done and they could not find the records. Because actually that person needs the records from the police to continue with whatever he's going to do (Female, 40-49 yrs).

He didn't get anything from insurance because the police don't have the records. So these are the things that frustrate people (Male, 30-39 yrs).

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We actually had a husband and wife who were attacked by local people in Launceston. They were actually coming from work and waiting for a bus. At the bus station there were just two people stopped and attacked them 30 is a big fight and the wife is badly injured, taken to the hospital. This case was reported to police. Nothing was done (Female, 40-49 yrs).

We tried to follow up after; when the lady was a bit recovering they have to go to the court. When they went to the court they said the victim could not come. They don't want people there and they don't have to be there (Female, 40-49 yrs).

They said that the men say they accepted -- they accepted their guilt but the victims cannot come to the court. So, you know, the two people who

had been hurt were not happy. The thing is they were not happy at all.

They were really, really not happy (Female, 40-49 yrs).

The issue here for people was that they were unable to be part of a process of justice.

Because the individuals pleaded guilty there was no need for the victim statements or

witness statements according to police. It was seen that police expected them to be

satisfied with the idea that the perpetrators had pleaded guilty. For the individuals

though, they had a strong sense of wanting to have their story told. This process also

resulted in the individuals never knowing what the penalty was for the actions of these

perpetrators and for a situation that they had endured.

Reflections on Other Approaches

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Some participants reflected on traditional methods used in the African context,

including mediation, reconciliation and elder support. Queries were made about what

other methods of diffusing conflict were used in Australia along with police

intervention.

One man describes the different processes in Africa that are more familiar:

...who can arbitrate for both. So what they do is then the court sends the case back to the elders, not to make judgment but to see if there can be a sort of reconciliation between the two parties without siding with the one or the other. If the situation can be resolved without going into the pain of divorce and letting their own community disintegrate and letting their

own children have to be divided and it's a big problem because, bear in mind that, in many African countries we don't have a social service or social system whereby the kids will be taken care of by the government (Male, 30-39 yrs).

Others talked about conflict resolution being undertaken in the camps where officials and police within the camps were able to support this process and, in doing so, support the men to decrease the animosity between groups. It needs to be remembered that camps are dangerous places where hope is challenged, blame is encouraged, and people are living for long periods in survival mode. Tensions run high. People do not feel safe and therefore any mechanism to encourage conflict resolution would be difficult.

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People discussed the importance of not letting tension built up:

So if all of that builds up then I think there are not much you can get from the community. I would encourage them to talk. I always talk to them about it. (Male, 20-29 yrs).

At times, there were comparisons with other pre-embarkation information systems. Of particular interest is the idea that the USA was feeding back live stories which would be used to help people make sense of the information and to promote discussions so as to support its absorption by stimulating individuals to understand its relevancy.

Ultimately one of harmony and a community living in harmony and productivity. If you can find the best way for that you will have a way to find a solution... for instance there is domestic conflict between husband and wife, and they happened to end up in court, the Court's first reaction is okay we'll hear this case but we want to appoint elders, to the two-parties' appoint elders and the courts write letters to the elders, appoint these individuals that are responsible to try and find a solution, a harmony (Male, 30-39 yrs).

General Observations from the Refugee Perspective

There were two strong sentiments from the refugee perspective (although not directly related to the police and law) that strongly influenced the environment in which police-refugee relations occur. These sentiments included the role of law in society, the importance of dreams and how they affect behaviour, and also participants were concerned that the acceptance by the Tasmanian community was related to the perception and the images of Africa and Africans. Participants were very articulate about these ideas, particularly that assumptions by the host community in Tasmania had become value assessments on the newly arrived African communities. It was explained that these were not what Africans leaving Africa thought of themselves or their situation.

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One thing I have realised is that Launceston was never prepared or Tasmania was never prepared to receive Africans. Because the concept, "Oh, poor you. Oh, how sad. Oh, here we have better life." It's not. The

thing I always say is, it is not living a better life, it is about you living a happy life. Because I can still stay in that shanty house of mine and be happy, than living in a mansion and unhappy. It's about safety and family. So I am happy no matter where I am (Female, 40-49 yrs).

This assumption created a tension, and many thought this tension was underestimated in its effect on community acceptance and successful settlement. It indeed highlights the central focus on safety as the core to the migration process and therefore of great importance in resettlement. Equally, participants voiced the experience of trying to rebuild their lives.

So, coming here and - it is better in Australia – I think that we are living a better life than we were; yes. We're removed from the bombs and bullets. But I'm still having bombs and bullets in here (holding chest), because I've lost my child, I've lost my husband. Because my husband was killed and that's why it's ten years apart. We have children. And you're trying to restructure your life. It's a terrible thing, you're starting over again (Female, 40-49 yrs)

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This quote strongly captures the emotional foundation of the experience of the refugee journey and warns against simplifying settlement support to be solely focused on tangible and practical needs in isolation from the psychological components of the experience. In this understanding may lie the most important realisations about successful settlement; namely, the fundamental importance of relationship, identity

and belonging with safety and hope as elements of all these. These are important ingredients for rebuilding a new life, and relate to the central need for healing.

The second area raised by participants concerned law in Australia. There was also debate about what is the law's role in society?

Is it a community which would live in harmony and that comes through understanding and education, not necessarily through courts, through law enforcement? Law enforcement, for me as a person, is meant to keep the community in balance – I mean to protect everyone in the community and protection means you will have all sorts of people to protect, even the ones that are inflicting harm (Male, 30-39 yrs).

So the best way may end up being the hardest way by taking them under this law ... you sacrifice a certain generation but the next generation will learn. But you can still do better if you can make some effort to try and inform the community members who are coming. Way to inform them could be different (Female, 30-39 yrs).

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It became clear from these quotes that members of the community were well aware of the fragile nature of the situation for their community. It also highlights that they do not believe successful relationships or an understanding of the law will be a straightforward path, but will require some conscious strategies or some large sacrifices on the part of newly arrived communities.

Public opinion and community acceptance was very important to all groups regardless of ethnicity, age or gender. The concerns raised were slightly different for each of these categories. For example, youth were concerned about being vilified and parents were concerned about the climate for their children. It was found that among some respondents the emotive power of media portrayals had undermined confidence that they were being fairly treated. The vilification of black Africans by the media had obviously affected morale and feelings of belonging.

It was clear that people were aware that in terms of settlement and in particular sets of sensitive issues such as relations with police, that all refugees may have some problems similar, but you would see that there are differences from one community to another -- probably pertaining to the fact that they have different ethno-cultural basis to start with.

Different values, value systems and ... strength of family. (Male, aged in 40s)

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Participants also expressed strong concerns about the role that dreams play in the creation of hope for the future. They expressed concern that dreams were sometimes hard to hold onto during the phases of settlement but were crucial to successful outcomes. Many thought it was an ideal time for new dreams:

...some people came here with dreams.... dreams that they couldn't have while they were in Africa. (Male, aged in 20s)

Participants did express how difficult it was to harness these dreams. The discussion with youth also picked up the theme of dreams and their relationship to hope and then trust. It was important to young people that they found a way through this settlement time and they knew how much hope and dreams would be an important driver. The difficulties of settlement are captured in the following quote:

....some people are driving and drinking and getting into fights and stuff and losing sight of what are your dreams (Male, 10-19 yrs).

Individual and Organisational Racism

There may be some concerns about the lack of discussion of direct racism from police and whether this reflected a 'politeness' in the way the findings have been reported. In reference to such a concern it should be considered that the context in Tasmania although limited in cultural diversity, may be different from some of the findings in metropolitan areas and that these findings did not suggest explicit forms of racist attitudes and practices by police. Although refugee participants indicated some concerns, it was found that racist behaviour that did concern them was less initiated by police, whose behaviour was seen as related to the individual issues of cultural ignorance.

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The concerns of the participants in the refugee populations were of the experiences of racism on the street, and examples of a similar acute racism from police was not

apparent in the findings. Refugee participants spoke of the issues involved in police's lack of understanding of the refugee journey and of cultural competency and communication but most did not see this as a kind of racism, so much as inexperience and as communication progressed during an incident, a willingness to find understanding generally prevailed. Many of the participants spoke highly of police and respected the complexities of policing in context. The exception to this trend was in the youth, especially related to the 'assumptions of who is a guilty' finding.

The researcher, although surprised by this lack of need to blame police as individuals, did hear strong references of a desire and need for cultural competency training for police both at recruit level and of mid career police. Participants saw these as organisational issues and weaknesses rather than weaknesses of individual police. The regional nature of policing in Tasmania also means that many police officers seemed to approach policing from a country police officer perspective whereby they realise the impact of any interaction on the individual experiencing involved in a policing situation. In fact, it was found that the newest recruits were less likely to consider cultural competency in the way they communicated seemingly due to their focus on 'doing things by the book'.

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From a research perspective though, the lack of blame did not signify that policing behaviours were not indeed racist. Although the individual officer's actions could be contextualised, the responsibility of the organisation was questionable. Although this

accusation is not related to active racism, it does highlight the impact of passive racism and particularly the organisation's responsibility to address ignorance and increase cultural competence to a degree that equates to a professional standard of policing being delivered to all citizens in a community consistently. This is an area for further research.

CONCLUSION

This first findings chapter has concentrated on setting the scene concerning the types of contact between police and members of the African refugee communities in Tasmania. It explored the themes that emerged from the perspective of refugees concerning police-refugee relations and also how to affect police-refugee relationships positively. These insights allow an increased understanding of the potential miscommunication between police and refugees. In addition, it signals the strategies that can be initiated to proactively stimulate positive communication.

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The chapter explored the four themes of background and transition; initial settlement; knowledge acquisition and education; and reactions to present experiences. Based on the analysis of data collected through interviews and focus groups with African refugees this research concludes that the following components are required to ensure positive and sustainable refugee-police relations in regional Australia. There needs to be an assisted process of knowledge creation and transfer about Australian law for

individuals, families and communities with a focus on practical application of policing and the law to counteract the effects of past experiences:

if you don't understand the criminal justice system you don't understand what makes things happen. And I won't blame the police and even I won't blame the refugees but it is a matter of...misunderstanding
(Female, 40-49 yrs)

Education delivery must also acknowledge diversity in the different refugee communities, coping strategies and personalities of individuals. There needs to be consistency in the delivery of education about Australian law in terms of time and level of information provided. The 'spot fire' mentality of providing education when trouble starts should not be relied on so extensively.

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Education and support concerning understanding the law in any incident-based contact needs to be sensitive of the family involved even if delivery is directly based on the individual. The wider family will be the support for that individual and that family needs to understand the context, processes and an acknowledgement of the power/gender/age dynamic shifts and their implications in settlement. There is a need for understanding related to 'experiential difference' on the individual level but also in relation to community dynamics to appreciate the influences on the police-refugee relationship and therefore how to affect it positively. Overall, it is clear that an understanding of 'experiential difference' by refugees, police and other service

providers is crucial for enhancing the settlement experiences of refugees in new and emerging communities.

As one participant explains:

...if you have been exposed to a traumatic experience you seem to respond to that in a certain way. And if that works you keep that, and that becomes part of your frame of reference (Male, aged in 30s.)

The chapter also explored the many ways in which transition influences the experiences of the early settlement period and how they influence the environment of police-refugee relations. Overwhelmingly though, these findings demonstrate that the foundations of trust, or its absence, is a strong influence.

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The second findings chapter focuses on the perspective of police but undertakes to deepen these understandings further — particularly of mechanisms to stimulate common ground in police-refugee relations. The chapter also presents findings from the participant observations undertaken during the research. The chapter presents one particular case study to present data of police and refugee in interaction. The themes for the participant observation more generally are also presented. The chapter highlights the tension of policing refugee communities and achieving positive outcomes from both a policing perspective and for the needs of the refugee community.

CHAPTER 6 – THE VOICE OF POLICE AND VOICES IN POLICE-REFUGEE INTERACTION

Policing is a complex profession. In many cases, police officers have no consistent working environment or contacts with the public in any one day. The reality of this work environment means police personnel need to rely on policies and procedures coupled with personal initiative and communication skills to perform their job in a professional manner. The challenges of policing the more vulnerable members of our wider community can test the mechanisms in the police organisation and the attributes of any police officer. For this reason, more needs to be understood about the tensions in policing vulnerable populations to ensure police effectiveness and efficiency, but, equally, to ensure that all members of the community have equal access to the services of police, even if this requires unequal effort.

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The research demonstrates that police-refugee relations are affected by both the nature of settlement and the nature of policing. This thesis explores how community policing can be effective in bridging gaps and promoting positive police-refugee relationships. The data from the interviews with police provided reasons to be optimistic about police-refugee relations in regional Australia. Equally, though, it uncovered some areas requiring improvement especially in relation to an organisational strategy to support these difficult relationships. It needs to be accepted that the reliance on 'good people with an interest in this area', uncoordinated knowledge acquisition and a lack of support for the training offered to recruits, too easily translates into practice in a

vacuum. In this way, the inefficiencies and ineffectiveness of the efforts of police can become all too apparent.

Interviews included police at Commissioned Officer level (ranks of Inspector and above), police of various ranks working in community policing and police who had had direct contact with refugee communities in traditional policing roles. These interviews explored both traditional and community policing components of the police-refugee experiences. In brief, the data provides evidence that community-policing roles and reassurance strategies have a strong impact on positive police-refugee relations. Several themes emerged that will be explored in this chapter.

The second section of this chapter focuses on establishing and maintaining trust and positive relationships between refugees and police by exploring data primarily from participant observations. A description of ‘a conversation with police’ forums held in 2008, between police and refugees in Launceston, demonstrates the importance of understanding both perspectives. These observations highlight how an understanding of the relationship between settlement and policing is crucial for both successful settlement outcomes and the successful policing of refugee communities. Community policing is explored as the mechanism to achieve these dual outcomes. The chapter will conclude with the most important themes from all the participant observations that provided insights into the mechanisms required to support positive police-refugee relations.

It is worth noting that throughout the research police officers' descriptions of community policing varied but always had a strong sense of people's right to access regardless of background:

Oh, it's being involved in all levels of community, whether it's... well everything we do is linked to community policing. It's about having the community as our customer. It's about working for Government, working for different organisations, being involved in the general public, whatever their background might be (Commissioned Officer).

Police Contact and Incident Interaction

Like with the refugee findings, police contact themes were similar: driving and licensing, family violence, youth, mental illness, substance use and racism. It was assumed that police officers' reference to these areas was more consistent with the boundaries of the law than the refugee perspective, who obviously did not approach these subjects with such a strict framework. It was apparent though, that some police officers interviewed had both an understanding and empathy for the individuals in the refugee communities. For some participants, there was an awareness of how an understanding of the social context, as well as the refugee journey, was invaluable in the assessment of a situation and the associated decisions about communication and procedural choices. Others had less of an understanding of these dynamics generally and also the individual and community dynamics that influence many situations including relationships with police.

Those police officers who did not make this connection appeared to feel more comfortable with the 'letter of the law' and procedure as structures with limited personal reflection. This approach led to discomfort in exploring their legitimate discretionary powers. There were themes concerning lack of access to diversity in policing and also in personal travel. Trends also emerged in relation to the newness of a recruit, which, in turn, related to the supervision experienced after Academy training and its effect on individual officers in their duties as police officers.

There was also an emerging theme that those police officers who had experienced placements in small communities had personal policing styles that acknowledged two important factors. Firstly, that the context of people's lives always influences any breach of the law or incident and although never presented as an excuse for criminal conduct, this understanding often provides a strong indicator for how to deal with these encounters. Secondly, anything done in the line of policing, such as actively treating people with respect and dignity (or not), makes a difference in the long term, and will be reflected in future relationships with that individual, their family and their community.

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SECTION1: BARRIERS AND ENABLERS TO COMMUNITY POLICING

The barriers and enablers to a positive police-refugee relationship that emerged from the interview data were related, in the first instance, to a need for policies and practices that have a strong organisational foundation, which encompass factors relating to

refugee background in strategic planning. This requires an acknowledgement that the refugee experience needs to be considered in policing approaches where the refugee community is concerned. There will be aspects of this planning that may not necessarily be immediately apparent but should be considered in strategies, processes and communication with these communities and its members. Secondly, there were issues related to language difficulties and thirdly, access to resources. Police also spoke about the need for, and challenges of, initiating a positive agenda concerning those newly arrived. Many mentioned the role that training plays in ensuring police personnel are well equipped to work with diversity. Racism and reporting are explored as issues related to the African refugee community. The chapter concludes with reflections on successful strategies for creating positive police-refugee relations and effective criminal justice system initiatives.

Theme 1: Strategies at Organisational Foundation

As documented in Chapter Five, the background of the refugee may include direct negative experiences with police, fear of authority, fear of uniform, and living in a culture of survival, corruption and/or war. Strong anecdotal evidence was presented of direct negative experiences, some over very long periods. Officers spoke of receiving knowledge of an individual's past experiences, particularly with people in authority, which made the exaggerated nature of reactions of their encounters more understandable.

Police officers were aware of these experiences that included survival of a mass execution, torture, having family members taken by police and never returning, brutality and murder by people in authority. These sentiments also related to stories that, in giving information to police, something 'happened' to a friend or family member. A fear of authority and/or fear of uniform can evoke strong associations in those with a trauma background. These experiences included direct experiences, which then influenced the perspective of large numbers of individuals not necessarily directly linked to the particular incident. This is a common reality for many refugees who have experienced protracted periods of danger and vulnerability. The length of these experiences means that some individuals may have childhood experiences that they are unable to disassociate with in adulthood. These may strongly influence reactions to police as indicated by the following report from a commissioned police officer:

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One lady I was told was from Sierra Leone, she had been married for 12 months, the police came and took her husband away and that was it, she never saw him again. You could see in her eyes and a few of the others a little bit of fear ... or an apprehension about police and after an hour with them [in Tasmania] they were more relaxed and they realised that the police were here to help them. Later there was a multicultural display with a big portrait of her explaining how she had felt more relaxed after a policeman had spoken to her...you have to break down the barriers...if you go about it the right way and spend the time with them (newly arrived refugees)...it gives them more comfort that way... if we can get them feeling better then community can work together (Commissioned Officer).

I do talks and tours through the station for refugees...so they know...maybe different from their perception of a police officer... get the message that our policing maybe different (Constable).

Verbal abuse and graffiti against a number of families, so I thought it may give more comfort if somebody with higher rank came out to see them (Commissioned Officer).

For refugees, living in survival mode in a protracted war situation or where corruption is common has the potential to 'normalise' experiences related to interactions with police, especially some associated extreme behaviour. In the Australian settlement context, however, behaviours may be judged as resistant, corrupt, aggressive or volatile. It should be understood that these comments are not necessarily related directly to any question of the authority of the police or the law in relation to any individual's action, but that there may exist a climate of misunderstanding unrelated to any present conditions, which is affecting the individual's action. These experiences can be seen as influencing present relationships and interactions with police. This is evident in the following account by a police officer:

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A group of African males got pulled up in a car for a breathalyser, the driver of the car was arrested and had to go and have a breath analysis test because he had exceeded the breathalyser test, which meant going to the police station... the passengers in the car then became aggravated... thought- what we believe they thought was that he was going to be taken away and shot or injured, so they then set upon the police officers. All

got injured, some of the Africans got injured... it was quite violent quite quickly... (Commissioned Officer).

This case resulted in one charge of driving whilst over the legal limit and three charges of assaulting a police officer. The contact with police in a routine traffic operation had produced a volatile situation for all the individuals involved. For some individuals with a refugee background, there seems to be a lack of ability to have a graded response to a situation of confrontation. Police officers also gave examples of school bullying resulting in outcomes that were stronger than it would seem the incident deserved.

There were also examples of a lack of language understanding resulting in individuals being taken back to the station for ignoring a police officer's direction. Especially when alcohol has been involved, individuals have misunderstood the request to move on or they have been offered a ride home to try and diffuse the situation only to have the situation result in an arrest. This outcome seems to be more likely when less experienced police officers were involved, especially if they had had no prior contact with individuals from the refugee communities. Some officers, however, were able to contextualise some unexpected behaviours of refugees and expressed concerns about how this lack of police understanding, although unintentional, may create more issues for both police and the refugee individuals involved.

You can see why it happens- recently arrived with thoughts still of their home...talking firsthand about family members being brutalised by people in authority, be it police or army and sometimes murdered. I am not sure that a lot of our police officers really understand ...in fact I am sure they don't ... I do not know what we can do about it... maybe training at the academy... to have an understanding of when they react, why they may be reacting in that way (Commissioned Officer).

The data demonstrated that clarity about the rule of law in Australia, especially related to specific issues such as family violence, needs to be emphasised and not inadvertently diluted. In terms of police contact with in refugee communities and cultural considerations, the benefits lie in the practical acknowledgement that causal factors accelerating a reactionary policing situation may need to be considered. In this way, refugee communities need policing that is informed and sensitive to the potential complexities of a situation involving a refugee. Some officers demonstrated an in-depth understanding of issues that led to police involvement:

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Situations when men are starting to drink... they are here and that is wonderful but there is a boredom... their role as provider has changed... they do not feel they fit in anywhere... the alcohol fuels family argument which is actually more about the women being empowered in Australia... especially because our family violence campaigns are strongly focused on women knowing rights not men's support in the change (Constable).

Theme 2: Language Barriers

The second theme in the data from police interviews related to language barriers. The issue of assessing a situation, particularly with a 'call out' incident, is more complex where English proficiency is low. More experienced officers spoke of the use of body language, voice tone and other indicators as supports when assessing at least the severity of the situation. The details of a situation are immediately crucial in a policing context. The need to use an interpreter—even when complainants, witnesses, or perpetrators are understood by police officers—presents numerous practical difficulties. These concerns include establishing the language spoken, access to on-site or telephone interpreters in the appropriate language, the timely nature of that access, confidentiality in small communities and prohibitive costs. The cultural aspects of communication were also considered relevant and could influence an interaction as explained by this officer:

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The family I went and saw who's got the 13 year old who was assaulted, I got thoroughly briefed by the interpreter, before I got there I wasn't to look at the woman in the face... I wasn't to do this; I wasn't to do that. And I find... you know, I'm accepting of that. I find that difficult though if they want to integrate into this community. You know, we don't throw culture away but they may have to have some level of acceptance of change. But that's very awkward if you can't talk or communicate to them (Commissioned Officer).

It's frustrating actually. If we had an Italian community, you'd get an Italian interpreter. We've got an African community with a hundred different dialects of Arabic between them... Very frustrating. Because we'll talk to the person we used last week. But they will say I can't talk to that family because of something... And that takes a bit of getting your head around (Commissioned Officer).

Theme 3: Access to Resources

The third theme in the police interview data concerned resources. Difficulty in accessing interpreters, the time required to access interpreters and training were all identified as key issues in relation to resourcing. These issues were expressed as frustrations, though more in terms of the need to acknowledge the issues within the police service than a simplistic demand for the issues to be 'solved'. All these issues are potentially exacerbated in a regional setting. Concerns focused on the police skills required in assessing an individual, as either victim or perpetrator, for their need for an interpreter and the process of engaging interpreters, including cost considerations.

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There are decisions about how and when to use interpreters that some police had found challenging. Police officers stated that there needed to be an acknowledgment by policing organisations that contact with refugees was labour intensive and time consuming both in the community, reassurance policing role, and in traditional policing procedures. To be most successful it also required police personnel with certain social skills. Such resource issues were evident in the following quotes:

With a call out for family violence... each incident takes 4-7 hours... it's long and exhausting and the refugee context even harder (Commissioned Officer).

The act of simply going back to tell the family that we had caught the guy, he would be going to court and he was not allowed to go near them again. It costs us \$250 (Sergeant).

Interviewee: Yeah. Finding someone that's distant to the family. Like, if you want somebody to interpret because you want to know what happened, that's one thing. Using the interpreter for matters that are going to go before due process of law is another problem again.

Facilitator: So you have to be very conscious about those decisions in the early days of communication...

Interviewee: Which is where our telephone interpreter services occasionally are a bit... average. (Commissioned Officer)

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(Sighs) ...the problem I ran into last year, that young fellow that was assaulted, I think cost us \$400 in interpreter's fees added to the budget. We don't have a budget for interpreters. We're not costed for it. As an agency we may have to (Commissioned Officer).

There was also the question of some individuals using language as an excuse to not cooperate fully; for example, where language ability appears to decrease when someone finds out they are in trouble. This is an interesting theme but the mixed reactions of officers, and their assessment of it as a legitimate language issue was interesting. The police officers' understanding of this process became much more

varied in these situations than the simple assessment of a law being broken. The acknowledgement of styles of language—and the storytelling approach to answering questions where lots of context may be given, and then the interpreter only repeating the crucial information—could have increased the uneasiness that some police experienced in their encounters with the refugee communities. An important aspect of this situation is officers being aware of what interpretation should sound like and, therefore, then having the capacity to question the process to assess what may be influencing the situation, the communication and the quality of the interpretation.

Police officers expressed concerns about identifying the ‘right’ interpreter:

Interviewee: The questions are probably straightforward. It’s getting someone that can talk to them. They’re from sort of... yeah, four furlongs the other side of the black stump and turn left.

Facilitator: They can’t get the detail right?

Interviewee: Yes. But that comes down to... where it gets very confusing is: Has this person got an absolutely left field dialect or are they mucking us around? (Commissioned Officer).

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There were reflections on why these situations may occur as well as the frustrations:

Yeah. Protect themselves, I suppose. Okay. So overarching feelings about these experiences, personally and how officers find... I mean these interactions are more labour intensive. They are more fraught with difficulties. There are more decisions to be made about how to progress

with it in terms of getting an interpreter in at these times, and all the rest of it (Commissioned Officer).

There was reference to the positive outcomes directly related to the approach of individual police officers, with an admission from some that the policy and procedure would not guarantee a positive outcome in isolation. It became a question of the individual's approach to following those policing directives. The community policing approach was also seen as important.

They are all very keen (in community policing). They want to be there and I think that's very important (Commissioned Officer).

The issues for regional police services may be quite specific. Two significant areas are the influence of public opinion and the lack of personal experiences of diversity among police personnel. Issues associated with 'othering' (Riggins 1997) may be different in a regional context as can be seen in other examples of rural racism (Chakraborti & Garland 2004). In addition, it was expressed that the unpredictable nature of refugee settlement in terms of preparation and reaction to establishing contacts in those newly arrived communities presented problems for police in regional areas:

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Assaults ...against whole families... Verbal and slogans, swastikas on their property and slogans like ' go home you black c...' on their doorsteps, fences and the pavements... Pretty good idea about who it is

but families say please do not do any more because they are fearful of retribution (Commissioned Officer).

There was some shoplifting by girls (of refugee community) from Catholic schools in some areas... the shop owners are good at recognising uniforms and contacting the school, who then might contact me in an advisory role if it is a minor matter... the shop owners are happy to not proceed as long as it is addressed (Constable).

Some comments were made about frustrations concerning clear leadership in the refugee community. The benefit to police of leadership in the refugee community is the ease of dissemination of information or assistance in solving a complex matter with an individual from that community, especially where it has not yet become criminal in nature. There was comment of 'in fighting' for influence or a lack of solidarity about issues or clear 'elders' which meant police contact with the communities was not able to be maintained in ways that had been successful in the past with some other culturally and linguistically diverse communities. It is difficult to establish if this occurs in all refugee communities from Africa or it is a regional issue due to small numbers and staggered settlement. This is an area that requires research in the future.

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Cultural differences in family violence and intergenerational conflict demonstrate the layers of understanding required when educating a new community about issues of law and order. The following examples highlight that this understanding takes time. It also indicates the potential for these cultural tensions to lead to more serious concerns:

One gentleman had been most upset about the Australian laws on family violence, I'm not sure that he had been violent, but the concept of males and females being equal here was a problem. In fact, three times he left the meeting and stomped up and down the footpaths, waving his arms around on his own. I said to him the other day when I saw him that he was much quieter. "Yes I am sorry about that." So he has gone away and reflected on what was said, so we do get the message across but it takes time (Commissioned Officer).

I was amazed that the women expected and thought that it was their husband's right to hit them if they did not have dinner at the table. The women got really upset when I said that in Australia you can't hit each other... but it's my husband's right, he is my husband (Commissioned Officer).

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A chap put his hand up meekly and said "Excuse me, Do I have to talk to my wife?" I said, "I am sorry, what do you mean by that?" He said, "If I talk to her sometimes she yells and screams and throws things at me. So I would prefer not to talk but I do not want to get in trouble (Commissioned Officer).

Police acknowledged that they observed tensions associated with changes in what is culturally appropriate in Australia and how it was influencing reactions to issues such as family violence. Some police empathised with the discomfort of change, particularly in relation to gender roles and family structure:

As much as there existed some understanding, all were sure that we're all bound by the same law and policies (Commissioned Officer).

Police also understood that generalisations were dangerous although there also seemed a potential for mythology about the refugee community, especially concerning emotive issues such as family violence and intergenerational conflict. The tensions resulting from these influences are demonstrated in the following comments:

Family violence is a big issue right across the community and we'd probably attend 50- 60 domestics a week, family violence incidents, a week. But the ones with the African community probably stand out because they're so different (Commissioned Officer).

I'm not talking about carrying out a beating. It's just stand over tactics, authoritative occasional push around. Just stuff that is no longer appropriate in our community, but in theirs it is. But that's not in all African communities, because someone from two countries away, that talks another dialect is the same as us, or only slightly different. You know, it's very difficult... (Commissioned Officer).

You wander into a house and it's "What have we got here?" Every household's different (Commissioned Officer).

There are a lot of cultural barriers too. Some of the cultures of various African communities are so left-field to our culture it's amazing. Like their family violence attitude. In Tasmania, one does not assault one's partner. They don't care. And we take task with a Sudanese man who

has assaulted his partner and it's like, "What right have you got to do this? I thump her once a week to keep her in line." (Commissioned Officer).

Parents' ways of disciplining the children... mothers disciplining the daughters quite violent... even burning... these situations are noticed at school... when the girl comes to school with a superficial injury... with children saying, "I do not have to... do what you want to"...the change in family's ways of doing things... with many men lost in war... lots of mothers and aunties bringing up the kids and sons having to take over their father's roles... so as much as we can tell them what our rules are... in the heat of the moment they go back to how they have sorted things out before –physically ...so now that we have some alcohol coming into play that's a problem not with a lot but a few individual families trying to keep the families together... keep the peace restraint order in the house rather than split the families up (Constable).

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Theme 4: Initiating a Positive Agenda

The most significant comments relating to the barriers to effective policing concerned knowledge and perceptions. Knowledge and perception creation is the most fundamental place for change and the most fundamental forum for relationship building according to most police interviewed. In terms of police contact though, some of the issues were about how to instil a strong philosophy around understanding the refugee experience to assist in building good strategies for individual police to utilise. Time is a key component of the relationship. Building the relationship requires a strong focus on reducing the general lack of trust that characterises refugee communities due

to their experiences. When the opportunities for building a relationship were created, results occurred.

Talking to the (African) men's group about family violence, we started with 10-12 and then within 20 minutes there was 35 men ...they came in from everywhere... with a good cross section of men from different countries... it was standing room only (Commissioned Officer).

According to some police officers, a trend was emerging that with an increase in numbers of refugees from Africa there appeared to be a decrease in some types of incidents. Police officers referred to the benefit of critical mass in the refugee communities concerning both the acquisition of knowledge and perceptions of police and law and order issues.

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Oh, they're probably able to form liaisons with people from within their own culture and community and use other people as a sounding board... And once the first sheep goes over the bridge, they'll all follow. It's human nature... (Commissioned Officer).

This critical mass concerning knowledge was described as a benefit of having a safe 'sounding board'. It was clear that police felt they were not dealing with high rates of criminality; rather, a high potential for misunderstanding and for exaggerated behaviours often not directly associated with the incident.

‘Safe at Home’ (family violence) legislation is a lot of work to educate the community, probably 2-3 years to get the message out properly (Commissioned Officer).

No. If we wheel a hundred car burglars through our station and there was one person with a coloured skin, he’d stand out... That’s the only reason. (Commissioned Officer).

The attitude of officers was highlighted as an important influence. Attitudes were often presented implicitly rather than explicitly though.

I know there’s a perception with the general uniform. If they get a family violence matter involving their family, it’s dreaded (Commissioned Officer).

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A lot of their problems are probably more emphasised because of their background and where they’ve come from and the obstacles they’ve got to having a normal lifestyle here... But, in the main, they’re pretty much normal, balanced families. They must be or the Government wouldn’t let them in the country. There are some very, very nice people with some very, very high qualifications that we can’t talk to them easily (Commissioned Officer).

Theme 5: Training

Most police officers agreed that there was a need for more training, at all levels of policing, but also noted the tensions of time and professional development resource allocation and the already full schedule in the recruit’s courses.

I haven't had any (diversity training) for African people but I'm expected to manage some of the situations that we encounter. I have heard that there are pretty good multicultural lessons at Academy but I don't know if they have done anything to do with the African communities. It might be timely for, at a supervisor level, to put in some reasonably detailed training. Because, you're right, they want another influx... It's going to... Probably needs to be more resourced. If, say, in the next five years our division could possibly receive another 500 people as refugees and that's going to have a big impact on the front line policing... Because not so much that they're villains; they're victims (Commissioned Officer).

There were reflections on the fact that other agencies receive notifications and an idea of arrival numbers but not police, or, at least, that it appeared that this type of information was not passed on to the stations overseeing the area of resettlement.

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Theme 6: Reporting

Police had varying perceptions of crime reporting—both under- and over-reporting—by members of the African refugee communities. Some police, however, did acknowledge that sometimes reports came from schools, friends and neighbours. This process of reporting happened whether the individuals from the African communities were victims, witnesses or perpetrators. The under-reporting of assaults after the Liep murder, and the political comments and media that had followed, concerned officers greatly especially in some incidents when they had initial realised the reality for the refugee community at that time. These reactions led to the prompt arrangement of

forums and meetings in response to these research findings which highlighted the rising tensions in the African refugee community and the decreasing reporting and trust in police to give protection and support.

Theme 7: Racism

There was a notable difference between the experiences of racism in Launceston and the southern region. There was also a difference between the Hobart experiences and a lack of cases in the Glenorchy area. One officer suggested the difference was the absence of nightclubs as common locations for alleged racist assaults. This however does not account for the experiences of individuals and families in the residential settings in Launceston or the experiences of youth playing sport in public parks. The experiences of racism and assaults on the refugee communities were substantiated by the police officers in those regions. What appeared to be absent, however, were reflections on how the ongoing nature of low-level racism and assault could damage the sense of safety, trust and hope in the refugee community. It appeared to affect individuals profoundly, and was in some ways as damaging as the intensity of more serious assault, which was dealt with differently by police.

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No. And really it's... oh, it's really hard. You can't necessarily peg it all on racism either, although I think it's starting to grow here (Constable). Anyway, a white boy from Elizabeth College started really hassling the family and, you know, throwing rocks on the roof and it got to the stage where the family were cowering under their kitchen table because they

were too scared to go and confront this boy. And they didn't ring the police because they didn't know how to ring triple 0. And they didn't know the police would actually be supportive and help them. And what ended up happening was the boy from Elizabeth College ended up being charged over it. And then to try and break down the barriers we had this soccer match to try and show the people that police – because they were scared of the police – to show that there was nothing really to be scared of. And one of the boys, the African boys had been insulted by this boy from Elizabeth College as well, and that was particularly nasty. But we've since found out that the African family have actually moved away from the community because of it. That one was definitely racist (Commissioned Officer).

Theme 8: Successful Strategies

Three successful strategies for enhancing positive refugee relations emerged through the interviews with police officers. These were observations of case trends, situational assessments, and a focus on generic solution in response to specific incidents. Small regional stations can track cases involving refugee communities to build an understanding of areas of tension and concern for police. Complex situational assessment can often support the accumulation of critical knowledge. Some regional areas were utilising their size to their advantage to maximise understanding of their new community members.

The CIB allocate all the files (concerning refugees) to one person, a detective so he has got an overall picture instead of them being

everywhere... otherwise it can slip through and someone thinks it's an isolated incident when it's not (Commissioned Officer).

In the last six months anything that even remotely involving racism, I get a copy of the report (Commissioned Officer).

Situational assessment where it may be borderline or an early intervention strategy may be mediation ...decide on the best way in doing things... (Constable).

Some police referred to initiatives such as an organised a soccer match to initiate positive contact and relationship building with the African refugee community.

We did a lot of work with the schools and we had a barbeque after the soccer match to interact with the community. And it got to the stage that by the time we had the second football match, some of the young boys refused to play on their own African team. They only wanted to play on the police team. So you can see a real change in attitude there, where that relationship's sort of been good. And the level of fear of contacting police as the victim, I think, has decreased too.

Facilitator: And you think maybe the youth are sometimes the way in to get contact to the whole family?

Interviewee: Oh, definitely. Because, you know, the families are all really proud of seeing their kids playing sport. And, like, the first match in particular, the mums and dads came out and they were there and participated and we got chocolates donated from Cadbury and shin pads donated from Sports Co., and we fitted them all out with those. The second match it was asked if the Council could buy the shirts for them.

And so all of those things sort of helped to break down... they see that we're not bad people (Commissioned Officer).

It is clear that knowledge and perceptions about police- refugee relations are problematic due to the fact that it remains difficult to measure outcomes and therefore to justify the existence of community policing. This obviously presents challenges for policing and the expectations related to key performance indicators.

Voice of Police: A Summary

Overall, the concern and openness of police personnel was encouraging to the future endeavours concerning police-refugee relations. However, the level of barriers and frustrations felt by personnel was noteworthy. There were a few police officers who gave the impression that time would take care of everything, which contrasted with a few at the opposite end, concerned about the level of access and the volatility of some of the situations. Most agreed that more training, information gathering, sharing of trends and more training at all ranks in all regions was important. This section increases the understanding of the perspective of police in the formation of positive relations between police and newly arrived communities. The key themes that are emerging are trust and relationship building. The following two sections expand on these insights by reflecting on the participant observation interactions between police and members of the refugee community or within the criminal justice system more generally.

SECTION 2: ESTABLISHING AND MAINTAINING TRUST AND POSITIVE RELATIONSHIPS: THE FIRST STEPS...

In the findings from the interviews and focus groups, the themes of transition, trust, relationship building and communication have been identified as important aspects in the police-refugee relationship. Key points from findings so far were also reiterated in the participant observation conducted during the research. The participant observations offered valuable insights into the voices and perspectives of police-refugee relations in interaction. This chapter will present some of the data from participant observation. These observations by the researcher were conducted over the duration of the research. How these opportunities came to fruition is described in the research methods chapter including a description and the frequency in which they occurred.

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During the course of the research, I undertook participant observation in the Tasmania Police Academy, in the local courts and at numerous presentations. Each observation allowed an insight into the issues both directly and indirectly influencing refugee police relations. The observational opportunities are presented (in the table 21a, 21b and 21c) in the methodology chapter (Chapter 4). These insights both raised new research issues concerning this relationship and/or confirmed issues previously identified in the data. The power of some of this participant observation lay in observing the same experiences from multiple perspectives.

The themes that emerge from the participant observations more generally are explored in more detail in section 3 of this chapter. The observation themes offer valuable insight into the broader context of police-refugee relations, including such influences as community acceptance, policing practices, police training, the courts and the criminal justice system more generally. More specifically the participant observations offered the opportunity to examine interaction between police and members of the refugee community.

Topics raised remained consistent with the interviews and focus groups. Driving and licensing, family violence, issues relating to youth, substance use and misuse and mental illness all presented themselves in most interactions. The overarching theme of the observations was related to communication: the lack of it, the hesitancy surrounding it, the tangible barriers such as language difference and the use of interpreters. There was an overwhelming sense that in many situations individuals, reluctant to 'say the wrong thing', stayed with communication and relationship approaches they knew even if they could see that these approaches were not working very successfully.

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The most prominent participant observation events were forums held in Launceston between police and the refugee communities to promote more positive interaction at that time in 2008. Due to the richness of observations that came from these sessions it has been included in this chapter as a case study in reasonable detail. It offers strong

insights into not only the issues but also the way interaction occurs between refugees and police, and the observations of how these interactions occurred during the forums. In particular, both the process of initiating this forum and the reflections from these sessions offer valuable insight into police-refugee relations. Insights into what can positively influence these police-refugee interactions emerge during the analysis of these forums.

The ‘Conversation with Police’ Forum

One of the most intriguing aspects of this research emerged from the need to be flexible to the changing environment in which the research was occurring. It became important to facilitate some relationship building more actively than simply collecting data on the subject of police-refugee relations. So as a follow up from interviews and focus groups held as part of the research in Launceston it was felt important that the African communities were given a chance to speak to Tasmania Police in the region directly about some of their concerns.

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Tasmania Police and representatives of the Department of Immigration and Citizenship were invited to the forum to listen to the members of the African refugee communities in Launceston in an effort to strengthen and better target the support for newly arrived communities particularly in regional Australia. The forum involved two sessions run on the same day, one with ‘adults’ in the African communities in

Launceston, and one with the 'youth' from those communities. Both the sessions ran for approximately 2 hours (See invitation in Appendices 19 and 20).

Twenty people representing communities that had participated in the data collection in Launceston attended the adult session. Communities represented included Sudan, Sierra Leone and Liberia. Representatives from the Ethiopian and Eritrean communities were invited and were apparently attending up until the day before. Unfortunately, however, they did not have representatives at either session due to work commitments.

The number of individuals in the room was appropriate to both represent a mix of experiences as well as being able to confirm some trends across the refugee communities in Launceston more generally. There was a balance of ethnicity and gender represented. Approximately seventeen young people attended the youth forum. The young people reiterated some of the comments made by the adult group but also had some distinct experiences or at least similar experiences that occurred differently in terms of location and who may be involved.

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It had become clear during interviews and focus groups in Launceston that it had been a difficult time for these refugee communities. There seemed to have been a notable rise in experiences of confrontations in public, taking the form of abuse, racism and assaults. The concern was that many of these experiences were not being reported

formally to police and that police may therefore lack the information to understand the reality being experienced by some individuals, families and the African community as a whole.

The data collection a few months earlier had uncovered some important issues for the African refugee communities that ideally needed to be dealt with in a more immediate time frame than the research completion date. In some cases, the level of frustration was running so high that some individuals indicated that if the “right” combination of circumstances occurred there could be trouble on the street. The rising sense of hopelessness and the idea by some in the community that they needed to ‘look after themselves on the street’, needed to be addressed. For this reason, listening was the most important element required to assist in creating a release valve on all the built up frustration and rising tension. The forum that followed focused on the opportunity to speak and feel heard.

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According to research participants, there had been about 15 months of assaults after Minister Andrew’s comments. In addition, the media had been negative about African immigration into Australia around that time (RCOA 2006b, 2006c, 2007a). The finding suggested that of the recent experiences including racism and physical assaults involving both members of the public and with police officers needed to be voiced. As well, it was important to allow expression of the feelings and frustrations that these experiences were producing in the refugee community.

It was decided through a series of conversations that a forum with police would create a great opportunity for the experiences of the community to be heard and create a supportive environment to deal with these difficult issues. The forum allowed information to be given to Tasmania Police and representatives of Department of Immigration and Citizenship directly to strengthen and target the support to newly arrived communities. Although police were not able to comment on individual cases, it was important that police and DIAC heard personal experiences rather than general comments to stimulate in depth understanding of the recent experiences.

As trust between police and the community is fundamentally important to the effectiveness of policing, it was hoped that this opportunity could support some new communication to help tackle the issues that the African community were facing. The following section discusses how this forum came about and then focuses on the researcher's observations of the themes that emerged from the both the sessions. In the forum, the group was referred to as African Australian as this was the desired self referral of the group. In this section of the thesis, I will use this term for consistency and respect. Within descriptions of these observations is an understanding the dynamics that can affect communication and police-refugee relations.

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How was the forum organised?

The process of organising the forum was crucial to attendance. It was also critical to achieving an active participation that could lead to understanding from the different

parties associated with police-refugee relations. Refugee community members were contacted through the research assistants that had been employed during the data collection. Most of the research assistants had acknowledged the need for such a session at the time when I asked for reflections on the data collection process and content after being present in the focus group sessions. They also fed into the decisions about how to run the forum for maximum impact.

It was important that the forum sessions created the maximum potential for people to speak or, if appropriate, speak for others who wished to be represented. It was decided that it would be most beneficial if each African community could nominate between two and six representatives to attend the forum. These people could include those interviewed in Launceston a few months earlier, or anybody the refugee community felt was best suited. These people needed to feel confident to represent the experiences of others in their community as well as their own. Individuals were asked to notify the research assistant of numbers, people's names and if any interpreters were required. This process stimulated discussion around the forum sessions and encouraged individuals and communities collectively to decide on an approach that allowed them to feel represented.

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The research assistants had contacted the different communities but it was important that those communities felt that they were sending the representatives that were most appropriate for them. The research assistants acted as the transferers of information

about the event but more importantly a person who could be trusted to discuss whether to attend, who should attend and how to present an issue successfully. This latter element of advising how to present an issue was an unexpected benefit of having the research assistants involved. Some of the individuals had realised that presenting themselves from an angry and frustrated position, although that might be the way they were feeling, meant that they might have not been able to convey their message very successfully. With this consideration, the Sudanese group met before the session to discuss not losing their message in anger (especially at any individual particularly police) or walking out of the session. Both of these issues had occurred in the data collection a few months prior.

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What was going to be talked about at the forum was discussed openly prior to the forum with potential attendees. The following is how the topic of the forum was described in the invitation:

1. What are the experiences of individuals and the community in recent times?
2. How have these experiences made the community act/ feel?
3. What support is needed from Tasmania Police in their jobs and what support can DIAC offer?

Setting the scene

From the outset of the forum sessions, it was important to carefully manage the expectations of the interaction. For this reason, sentiments expressed in the invitation were reiterated as the sessions commenced. These were namely that:

1. This was a conversation between police and refugees (not a presentation, lecture or workshop but a conversation between the two parties primarily).
2. It was important that the session creates the maximum potential for people to speak.
3. The forum had been agreed to by all parties over the concerns of recent experiences of African Australians in Launceston and the lack of reporting to police.
4. The desired outcomes were to alleviate some of the difficulties experienced by the refugee community by allowing a mechanism for police and DIAC to become more aware.
5. It was explained that police were not able to comment on individual cases but that everyone felt it was important to hear personal experiences rather than general comments to stimulate understanding .
6. Trust between police and the community is fundamentally important to the effectiveness of policing, and it was hoped that this opportunity could support some new communication to help tackle the issues that the African Australian community is facing.
7. This was not to be a day of false promises, so if we leave with no promises then it was hoped that this could be seen as a first step. There has been the promise to

listen. It was stressed that the police would not be able to follow up specific cases but they would be listening for the general problem to attempt to find a solution.

8. Everyone was also aware that notes were being made and observations recorded.

All of these shared understandings were important to the success of the forum sessions and in increasing a sense of connection with police in Launceston. If these shared understandings were not fully embraced the exercise could indeed have had the reverse effect. If embraced they became a process important to the creation and maintenance of trust in the future.

By the time the forum day had arrived, the process had managed to encourage commitment from many individuals interested in positive outcomes. Nevertheless, both the process and the interaction during the forum demonstrated the diversity of cultures in the room; the immigration culture, police culture and the diversity of cultures represented in the African Australian community of Launceston. The forum interaction demonstrated that understanding stems not just from an ability to understand the multicultural perspectives within the Australian community but to be able to interact with the cultures that surround organisations associated with policing and settlement.

General observations about the forum sessions

The following observations are drawn from field notes taken during the sessions. The comments and sentiments were expressed in the room over the next two hours. The comments and observations of the context in which they were expressed coupled with the reactions from the panel have been left without excessive analysis. It was felt that it was important that these observations were left as raw data and that the analysis was explored along with the other data in the discussion chapter (Chapter 7). Therefore, the account that follows demonstrates the range and intensity of issues that were raised with police in the forum. I have kept these as they were told to differentiate between speakers and demonstrate both the variety of experiences and the commonness of others.

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Some people had arrived one hour before we were meant to start citing that they were keen to participate; others arrived after we started because some were coming from work. Only two children attended as both the mother and father attended but this did not pose any problems.

The size and shape of the room was not ideal but had positive unexpected consequences of forcing a closeness in the communication. Seating layout was restricted which meant that the space between the panel and the first rows was limited and although initially whilst setting up this seemed confronting, it worked in our favour overall. The proximity of the seating meant that not all panel members were

able to sit facing the audience. So the most important, the two inspectors, the community policing representative and the state Director of DIAC, sat facing the audience with quite close proximity and those African Australian participants who chose to look directly at this panel as they told their story had the full impact felt in verbal delivery, body language and facial expression. The other representatives from DIAC and Multicultural Tasmania sat slightly to the side. The tea and coffee was at the door so people could use this as a way of taking a break and walk out if felt it was too confronting.

There was frustration/anger and many feelings about topics concerning police. Of special interest was to note that the experience of African Australians in Launceston had changed remarkably. People spoke of being harassed every day and some of these interactions had resulted in physical assaults. The African Australian community had spoken about losing faith in reporting to police. From the comments made, this change can be pinpointed to the time following the Liep murder in Melbourne when Minister Kevin Andrews made comments concerning Sudanese difficulties integrating in Australia. It seemed important to the African Australian community that police and immigration officials hear these both from the perspective of individuals and as a community, particularly what the experiences were and how they made people feel and act.

Adult session

As soon as the session started, many hands went up straight away. Women spoke first. They expressed concerns that youths in Launceston had been throwing stones at houses and cars, and shouting racist comments. As a result parents were not letting their children play in the front yards. More specifically, one woman's house was getting rocked often. She would crouch inside her house frightened whilst this occurred. She was scared. She wouldn't let the kids play outside any more. She had two children under 4 years old and who were now inside all day. She had reported to police but did not know what had happened. She does not report anymore. She knows who the individuals are who are doing this and that they are from the neighbourhood. In the same area, there have been cars damaged and the shop in town has had its window smashed. The young African Australian children have things thrown at them when they are on their bikes.

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One woman had also been hit in the back of the head with a bottle while on the street walking home. She explained that she was in Australia on her own with three young children. When the incident happened she described how she was frightened and crying with pain and the realisation that the bottle could have damaged her neck especially if the bottle had broken. Her children would have no-one. She explained how after she was hit she collapsed in a sitting position on the pavement trying to work out what to do. The men who did this came around the block in their car to taunt her and mock as she cried.

It was asserted that members of the community had reported some of these incidents to the police, particularly damage to property where there was tangible evidence, but nothing happens. Even though it had been made clear about police not being able to deal with specific cases in the forum, with the first case involving the women and her kids not being able to play outside due to fear, the police took her name and said they would follow it up.

The inspector responded explaining that this was unacceptable behaviour and the police recognised that you need to hear what happens to a complaint you make to police, and therefore police must communicate back to you. He described the 'officer next door programme' which means a police officer lives in your suburb that you can contact and get to know as a community member. From people's comments it was obvious that people were very concerned about retaliation after reporting and that a perceived lack of follow through from police meant that they felt like they had taken this risk without return or any guarantee of improvement of their situation.

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The man who had walked out during focus group data collection spoke. He said that African Australians want to feel safe in Australia after feeling unsafe for so long. He had organised a particular question. The question was written on a small piece of paper. The question was about how we can build up trust between police and our communities? He had remembered the question and said it but still did not trust himself to have it right, so picked up the paper and seemed surprised as he read it that

he had remembered it word for word correctly. This image was a strong depiction of the tenuous sense of confidence of being understood, not necessarily just from a point of language but also of experience. His body stance was leaning forward and not as many arms were crossed, there was a change in people's faces as they were heard and then received answers and later suggestions from police. Some looked at me but some most looked directly at police.

Some men said that we have to deal with these problems or there are going to be more problems. Many chimed in when one individual said that they were dealing with verbal assault every day. He expressed the sentiment that people in Australia must recognise that many refugees do not want to come to Australia. They are first forced to endure the trouble in their home country. They leave their home country with trauma and pain. They think when they arrive in Australia they will be accepted and live in safety. There was a concern that there was no safety for the African Australian community members in Launceston. They are living in fear. One person explained that 90% of the Launceston community are good, but the bad people know the law and how to pick on the African Australians without being caught. They hide in dark places and do things when police are not around. He said African Australians do not report to the police because nothing will happen and no action is taken.

It was claimed that after former Minister Kevin Andrews' comments it became worse for African Australians in Launceston. The racist behaviour towards them was no longer done in hiding and offenders believed if the Minister said it, anyone can.

It was also commented that if a case does go to the court, the victim does not get to say what happened, so they feel they are not being heard. If a case does go to the court and the offender does not appear, nothing happens. The African Australian community felt that because they are not originally from Australia their complaints are not taken seriously.

It was asked what strategies police are engaging to deal with abuse towards African Australian community members. How do police respond to emergency calls and how long does it take police to respond to an emergency call? The inspector from Launceston replied that the most recent report showed that it takes an average of sixteen minutes for police in Launceston to respond to an emergency call. However, this varies on the number and severity of calls at any one time.

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One man explained that police must realise African Australians come to Australia with a perception of police from home that is often negative. Therefore, the police in Australia must work to instil trust in the African Australians. Police must explain the processes related to policing.

Physical violence towards African Australians does happen in Launceston; however, it is the continuous comments that really get the African Australian community down. African Australians fear for their children. The African Australian community does believe the police in Launceston are there to protect them.

When an African Australian community member is attacked and the police come they do nothing, so why should the African Australians call the police instead of defending themselves? When the police do not take action, it spreads throughout the African Australian community. We want to protect ourselves better, but if we do, we will get in trouble.

African Australians said they felt many Launceston community members and the police think they are all criminals. If any African Australian community members turn to crime they are doing so as individuals, not as representatives of the whole African Australian community.

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Individuals said they were concerned about the lack of trust between African Australian community members and the police in Launceston. The African Australian community need to see the police taking action. In addition, the comment was made that when the police do not take action, rumours spread about racism within the police. Everyone talks about how African Australians behave, we know there are rules and laws in Australia and try to abide by them. The more fearful African Australians

get in Launceston, the more they will react negatively. African Australians need opportunities to join the police service and police need to find a way to talk to African Australian young people. The panel suggested that the community should elect leaders to meet with the police in Launceston on a regular basis.

Individuals said that they had appreciated the warm welcome they received when they arrived in Australia. Interestingly people said they felt secure when they first arrived in Launceston. They felt that the Launceston community needs to recognise that African Australians and their young people will make mistakes. African Australians are the minority in Launceston. The white 'majority' youth insult and pick on African Australians. When white girls hang around African Australian young boys, the white boys pick fights with the African Australian boys. There is no compromise for insulting someone's mother and African Australians will fight back to defend their mother. A gang of white youths in Launceston is attacking homes and cars of African Australians in Launceston. There is a young African Australian gang in Launceston that has threatened to take things into their own hands because police are not doing anything.

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It was suggested that when there is disagreement between white and black people police always grab the African Australians and let the white boys get away. The police are very violent towards African Australians. Police never ask what happens; just blame the African Australian young people. There is never an investigation. White

people accuse black people of making trouble when they have not done anything.

Some police are good, but some are racist.

Even after many reports to police, the police do nothing. African Australians need links to the police. How can the African Australian young people trust police? The African Australian community need to know if DIAC wants them to stay. Refugees in Launceston have skills and study in Launceston, but cannot get jobs. Refugees go back to university to do more studies, but cannot still get jobs.

One man commented that you have to deal with law and police and it is a part of life. There will always be a percentage of people who may do the wrong thing. Police should understand straight away that it takes time so as not to be too quick to judge people. People need time to understand how the law works. The Inspector talked to him about being able to take any police officer's number off his badge.

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Individuals talked about African courts and frustration with understanding the courts system in Australia. There was an idea that people wanted to 'eyeball' the perpetrator in many cases and had a universal need to have their case/story heard. In addition, the sentiment was conveyed that people noticed the lack of being heard in Australian courts and not often felt like being heard through any police processes even in good cases where they were asked and it not just assumed that they were in the wrong.

One man, who had moved from Brisbane, said that the African Australian community faced the same problems in Brisbane as Launceston. He tried driving taxis in Launceston for money, but stopped because no one would get in his car and he received too much racism. He explained he could not drive taxis in Tasmania even though had done so very successfully in Brisbane, although not without racial taunt but said he tried to make each situation into an educative discussion with the individual. In Launceston, people would not get into his car. It was suggested that he was a really good person to do training /PD session with police. His eyes lit up at the mention of this.

The sentiment was expressed that African Australian children hear different messages from their parents. African Australian children threaten to call the police if they are not happy with their parents. The police come and believe the children. Children and young people's access to law information is sometimes used as a threat in parenting situations. Children will always be believed and the ramifications were that police come and break up marriages. Police need to listen to parents and husbands too with family issues.

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A participant's sentiment was encapsulated in the comment that there will always be some racism, but can't black and white people live together. It was expressed that it was great to talk to people in the higher ranks of Tasmania Police, but we need to talk to police on the ground and all police need to listen. The inspector from Launceston

responded by explaining that every Wednesday is a training day for police in Launceston, there is an opportunity for training to focus on cultural awareness training and information sharing. It was difficult to get time for everybody to speak.

Youth forum

Individuals in this session reiterated many of the concerns raised by the 'adult' group. They however, brought up the following additional concerns specifically felt by youth.

Individuals in this group said they were dealing with verbal assaults every day. They thought that young African Australians are facing the most problems. They said that we are ill-treated all the time by people in Launceston and do not understand why. Young African Australians are scared walking down the street so they do so in groups. Some African Australian young boys practice soccer in a local park where people living around the park continuously abuse them.

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Racial abuse happens towards young African Australian girls too. When they get on the bus and sit down next to someone the person gets up and moves. We feel like we are not supposed to be here. It was explained that sometimes women in Launceston verbally abuse African Australian men because they think they cannot be hit in Australia. It is worse on weekends.

Racism at school is a real problem. There were examples of abuse at school. One girl asked what 'black cunt' meant. She really wanted to understand the words. She was quite surprised when both the Inspector said it was absolutely unacceptable language and that because it was racial was in breach of the Anti-Discrimination Act. She seemed a little comforted that what she was dealing with every day had been heard and that her experiences were seen as wrong.

There was a series of concerns from the youth about police directly. These included a sense that African Australian young people are pulled over in their car by police for no reason. There were concerns that female police officers were racist and that there were no problems with male police officers in the same way. There was however, a belief that police stereotyped African Australians. Individuals were concerned that where young African Australians make a complaint to police, the police may come, but do not tell the young person what is happening or if police have done anything. The youth said it was important to know much more information from police about the police processes. African Australian young people felt that police think they always cause the problems. Some African Australians do not understand English and the new laws – can police please be patient with them? In addition, though they stressed a desire for police to not assume all African Australians don't speak English and understand what is happening.

Researcher Reflections on the Forum

The follow are the reflections are from both the adult and youth sessions. I knew only about half the people in the room, which I took as a good sign that the message was spreading that there were opportunities for a voice on this sensitive topic. I felt that the lead up to the forum session was crucial to their success. The effort to tell their story by the adult group was quite moving. It was obvious that many felt anxious about communication and being heard.

Equally, I felt that it was important and necessary for police to hear these experiences first hand. This included what the experiences were and how they made people feel and act as individuals or as a community. Initially the sentiment in the room was apprehensive but it evolved into a mood of hope that police cared about the experiences of African Australians in Launceston enough to be listening and that there may be options to have communication that is more consistent.

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The second group comprising of young people from the African community exhibited the typical characteristics of a younger generation (especially of migrant background) being more expressive in a 'demand' style. They continually referred to: 'this is not right, we have our rights'. There were almost obsessive references to rights as if that message was heard there would be an instant understanding of what the problem is, in detail and what the solutions would be.

There was lots of bravado from the youth and although they were obviously very nervous they hid behind lots of big front, gesturing to keep the group amused and interacting with their story. Nervous giggling occurred, especially from the girls, which eventually led to the need to ask them to take the forum seriously after a while.

All the 'front' reminded me of the intimidation tactics that can be seen among groups of youth on the street so that they speak first, therefore hoping that they can set the agenda of the interaction or bluff their way out of a situation that they do not want to be in with police or other youth. It seemed like the young people did not initially realise this was not an appropriate way to act in a session like this, especially if they wanted to show any respect for the panel because they were police, high ranking officers or just older. After a couple of comments and eye contact moments from Multicultural youth worker, the second half of the session involved less bravado and more constructive dialogue.

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More boys than girls spoke. Some boys had prepared questions and had been chosen to speak by other refugee youth.

The comments from the young people indicated that they seemed much more inclined to read the conspiracy theory into a situation than did the adults. This was especially apparent with the examples of police treatment and the assumptions that police seemed to be making on arrival to an incident situation. One participant stated "We

will have to protect ourselves if 'we are backed into a corner' and we have no other means".

The young people seemed to think that what 'white' kids did around them was automatically assumed to have social approval. This was highlighted in the 'cops' or 'coppers' conversation and was a powerful example of simple misunderstandings. When one of the Inspectors asked whether an individual using the word 'copper' understood how offensive it was, the reply was 'But why do 'white' kids say 'cops'? The Inspector responded by saying that they should not. It is disrespectful. The panel gave a united answer that those youth using the term 'cop' were being disrespectful when they said it. "OH! Really!" was the response of surprise from the youth in the room. Young people were genuinely surprised. The relief in the room was visible that they knew this now. It was interesting that even some of the youth workers did not seem to realise how strongly the police felt about this. There felt like there was a real attitude change. This shared piece of knowledge with police directly felt like a link between them. This highlighted the tendency of this group to mimic the 'white' teenagers around them. What was interesting in this forum was that the young people did not actually overstep the mark with people that they respect.

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It was obvious that this group of young people were exhausted by dealing with all these situations every day.

Outcomes from the Forum

Apart from relief in the room and a sense of some hope creeping back into people's view of the future and their work, there were also tangible outcomes. At the end of the sessions, the commitment was made to follow up with:

1. Meetings with police in Launceston on a monthly basis.
2. For community members to periodically attend and present at training for police professional development which occurred every Wednesday in five week rotations.
3. There was a commitment for community and police to feed evidence into a case for anti-vilification powers. It was collectively decided that this was an important outcome of the forum due to fact that currently police can only take the name and address of an individual who is making racist remarks or racial graffiti attacks.

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General reflective comments made by panel members

I followed up with the panel members in the week after the forum to ascertain their reactions. Although the feedback had been clear immediately after the forum that the sessions had been very beneficial, I was interested in their thoughts after digesting all the information presented. The strongest comments referred to the realisation that 'we have lost them' if they lose respect for the law and if the law does not protect them they will lose respect.

There was also interest in the discussions about African courts and frustration with understanding the courts system in Australia. In particular, there was a desire among the African Australians in the forum to 'eyeball' the perpetrator. In many cases this was not possible but there was an acknowledgement of a universal need to have case/story heard. It was noted that there may be a lack of being heard in Australian courts, coupled with not often feeling like being heard by police in the process even in good cases where they were asked and not just assumed that they were in the wrong. This need could be addressed. Not being heard in court in Australia was in contrast to African courts where all parties speak so whatever decision is made everyone has to be able to have input and were more likely to accept any decision when you feel part of the process. Although the criminal justice system does not operate in this way in Australia, the need to be heard was noted by police.

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There was also a sense that Tasmania Police wanted to increase their consciousness of the experiences of members of the community not just as the enforcers of the law in the community. Some in the police force were suspicious of everyone and this needed to be addressed particularly concerning follow up especially if dealing with repeat incidents. It was acknowledged that any experience involving a person arriving in Australia in the last five years should receive more explicit and personalised feedback as each contact is a new education opportunity for the individual, family, and in many cases, education for the community at large. If that experience is negative, confusing or has unclear outcomes then this is the message that will affect people's decisions

about how the world is and what options they have available to them. For example, the sentiment that there was no point in reporting and that reporting may just lead to more retribution.

Another observation was that most attacks on individuals in the African Australian community were by young men (and females) and perpetrators were not from across all generations. Location also had a strong influence on prevalence of attacks or harassment. For example, men felt unsafe on the street but women felt unsafe in their homes. Police commented that little could be done in many cases due to restrictions in the laws to recognise racial attacks and that ironically if that kind of abuse occurred on the football field at AFL level it would potentially carry \$20000 fine.

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The panel reflected that the forum had offered invaluable knowledge and lessons for Tasmania Police, DIAC about both IHSS and the pre embarkation program content including its delivery to ensure effectiveness.

Conclusion on forum

The success of the forum was that all parties heard various experiences and perspectives simultaneously. These personal stories were very powerful in the first person and the reactions of police and immigration official clarified positions, limitations and the law immediately in reference to the experience. The most impact for the refugee participants seemed to come from having the emotion and fears related

to their experiences voiced, legitimised and in some instances confirmed with information about what to do if it occurred again. To know that much of the distressing behaviour endured by the refugee community was not in any way condoned by police or the wider mainstream community, seemed to have a positive effect on refugee individuals.

SECTION 3: VOICES AND PERSPECTIVES IN INTERACTION

There emerged some overarching themes from all the participant observations. The themes throughout the research (specifically transition, relationship and communication) have also been an aspect of most data collection findings in the process of participant observations. The themes particularly relevant to the participant observations were communication, gender and age/youth related issues. The participant observations offered valuable insights into the voices and perspectives of police-refugee relations in interaction and the sub themes that have emerged are explored in the next section. These are presented under four themes of communication; learning and knowledge; experiences during interaction; and experiences of racism. In reality, there is considerable crossover in these areas. The researcher's reflections conclude this section of the chapter.

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Theme1: Communication

General Communication

Communication was a key area for all parties. There were requests for more communication and follow up by police. In this way, every interaction can become an educational opportunity for anyone arriving in Australia in the last 5 years. The education will be of that individual, their family and their wider community because all experiences become the community's understanding of 'what happens' and what they can do. These understandings are therefore essential to whether they will feel safe and/or supported by police in Australia.

Body language

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Body language was an issue across many of the observations and was raised by the refugees related to assumptions made by police. Equally though, there were concerns by police about the need to assess a situation with expediency. It seemed that the process would often involve some assumptions. Police expressed concerns about how to create a positive tool in policing to assess a situation with expediency but mitigate the risk of either simplifying the assessment of the situation or overtly discriminating against individuals. The most poignant example of this was during court observations, particularly of one case involving an older man from the refugee community facing serious charges. His inability to make eye contact is noteworthy and there were concerns raised about whether, in the Australian criminal justice system, this lack of

eye contact was being read consciously or unconsciously as a reference to his guilt.

Equally, the police recruits were keen to understand more about this area to increase their abilities in cross-cultural communication.

Specific police terms

Participant observations highlighted the issue concerning the understanding and misinterpretation of policing terms. The most poignant example is the phrase 'to execute a warrant' whereby the interpretation of the term 'execute' may be taken in its reference to the executing of an individual. This interpretation is more logical if understood in the context of an individual with past experiences of the refugee journey and the survival of state sanctioned violence. Police were astonished that a phrase so innocent in a policing context in Australia could trigger such high levels of distress in a newly arrived refugee.

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Theme 2: Learning and Knowledge

Practical application learning

All the observations contribute to an appreciation that learning through practical application and involvement seems to have the dual benefit of engagement and maximum learning outcomes. The Emergency Management Australia Fire Safety program with the Ethiopian community demonstrated this in a profound manner. Individuals involved in the day were gaining the appropriate knowledge through multi-media. Firstly the presentation form, a practical demonstration form and in

many cases concluding with a practical exercise in which participants could be involved and practice how one might act safely and effectively when facing a fire. The practical application learning processes during this project also encompassed all ages (including children) and was pitched at each audience for maximum effect. The level of knowledge acquisition during this project was high and the sense was that individuals were more likely to call emergency services for assistance.

Process of understanding law

There seems to exist an expectation that the members of the refugee community should know the law. There was often no process to check what individuals had been told. If they had given information then there was an expectation that they would then be able to apply this knowledge to the current situation they were in. The expectation that police would explain anything at length did not really seem present with either police or the refugee community. Younger people had more access to information about the law from more places, various modes of presentation and easier access due to their higher levels of English.

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Police hesitancy in learning strategies

During many of these observations, it became clear that there was hesitancy among police to learn how to support groups such as the refugee community. The core aspect of this hesitancy was concerns about the “politically correct” nature of asking questions. Although this was more pronounced with the recruits at the Police

Academy, it was not exclusively restricted to new officers. The change in the last 20 years concerning the demographic make-up of the population meant that this discomfort was not limited to rank. The differences seemed to be in the diversity of experiences of the particular officer and/or their supervisors. The sessions that openly discussed concerns about political correctness were met with enthusiasm. Interestingly when these concerns were temporarily suspended, the open discussion and exploration of both strategies and the difficulties of implementing them could be discussed. The clarity of a process such as this seemed to be welcomed and made the transfer from theory to practice less daunting.

Theme 3: Experiences of Interaction

Difference in Gender and Public/Private

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The experiences of men and women in the refugee community are distinctly different. Specifically, men felt most unsafe on the street, but women felt unsafe in their homes particularly for their children. The efforts that individuals may take to protect themselves and their families depended on where they felt most unsafe. These reactions created a spectrum of coping mechanisms including extremes of isolation and the sentiment that individuals needed to protect themselves on the streets because the police were not a 'real' option for support.

Female police officers' actions especially towards young people

There were concerns raised about the actions of female police officers who were verbally aggressive from the outset of contact rather than taking the time to explore what may be going on. These assertions were particularly a strong concern for the youth in the refugee community. There were many examples but it was difficult to assess whether the differences in behaviour were perceived or actual. Regardless, there was a growing resistance to cooperating with female police officers in certain areas.

One female community-policing officer presented the plausible rationale that female police officers, realising that they probably will not have the physical presence in a situation, especially if it is heated already, may exaggerate their verbal presence. That is they get in early as they expect people to be rude and difficult. As a strategy this seems to also have the undesirable consequence of fuelling the situation. These experiences led to feelings that individuals had not been heard, limited access to justice, limited follow-through and to the question of discrimination.

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Assumptions about who is guilty

There were strong and compelling examples of how, at least initially, assumptions were made about who was guilty before any questions had been asked about the situation. A number of participants relayed incidents where the 'other white youths' were told to make themselves scarce, before any statements were taken. These individuals felt that this represented an assumption that the other 'non African' party

were guiltless or victims, before an assessment was undertaken. The individuals did not have an issue with the police making a judgement on what should occur; just that this should be informed by information from the present situation and that, everyone had an opportunity to contribute. This finding related to the need for justice as explored in earlier sections. There were also examples where these assumptions by police were not realised and assessments of a situation were used as a pathway to address the issue in a speedy manner. These examples were more common among young people but were not exclusive to them and involved situations that included driving, street presence, and nightclub attendance concerning the idea of 'gangs' in the street. One example resulted in a guilty party leaving the situation at the officer's request, only to later realise his unlawful involvement but then have no recourse to make contact with him to pursue the matter. It seemed that the assumptions were leading to procedural mistakes and oversights. Most importantly, it was leading to a loss of trust and respect of police by the refugee communities.

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Generational difference

Young people were much more inclined to read the 'conspiracy theory' into a situation. In many ways, it did not matter whether this was perceived or real. The result was that of isolation and distrust of the police. Comments were made that individuals would have to protect themselves if 'we are backed into a corner' and have no other means. The conspiracy theory was stronger in youth and may be understandable because they were dealing with high levels of harassment every day and possibly that the refugee

background lends itself to conspiracy as a lens for understanding the way the world works. Essentially, it stems from the refugee's need to mistrust. Generational difference was highlighted by the tendency of youth to mimic the 'white' teenagers around them without an understanding of appropriate behaviour and how they are less likely to overstep the mark with people that they respect.

Theme 4: Experiences of Racism

Racism and harassment techniques

In reference to racism and harassment, it became clear that these are not unique problems and that perpetrators are not using unique methods of intimidation although the terminology may be specifically directed at this group. The responses though are particular to individuals and their situation especially related to a refugee background, being experienced in a second language and particularly for women who are isolated on a number of fronts. It was this contextual understanding that needed to be considered in the discussion about how to support refugees through racism and harassment.

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Reporting, Racism and the Media

These issues emerged as strongly in this aspect of the research as in the interviews and focus groups with police and members of the refugee community. All parties appreciated how racism and media can be related to reporting and positive police-refugee relations. What was less consistent was both an acknowledgement of the

significance of the influence and about how to deal with these influences and implement strategies to counteract the negative influence. In some cases, it was acknowledged that media and related strategies could be proactively used to support the creation and maintenance of positive police-refugee relations, as well as influence community acceptance.

Researcher's Reflections on Participant Observations

With a sensitive topic such as police and law concerning newly arrived refugees, results in a very deep immersion of both issues and the emotions surrounding this topic. The observations were useful in being able to acknowledge the broader context of the research setting. It also allowed me to observe strategies of individuals, both police and refugees that did and did not work to improve positive police and refugee relations. Observation of interaction during the participant observations, namely opportunities actively created, complemented the data from the interviews and focus groups to allow a deeper understanding of the elements that can make a difference.

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The observations that involved me as a participant and a researcher became an important mechanism to be able to offer support to increase knowledge in this area rather than just being in a one-way relationship of taking information in the form of a research process. It was also an important way to check the data produced in the more formal methods of interviews and focus groups. This included the triangulation of

refugee context, police context and the interaction context through observations which offered diversity, depth and confirmation of the research findings. The forums in Launceston also became an important exit strategy for me as a researcher. When you are immersed in such an important social issue, finding a way to step back is often difficult. The forum created an opportunity which satisfied duty of care in knowing the level of distress and offering a way to support positive police-refugee relations in a more realistic timeframe than PhD research allows.

CONCLUSION

This chapter has offered insight into the importance of the voice of police and their reflection on community policing among refugee communities. As the research is primarily concerned with relationship, observations of interaction created invaluable reflection on the influences on the police-refugee relations, both positive and negative. The chapter explored the different methods that are used in the research to create situations to increase meaningful interaction between police and refugees. The researcher was able to observe police in action, to observe police recruits in the training process and to observe the practical application of information as a learning mechanism. It primarily allowed me as a researcher to understand the context, offering a way to confirm the findings from the formal methods of data collection. The detail of the forum sessions, in both process and content, coupled with observations of the dynamics served to highlight important aspects of police-refugee relationship-building.

The contribution of this chapter is about confirmation of data but in the same way that the refugee data attempted to offer the human face, the appreciation of the dynamic nature of interaction indicates both the complex and subtle ways in which the relationships may be influenced positively. The combination of the three methods of data collection creates strong insight which strongly influences the credibility of the research in practice. Its strength is in involving all the actors that will need to be involved as agents in any positive change in police-refugee relations. The discussion chapter will offer analysis of the findings allowing insight into the influences on police-refugee relations and the practical implementations.

CHAPTER 7 – DISCUSSION OF COMMUNITY POLICING AND REFUGEE SETTLEMENT

Refugees have a life of transition forced upon them. The length of transition and the extent to which they may have had the capacity to influence events and decisions in their lives is severely limited. The result of such an experience is a yearning to have control over their lives and to have a voice in influencing their reality. When the refugee journey sees an individual resettled in a third country, which is often culturally different, this desire does not lessen, but the ability to satisfy this need is even more difficult. It is therefore not surprising that in an aspect of settlement such as police-refugee relations there are competing and contradictory perspectives. The merging of the needs of all parties is a complex task. It will require understanding, an element of openness to these differing perspectives and the formation of trust. This is unlikely to happen by chance but will require conscious strategies on the part of both police and refugee communities alike. Community policing is a mechanism that can assist in achieving positive outcomes for police-refugee relations.

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One of the aims of this research was to link the literature on refugee settlement and that on community policing. This chapter will make this link and demonstrate how an understanding of the *process* of refugee settlement (as discussed in chapter 2) can inform the *process* of community policing (as discussed in chapter 3). By understanding the two processes in conjunction with each other understandings of police-refugee relations emerge. Most importantly, when these understandings

concerning processes are linked with the voices of both refugees and police it creates useful insights into what positively influences the relationship. Using the lens of the refugee settlement process further signposts, particularly for police, who needs to do what and when action appears to be most effective. This presentation of the processes related to police-refugee relations demonstrates the value of community policing and indicates a need to create a framework to inform policies and procedures related to the enhancement of police-refugee relations.

Previous research on settlement has identified the refugee's background, cultural knowledge and interpersonal experiences as significant contributors to successful settlement. This research confirms the importance of these aspects but identifies issues relating to police and legal systems as crucial in successful settlement outcomes for refugees- as individuals and as communities. The fact that transition has been forced upon refugees as individuals has a great bearing on the approaches that may or may not influence these relationships positively.

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The discussion will show how an understanding of the perspectives of refugees and the perspectives of police on police-refugee relations can inform the identification of successful community policing strategies for newly arrived refugee communities in Australia. To achieve this the concept of social inclusion will be presented as an overarching objective both for refugee settlement and for community policing. The phases and adjustments in the process of refugee settlement provide a framework for

discussing the findings of this research in relation to community policing initiatives that aim to achieve the desired outcomes of successful refugee settlement and effective community policing.

The chapter will then explore trust as an overarching theme and present the themes of transition, timing and the individual/community dichotomy that offer understandings on how to positively influence police-refugee relations. The chapter will conclude with a discussion of procedural justice and its significance in relation to the research findings. The findings in Chapter 5 and 6 demonstrated that both restorative justice and procedural justice were actively sought after by refugees. The value of these mechanisms was also acknowledged by police and were strongly illustrated in the observations of interaction between refugees and police. Overall, I argue that police can act as active agents in the restoration of trust among refugees and therefore enhance the settlement experience of refugees significantly.

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SOCIAL INCLUSION AND POLICE-REFUGEE RELATIONS

Social inclusion is the ability for an individual to effectively participate in all aspects of society (social, economic and civic) and relies on access to information and services. In addition, social inclusion is enhanced where the community has the capacity to assist those who are at risk of being excluded. Therefore, *social exclusion* is experienced when an individual is alienated from social, economic, political and cultural systems contributing to the integration of a person into the community (Newman et al. 2007).

The settlement process for a refugee entrant hinges on access to, and positive support from, the host community and the infrastructure and services that support that country's population. If an individual remains 'outside' and unable to access these services, that are accessed by the long-term citizens of that country, they are at high risk of social exclusion. There are key services that are able to impact on social exclusion. It could be argued that police and the criminal justice system more generally, are one of these key services.

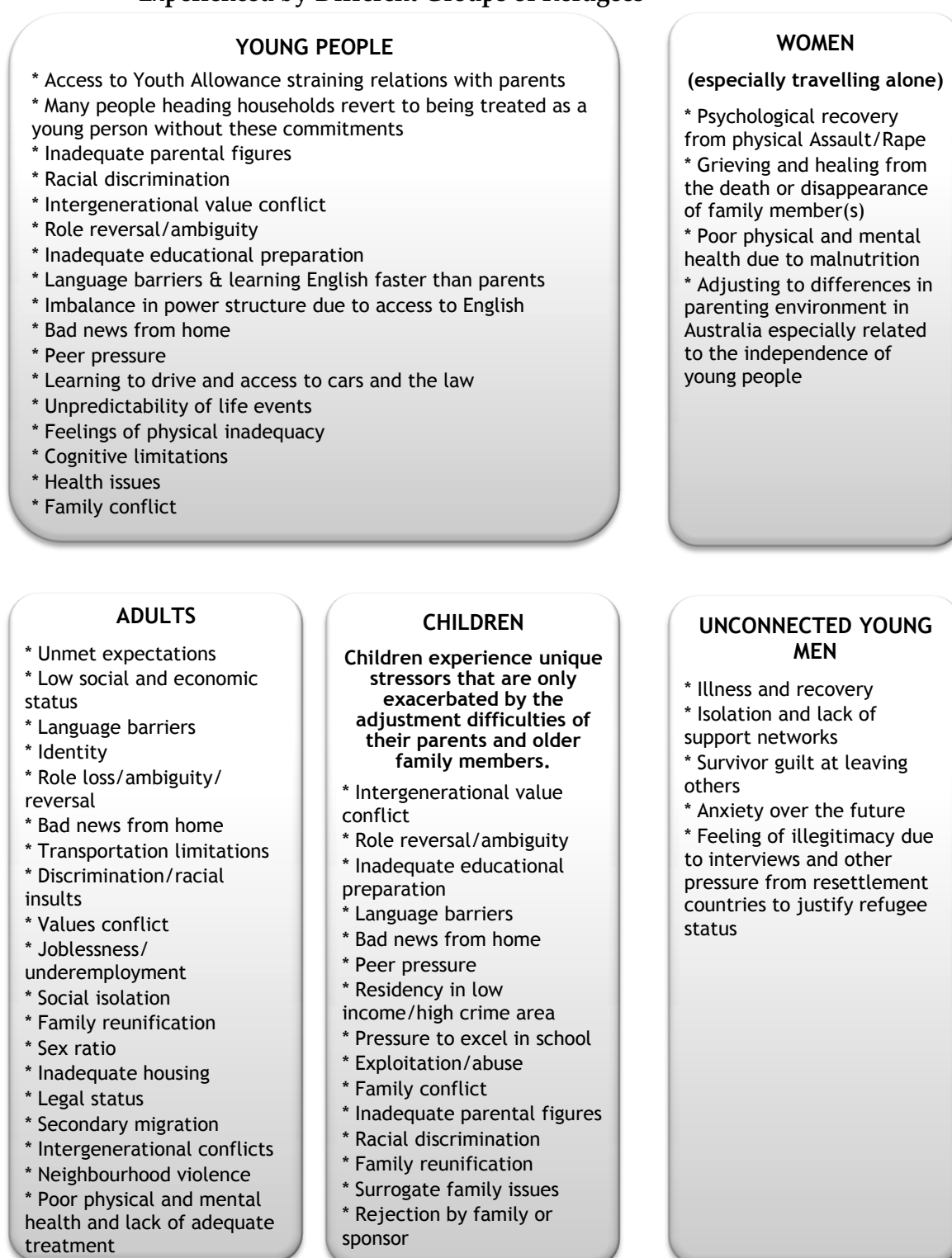
THE REFUGEE JOURNEY AND POLICING

The next section will present aspects of the refugee journey (particularly the phases from arrival onwards) and demonstrate the ways in which support or lack of support will create positive or negative outcomes for refugee individuals and/or their families. It will also highlight that the arrival experiences, adaptation and adjustments of adults, children and young people have variations that should be considered. Some of the more unique experiences for women and for young men who are unaccompanied is also highlighted. Figure 6 presents refugee adjustment and adaptation after arrival for different groups in refugee communities. Figure 7 illustrates the movements that any individual can take through refugee settlement phases. It highlights the transition points between each phase and why different adjustments may occur.

The discussion explores the phases and the movement adjustments between them highlighting who can affect the direction of these movements. Such information can

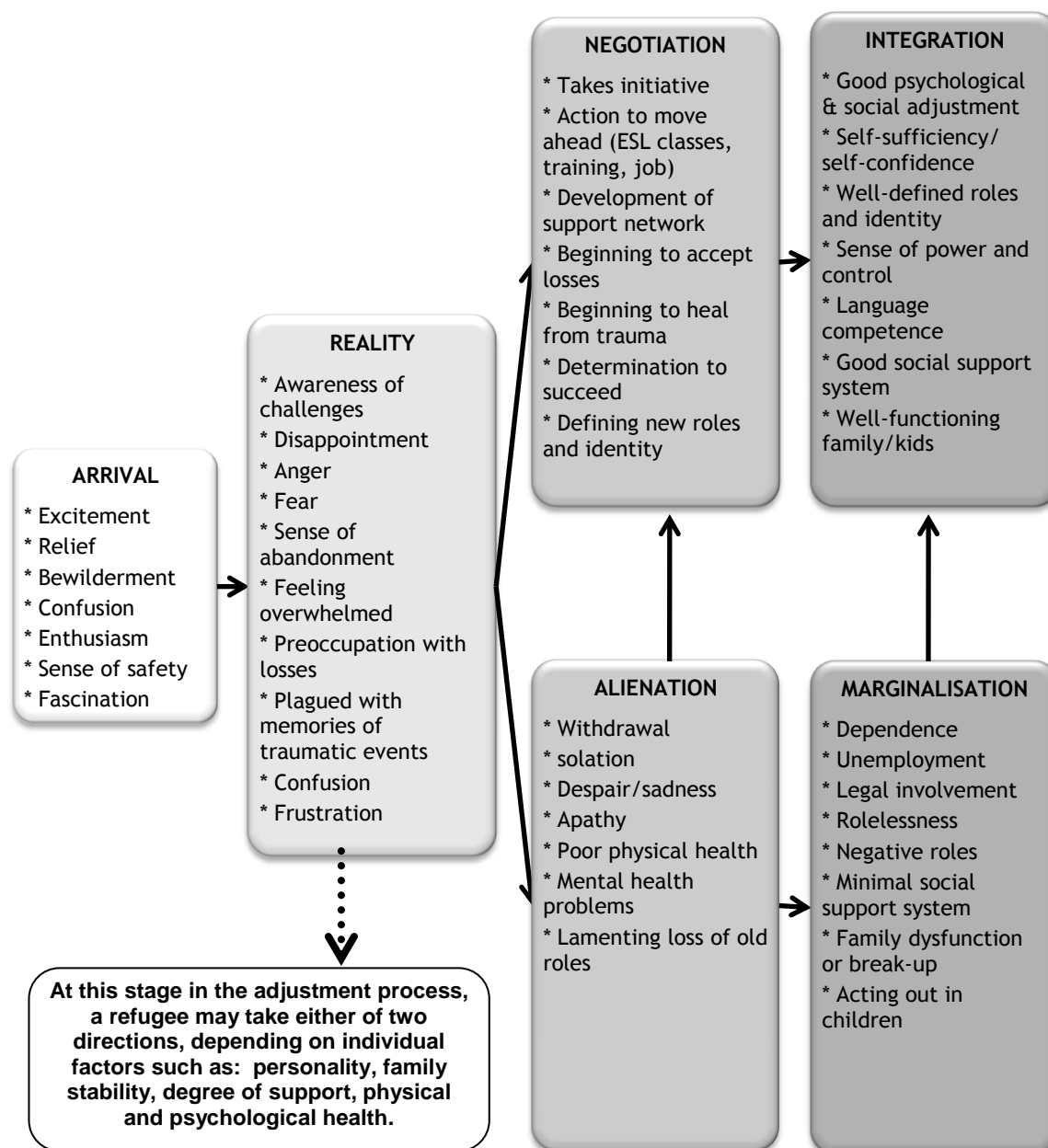
support policy decisions and highlight potential interventions. This knowledge demonstrates how positive impacts during the phase adjustments can encourage a path to integration rather than marginalisation. The roles of service providers and police are explored in relation to the type and timing of the support. The consequences of a negative trajectory for individual refugee are explored including the possible ramifications for the individual, the wider community and police in doing their job.

Figure 6: Refugee Adjustment and Adaptation after Arrival – Stressors Experienced by Different Groups of Refugees



Source: Adapted from Minnesota Centre for Victims of Torture ; Beiser (2006); Beshir (1993); Bond et al. (2007); Fuligni (1998); Gonslaves (1992); Hynes (2003); Stanovic & Taylor (2005); UNHCR (2002)

Figure 7: Phases of Refugee Adjustment



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Source: Adapted from Minnesota Centre for Victims of Torture

Phases of Refugee Adjustment

The phases of refugee settlement and adjustment are explored in depth with reference to the voice of both refugees and police in the research findings. The interviews

explored both traditional and community policing components of the police-refugee experience. In brief, the research data provides evidence that community-policing roles and reassurance strategies have a strong impact on police-refugee relations. It was clear that this impact was more likely to be felt if community policing strategies were consistent and proactive. These strategies directly led to individuals feeling more welcome, included in the wider community and encouraged more trust and hope in the future. These all enable people a greater capacity to participate inclusively in society. How this occurs is explored at each phase and adjustment.

Arrival Phase

The arrival phase is a mix of exhaustion, excitement and optimism coupled with a focus on wanting to feel safe. It can also produce a sense of overwhelming confusion. In this initial settlement, background and transition experiences may have an effect on the settlement experiences of the refugee. As the findings demonstrate refugees were affected by past experiences of police particularly in reference to the symbol of a uniform, experiences of bribery and experiences of police during flight particularly when related to violence. In addition, many refugees equate uniformed government officials with losing family members and due to their experience of state sanctioned violence will often be wary and hesitant of having any contact with police. Many refugees have developed diverse coping skills during the refugee journey to able survive which may not be relevant to the context that refugees find themselves in Australia. Nevertheless, they may be the mechanisms that are still most familiar to the

individual. Therefore the experiences that refugees have with police on their immediate arrival in Australia will either start the process of eroding these negative images associated with police or inadvertently encourage a sense of wariness. The support that is available during this time will have a profound effect on how well the individual or family will enter into the next phase of settlement, the reality phase. Adjustment from the arrival phase to the reality phase will happen but whether it is a positive experience will depend on how supported the individuals feels.

The findings suggest that contact with police in organised sessions to discuss the role of police and increase understanding of Australian law are beneficial in breaking down some of these negative images of police. However, while it may be possible for these sessions to successfully impart knowledge and educate newly arrived refugees, it should not be expected that this is the time when individuals will successfully absorb all the details of the information presented. The findings suggest that knowledge absorption at this time is problematic primarily because of exhaustion and a state of overload, equally however refugees are focused on the basic needs of settlement, particularly housing and education. It needs to be acknowledged that until aspects of settlement such as policing become more relevant to an individual or family, information absorption may not be high.

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The findings also suggest that individuals did not rationally view police in Australia in the same way as some of their past experiences but also articulate how when faced

with police, and particularly uniforms, the associations of past experiences were powerful. Positive support needs to come from both the already settled refugee community and from service providers especially organisations related to a sense of safety such as police. The findings suggest that any healthy relationships that the already settled community have with police can affect the attitudes of newly arrived refugees. Community acceptance from the host community will also play a role in the success of refugee settlement during this time.

Reality Phase

The reality phase is where the impact of the transition to a new country becomes unavoidable and often stark, especially if that country has a distinctively different culture. This phase can be characterised by a sense of feeling overwhelmed and can be coupled with awareness of the challenges of settlement sometimes sparking feelings of anger, disappointment and, in some cases, abandonment. The findings suggest that this initial phase of settlement is when refugees are dealing with dislocated relationships and a need for healing. It is a crucial time which lays the foundations for future experiences and the interpretation of those experiences. This can directly increase the understandings of Australian law for refugees particularly in terms of the concept of reporting. It is also characterised by the move towards social inclusion or a feeling of exclusion. These facets are strongly linked to the representation of refugees in the media and also community acceptance by the host community. All service providers, including police, have a role to play in actively influencing these

mechanisms in our society that can profoundly affect the success of refugee settlement and community acceptance.

The reality phase is usually when a refugee community may have their first contact with police in the line of duty rather than in an organised session. These interactions can be through driving and licensing, substance use, gender and intergenerational stress or family violence. Youth may also have contact with police for the first time. In terms of the findings from the police perspective, this is the phase when language barriers and access to resources start to impact on police in their interactions with refugee communities. These interactions will continue throughout the settlement phases but may be particularly more pronounced if the negative adjustment path prevails.

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The reality phase is often a time when individuals become plagued with survivor guilt and memories of trauma. How deeply these feelings entrench themselves will determine the ease or difficulty in the negotiation phase or whether the time creates a sense of alienation. Support during this time needs to acknowledge this dualism and service providers need to work proactively to support individuals and their families to discover positivity and hope in the future.

At this stage of the refugee phases and the related adjustment processes, a refugee may take either of two directions. The individual refugee may enter a phase of negotiation

which is characterised by taking initiative and the acceptance of losses in the past and healing from trauma, coupled with a determination to succeed. It involves defining new roles and identities in that process. The other direction that an individual can take is towards alienation which is characterised by isolation, apathy, despair and lamenting the loss of old roles. The phase that an individual enters will depend on the individual themselves and a diversity of factors such as: personality, family stability, degree of support, physical and psychological health. Understandably a path towards the negotiation phase is more likely to lead to successful settlement and a path to the alienation stage is likely to create complex issues for both the individual and the service providers who are supporting them. This includes police contact with these individuals and can be the beginning of complex relationships between police and that individual. It should be acknowledged that community mythology will begin to be established at this point. These situations mean that the experiences and learnings of the individual may well translate into the sentiments of the community who is newly arrived, both concerning the image of police and the concept of Australian law. In the findings police discussed the difficulties of initiating a positive agenda and the need to be supported by an organisational philosophy that underpins the work they do. It was also acknowledged by police that there is an important relationship between community policing and the success of these adjustment phases in settlement, although the references did not name the phases directly but were referred to in terms on the symptoms exhibited.

More specifically, a positive adjustment from the reality phase to the negotiation phase will depend on the timeliness, consistency and quality of service and support given to newly arrived refugees, particularly the pathways to empowerment and involvement in the community. At the same time, it needs to be acknowledged that individuals also need to grieve and heal. Any negative event that occurs during this adjustment phase, either 'back home' involving friends or relatives or in Australia to the individual, their family or a member of the community, may dramatically impact on the success of this adjustment. This is a key adjustment stage for police and other players in the criminal justice system to be aware of, although at this stage the focus needs to be on offering information about the law and the practical applications for individuals and families and may not involve any more specific interventions.

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Importantly, if contact occurs between police and refugees this provides an ideal opportunity to forge positive connections, to transfer information that allows refugees to feel included in the Australian community and for individual police officers to help break down the negative stereotypes of police from past experiences through their individual actions and the quality of the communication. The quality of the relationship building between police and refugees is crucial to counteract any complex issues that may weaken this relationship in later phases. It should also be remembered that in addition to community mythology, the experiences of adults in the community to successfully break down negative images associated with police, will have a profound impact on the attitudes of the children within the refugee community. This

can be seen as the long-term investment that police make in the police-refugee relationship.

Negotiation Phase

The negotiation phase is characterised by engagement, in settling into a new home permanently, settling themselves and/or their children into education and other opportunities to take the initiative in creating a future. Support networks can start to be built and a determination to succeed in creating a life in this new context can start to embed itself. At the same time, for newly arrived refugees there needs to be an exploration and acceptance of new roles and building a new identity. This process will often involve an acceptance of loss, grieving and healing. The support required at this time needs to acknowledge a diversity of needs, both in supporting and creating opportunities, but also to acknowledge the grieving and healing that must be allowed to occur. The findings suggest that this is a period of time where knowledge acquisition and education is important and that any initial sessions to educate the community should be replicated to ascertain the levels of engagement and detail retained around this education. An assumption that this information has been absorbed could lead to unfortunate and avoidable miscommunications in the future when police are in contact with individual refugees and communities in general.

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The findings also suggested that some reactions to the acquisition of knowledge resulted in confusion, hesitancy and also extremity. In the way this information was

interpreted could create a position that made the refugee community feel that they had been judged in the eyes of police, other service providers and the general community. Another strong finding of the research was that people really wanted to know why the specific laws existed. Often a descriptive presentation of the law or the police procedure had inadvertently been translated as something that was either particular to the refugee community or that the extent to which this law was policed was to a higher degree than in the mainstream community (i.e. over-policing appeared to occur). The most poignant example of this was a misunderstanding that family violence initiatives by police had been created out of concern for the behaviour of refugee communities in particular. Understanding that these laws are for 'all' Australians and had usually stemmed from a grave social issues and a determination to protect citizens within the Australian community, allowed this sense of confrontation to be contextualised.

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Equally in this negotiation stage, contact with police over the incident types mentioned, can result in an entrenching of negative ideas or an empowering process for both individuals from the refugee community and police. Both need to realise that the tenets of trust, empowerment and a sense of dignity in the interactions can mean interactions can be either profoundly positive or in their absence profoundly negative. These are clear indications of how police policies and procedures, and individual police officers, can make a contribution to supporting successful refugee settlement. Therefore it is the reaction to present experiences (as found in the findings) that can make a difference to both the negotiation phase and the successful engagement with

the integration phase of refugee settlement. The findings suggest that this is a important time to be wary of assumptions about refugees, their coping and communication. These assumptions are a two way process that can be influenced by both police and refugees. The awareness of the power of assumptions is the best mechanism to avoid the destructive nature when these assumption are misplaced.

From the negotiation phase, individuals will enter either a phase of integration or alienation. These transitions are described below with a focus on how they relate to positive policing outcomes. The adjustment from negotiation to integration is paramount to long-term success of settlement for the refugee individual and family. Any interruption in this adjustment could dramatically delay the positive effects of the transition. It is a key area for some service providers to acknowledge and maintain support. For police this is a key area to observe and liaise with service providers to ensure that positive images of policing and the law in Australia remain consistent for individuals and families during this process. In the case of an event involving police, follow-up may need to be with the individual, the family and in some cases the community more broadly to allay fears and decrease the likelihood of a loss of sense of safety in Australia. Police could also be proactive in educating about a particular area of law and the practical consequences so that the community maintains clarity. This may minimise the potential for negative community mythology to develop after an incident.

The findings suggest that a positive or negative influence of community mythology will have a great bearing on the adjustment from the negotiation to the integration phase. It needs to be considered that when trust is a survival mechanism, individuals in the refugee community need reasons for community mythology *not* to absorb familiar negative characterisations of police. Therefore police and other agents within the community need to work consciously to use the mechanism of community mythology as a positive tool to engage and educate the community. The findings also suggest that this is a pivotal period for an assisted process of knowledge transfer where people need to really understand the roles of police and the law in very practical ways. It is also a time where feelings of less access to justice or indeed of limited follow-through may have a negative impact on adjustment to the integration phase. It is also a time where reflections on other approaches by both police and refugees can indicate how initiatives, both at an organisational level and at an individual level, can promote positive police-refugee relations.

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According to the findings, this is also the stage where police become aware of issues such as the value of training and skill development in working cross-culturally. Equally, they may begin to understand the issues particular to this community concerning reporting to police and also the effects of the experiences of racism that this community may be experiencing. Adjustment from reality phase to alienation phase, although unfortunate, can be a path that is more likely for some individuals. This may relate to their health, both physical and mental, their ability to create support systems

or a sense of isolation due to either personality or the reality of travelling to Australia alone. This is the key adjustment phase for service providers and police to be aware of, as this is the time when individuals are more likely to become known to police and the criminal justice system. Any interventions need to be acknowledging and including observations of any trends within the refugee community, and creating opportunities to interact with police in a positive environment. Police can utilise community policing strategies during interactions, with initiatives by the Police-Citizens Youth Club (PCYC) or Police in Schools and using forums to create open dialogue and field questions and answers concerning police and the law. It is particularly important that police understand that at this stage both feelings of less access to justice or limited follow-through by police can translate into negative community mythology about the police and indeed Australian law.

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Alienation Phase

The alienation phase may signify that the reality of this new environment and the attempt to find one's identity and place within it, is either too overwhelming or requires more support for that transition to occur. This phase can be characterised by withdrawal, isolation, sadness, apathy and even despair. It may be linked to poor physical health, mental health issues or the challenges and lamenting of the loss of roles. In this alienation phase those who already feel isolated, such as unconnected young men travelling alone or older men, can find the loss of identity immensely challenging in this new cultural environment. In the same way, young people who find

themselves torn between two cultures may not feel like they are properly connected to either. The support during this time needs to acknowledge that these are also understandable reactions to the enormity of change during settlement. The support depends on the way in which the alienation presents itself in individuals or community.

The findings, particularly the observations, show that these are the times that may encourage conspiracy theory, and acute sensitivity to racism. This is not to downplay the experience but to observe the reactions to these experiences. The constant everyday racism that some refugees articulated, was resulting in reflections of whether life in Australia and particularly whether police are fair and available to all Australian residents. This phase sometimes had people feel alienated and socially excluded from the Australian community as a whole. Whether these assessments are warranted is in many ways irrelevant, what is important is that these elements of despair and apathy are positively addressed to allow a reassessment of the future that can be hopeful and characterised by strong sense of safety and justice. This outcome then promotes the recognition of a distinct difference between experiences prior to arrival in Australia on the one hand, and the refugee settlement period and future for refugees in Australia. In many ways, this understanding is the key to successful outcomes for all parties in the police-refugee relationship.

Marginalisation Phase

The marginalisation phase is characterised often by dependency, unemployment and minimal social support systems. It can often be characterised by family dysfunction and breakup with the 'acting out' of children in that family. It should be remembered that if any one person in a family unit is on an alienation to marginalisation trajectory, it makes it very difficult for other individuals to stay on a positive path of negotiation and integration. The lack of roles, or in fact negative roles, of a marginalised individual may also lead to more complex involvement with police or the criminal justice system. The support for an individual at this stage is difficult but there are active roles for police. These could include supporting individuals to become engaged in organisations that can support them through difficulties with the legal system or to interactions with organisations such as PCYC or support for the issues that are underlying the current contact with police i.e. substance abuse support services.

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Integration Phase

The integration phase is the most desirable outcome for an individual and family. Ideally, there will be a movement from the reality phase to the negotiation phase and to integration. This movement is characterised by good psychological and social adjustment coupled with a sense of power and control over one's life and future. It usually means that there are well-defined roles and an identity for that individual resulting in a sense of self-sufficiency and self-confidence. This will be both a result of,

and result in, good social support systems, increased ability in language competency and, in most cases, the well functioning state of the family and children. The accomplishment of this phase leads to maximum successful outcomes for the individual and family involved. These successes allow for the greatest possibility of community acceptance but do also require the ongoing active support from service providers including police and the criminal justice system.

The three phases which are of most interest to policing from the point of view of risk minimisation, are described in more detail. I argue that apart for the prevention work needed in the early phases of settlement, these particular adjustment phases need to be a focus for policing strategies and initiatives. The work that police can do in the initial periods of settlement focused on knowledge acquisition, image of police, trust and relationship-building, needs to be coupled with strategies to positively influence individuals on a path of marginalisation towards reengagement and a positive settlement path.

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Phase Adjustment from Alienation Phase to Negotiation Phase

Adjustment from alienation to negotiation, although highly desirable, will probably require a catalyst and support from the individual to make that change. This may be an increase in social support from within their own community or the wider community. This adjustment phase though would benefit from active participation by police through community policing strategies. The findings suggest that

communication is a key theme, involving general communication skills, body language, specific police terms and a willingness for police to take the time to ensure that all interaction is positive and educative. This also follows the findings from police, that once individuals are in a negative phase of settlement, even with extensive training and resources, it makes policing difficult and the energy involved in supporting an individual to reengage on to a positive settlement path may impact on police resources.

This is a phase in which practical application learning may be beneficial. It is also important that the mechanisms to check the processes of understanding is vigilant and it is the responsibility of police to ensure that these mechanisms have occurred. If not, some of the escalation during interaction with police may be down to avoidable misunderstandings or miscommunications. Police also need to be aware that among police personnel there is some hesitancy in learning, usually related to a self-consciousness concerning political correctness. It is here that the police as an organisation can take a lead role in creating opportunities that address these issues. Any initiatives need to be supported by training at the Police Academy so that individual officers have the skills and feel empowered to offer support to individuals during process of communicating and undertaking their role as a police officer.

Phase Adjustment from Alienation Phase to Marginalisation Phase

Alienation to marginalisation is likely if the key negative characteristics remain consistent but will also depend on the personality of the individual and their ability to engage and initiate support systems for themselves. This can be a key period for social engagement and support from service providers. In this phase there needs to be an acknowledgement of social inclusion and social exclusion mechanisms and if possible actively addressed. Understandably, if possible this is the phase of adjustment that police want to have avoided. Once this adjustment is complete individuals and families are very likely to find themselves in crisis, requiring crisis support and often this may include police and the criminal justice system.

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Phase adjustment from Marginalisation Phase to Integration Phase

The adjustment from marginalisation to integration phase is the most difficult and resource intensive to accomplish. It requires the individual to break a relationship with negative paths as well as dramatically increasing their social support system. The findings show that some of the greatest barriers to adjustment from the marginalisation phase to the integration phase come from experiences of racism and harassment over long periods of time. This includes issues of reporting racism and media. This is not to suggest that the responsibility for behaviour does not lie with the refugee individual but to acknowledge that the context in which they are making assessments of the

world may indeed be influenced by the actions of police and other service providers at this crucial time.

This stage may also link to the findings on different senses of safety that were observed in the participant observation particularly where men felt most unsafe on the street but women felt unsafe in their homes, particularly for their children. In these situations, accessing individuals may prove difficult if withdrawal has been a mechanism for coping. I argue that it is important to remember that an individual not asking for a service may well be the most in need of a service (particularly concerning a sense of safety) and may be the least able to assert themselves to access that service. This is where the concept of equity in access to policing may not actually translate into equal amounts of service in policing at all times. The police findings demonstrate that concentrated efforts during crucial times of transition may indeed lead to less intensive resourcing requirements from police in the future. In many ways, this is the value of community policing although it remains hard to measure.

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The marginalisation phase is also a time when families may be dealing with family dysfunction and/or breakup. As well as supporting the children during this process, individuals are trying to find solutions to their situation. The individual needs to increase their sense of self-sufficiency, confidence and control over their life to have the capacity to actualise this adjustment. These relate to themes in the findings concerning youth attitudes after prolonged experiences of racism post-arrival in

Australia. In this context, the conspiracy theory becomes a lens for understanding the way the world works and is understandable for refugee youth dealing with high levels of harassment every day. Equally, community mythology builds up quickly in such environments and will only be changed by intervention from police as a key agent in dispelling the myths.

This adjustment is a key area for service providers including settlement services (if they are still officially involved), educational institutions and support mechanisms like Community Support for Refugees. It is a key area for police to be proactively working during interaction with individuals and groups to realign their life path with positivity, hope and confidence. Although these issues are not the direct responsibility of police there are mechanisms and initiatives that can be utilised through community policing to encourage individuals to break the negative cycle. It is paramount that police and the criminal justice system are seen to be active in this process otherwise the risk is that they are seen as to blame for the individual's negative situation and contact with the criminal justice system.

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Variations in the phases and adjustments

Variations in the length of time that individuals move through these phases and the path that they take will depend on personality, social support systems, family make up, family functionality, physical and mental health and the triggers from 'back home' that may undermine successful settlement. Each individual will have a unique journey

but phase adjustments are the key in the process and importantly when support and intervention can make a substantial difference to the outcome. The process and the outcome in turn, will have a strong impact on the requirements necessary for policing this sector of the community. More acknowledgement and proactive initiatives to intervene positively or to intervene to minimise a more harmful adjustment phase are challenges and opportunities for the police to consider. In the long term, it will increase the effectiveness and efficiency of policing minority communities who are new to Australia.

Relationship between Refugee Settlement Phases and Ideals of Community Policing

The previous section explored in detail both descriptions of the phases and adjustments, and how this directly linked to the findings from both refugee and police perspectives. In doing so, it links to individual strategies that could be undertaken during these particular phases or adjustments but it is now important to contextualise this in terms of the overall objectives of community policing. The principles and strategies that emerge from this research are primarily founded in the tenets of community policing and will be the later focus of the discussion.

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It is however important to highlight the main objectives of policing. These objectives are seen as:

1. Crime Prevention;

2. Harnessing operational intelligence i.e. crime detection and prosecution;
3. Partnering with community to serve community i.e. community safety.

The discussion acknowledges the link between the processes of refugee settlement and community policing that can be useful to inform policy and procedures, and the objectives of police organisations. It also acknowledges that these objectives need to be considered in the creation of key performance indicators for police. It is worth noting here that the nature of community policing often challenges policing organisations in terms of their reporting mechanisms because the impacts of community policing can be difficult to measure (Fleming 2011). This creates understandings for police organisations around the needs of the community and policing, and the ability to measure the outcomes so as to be accountable for the resource allocations.

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Community Education

In this research, what became important was the acknowledgement that the issues were not about the 'good' or 'bad' of law in Australia or Africa, but about transition, change and awareness that all take time. Overall, education and the transfer of knowledge concerning Australian law needs to be factual, relevant and timely. It was apparent from the analysis of both the refugee and police data that relationship-building and education for both refugees and police were paramount in creating positive community experiences. This is clearly articulated by one of the refugee participants:

The first question would be, 'Do you have a community education programme?' because there is no community policing without a community education programme. The first thing is you will have to make people aware how the laws work here and what it means, what the consequences are. Then they will be aware and then they will act different and they will cooperate with the police (Male, aged in 30s)

The relationship between the police and the public is a pivotal influence on attitudes and perceptions of police and their ability to undertake their job. Indeed it was the lack of support for police by the general public that prompted the inception of community policing in the first instance (Jesilow & Parsons 2000).

Support for intervention in positive police-refugee relations

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This research demonstrates strongly that the overarching issue of trust lies at the foundation of positive police-refugee relations. This is evidenced by the findings of this research from the perspectives of both police and refugees, but also on the literature that relates to attitude formation. It is important to acknowledge that there are themes including transition, timing and understanding of the concept of individual and community dynamics which need to be taken into account in the consideration of any support or intervention (including the training of police officers). These three themes will profoundly affect the way in which these relationships will progress and indicate ways in which pro-active support and intervention for positive police-refugee

relations can be achieved most efficiently and effectively, creating positive outcomes for both the refugee community and the police.

Trust

The research has found that for positive police-refugee relations to develop the overarching element is trust. The discussion explores the reasons why trust is such an important commodity and how it has been eroded and what positively influences trust restoration especially the institutional trust that individuals and communities with a refugee background need to have in police. The trust that is needed is trust that has the consent of all parties. It is often assumed when working with vulnerable groups within the community, that if professionals do the 'right' thing they can have the trust of that group. This idea is too simplistic and ignores the fact that people are 'in relation'. It is a very two-dimensional approach. In fact, this consent and the opportunity for input is a key element of healthy institutional trust (as defined in chapter 3). The findings in this research acknowledge that trust is at the centre of the integrity of interaction between police and refugees. Findings from both the police and refugees confirmed the importance of integrity and legitimacy, and trust as an overarching concept. In practice it relates to honesty, no promise-making that is unrealistic and allowing the voices of those who are in a vulnerable stage of their lives to be heard.

What that may need to look like may well be different for different individuals and communities. At times, it may take the form of a safe and very intimate interaction or at the other end of the spectrum it could involve the opportunity to speak and be heard in a very public forum. Murphy and Cherney explore the concept of 'voice', especially how it relates to procedural justice research (Murphy & Cherney 2010).

Attitudes towards police and the criminal justice system were a key area of the findings. There is published research on attitude formation towards police but there is a dearth of studies which present practical strategies to foster improvement (Brindenball & Jesilow 2008). This study adds to that knowledge base, particularly in relation to refugee communities that are in crucial transition stages in their lives. The lack of research in the area of refugee settlement (especially qualitative research) is lamented in a recent Australian empirical study (Murphy & Cherney 2010).

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The trust and the sub-themes are all most potent in influencing police-refugee relations because they are also actively improving police legitimacy for this community.

Legitimacy is an underpinning element of trust formation. The findings of this research show that legitimacy was indeed a strong driver of trust. It is demonstrated in the findings about the understanding of why a law existed and also the challenge that is made of police officers relating to assumptions of guilt before questions were asked. Legitimacy may be also related to the discussions and understandings of how feelings had arisen concerning accusations of less access to justice. In all these cases,

once a sense of understanding and legitimacy of police decisions was established through dialogue, concerns of refugees significantly dissipated.

The strong presence of mistrust in the refugee journey as a survival strategy remains the fundamental challenge in trust creation but the concept of mistrust and the findings of this research offer insights into mechanisms to shift from mistrust to trust, particularly in terms of institutional trust. The formation of attitudes is a key mechanism influencing the potential for positive police-refugee relations. How these can be harnessed is the crucial question.

Attitude formation/change

The findings highlight that attitude formation is an ongoing key issue in police-refugee relations. In addition they point out a lack of confidence in the legitimacy of the political state which has been influenced by negative perceptions of police (Tyler 1990, 2001). The consistent referencing to government intervention in family and community issues via the 'Centrelink' model may indicate the relationship between these newly arrived communities and their perceptions of police and its relationship to their perceptions of the legitimacy of government. As Patternoster et al. (1997) explore, this notion may also play into the concept of fair procedure and procedural justice. Paternoster et al's work concentrates on the emotive area of family violence which in this study also created the most complex and heartfelt debate concerning the individual and community relationship with police.

Due to the fact that police are present in our communities and are associated with the more visible representation of government, control and authority, their actions are of great significance (Brindenball & Jesilow 2008). Indeed it became clear in this research that the impact of an individual police officer's actions influenced individual's lives and future decision-making far beyond their expectations. This relates to the gulf between perception and reality for both members of the newly arrived communities and police officers themselves. These understandings create a lens whereby individuals can consciously acknowledge the perception of their actions by the other person in the interaction. This can only be done effectively with a sound understanding of the refugee journey and the phases of refugee settlement and with the timely nature of information transfer. In addition, an appreciation of relationship-building is necessarily coupled with a strong sense of police procedure and its connection to education.

It is important to acknowledge the impact on the community of each interaction that police have with individuals. As Brindenball and Jesilow (2008) showed criticisms are much stronger and more detailed than any praise for police and it became clear that complaints originated from a number of origins, specifically observations, direct experiences but also conversations with others (Brindenball and Jesilow 2008). In Brindenball and Jesilow's study the overarching 'big picture' sentiments about police were positive but the frustrations were always expressed in more detail, both in the retelling of the interaction (or lack of) and the impact, both short and long term on

people's sense of safety and optimism. As discussed in the findings of this research, community mythology (as discussed in chapter 5) as an influence on newly arrived communities is an important finding for organisations such as police to acknowledge and harness proactively to influence police-refugee relations.

An understanding of attitude formation and change coupled with a deeper understanding of the refugee journey in terms of adaptation and adjustment is crucial to understanding the influences of community policing on positive police-refugee relations. The next section will present an understanding of how these overlap and how police can be involved in the prevention of negative attitude formation and attitude change when marginalisation occurs.

Transition

The first of the sub-themes important to the discussion is the idea of transition. The refugee journey and settlement for the most part involves transitions that an individual has little control over. Even when an individual has been advocating strongly to be resettled in another country, on the grounds of there being no durable solution to enable them to return to their country of origin, for the most part they do not choose that country or where in it they will be settled. Transition and its success is influenced by much more than the experience of where and how the transition occurs.

As the findings demonstrate, settlement was strongly influenced by past experiences, particularly with police or other uniformed officials. In addition, the dislocated nature of settling communities has a bearing on the transition experience. In terms of the relationship with police and the law, the concern is not about the 'right' or 'wrong' of the laws from past or present situations but that the difference is another change to fathom. That is the change from familiarity (characterised by negative experiences) and the feelings of safety and hope (the aspiration of refugees for hope and a future). The discussions were sometimes about African law versus Australian law but often the struggle was with feeling unsure of the information. The findings suggest that refugees yearned for an opportunity for clarity and reflection. The findings relate this to concerns of less access to justice and limited follow-through by police .

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The findings show that overall resistance towards police was temporary and related to discomfort about understanding which when added to past experiences left some individuals feeling overwhelmed. Ironically as much as the struggle of survival has meant refugees have at least witnessed, if not experienced and had to participate in unsafe, violent and chaotic behaviours, they (more than most) understand the consequences, the cost and literally have everything invested in a search for safety.

In this way, at least temporarily, I would like to normalise the concept of transition. Although I have argued strongly that the refugee transition experience is difficult and complex, at the same time transition in life is both common and normal. In many

ways, it may be useful to acknowledge the efforts that may be required from police, refugee communities and other service providers toward positive police-refugee relations in a larger context of work in Australia to support individuals that are in transition times of their lives. In this way, this research aligns itself with a philosophy about more prevention models in service delivery. Specifically, that is services that are more effective, efficient and socially just to support individuals and vulnerable groups more generally before they fall 'off the cliff' unlike the current model of funding which focuses more on bodies in dire need having 'fallen off a cliff' already.

It would therefore be the aspiration that police took an assertive and lead role in the settlement process that would affect the need for crisis support so that this need for support would then be minimised over time for any one of these communities. In this way, it can be seen that in refugee adaptation, the move from marginalisation to integration is much more difficult and resource intensive than supporting an individual, or community generally, through the process of reality/negotiation to integration than reality/alienation/marginalisation to integration.

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In addition, a process of concentrated knowledge acquisition will directly support the community to maintain the education process for more newly arrived members and actively break down the powerful negative elements of community mythology building, realigning them with aspirations that fit the outcomes desired by both police and members of the newly arrived communities in successful settlement. In fact,

contrary to the idea that this is somehow 'special treatment', I argue that an acknowledgement that transition and a conscious support process in key transition points in individual's lives increases success and participation, decreases dependency and therefore creates more positive outcomes for the community as a whole.

I argue there is a shift in thinking about this concept of transition with significant examples such as the focus on the transition through the schooling process and into the workforce, support of women back into the workforce after an absence, supported mechanisms for individuals leaving prison, and overcoming substance addiction. The aspirations for all these programmes and project strategies are about maximising outcomes for individuals, minimising dependency and resource drain on social support systems resulting in a more inclusive and productive community as a whole. I argue that it is healthy to consider refugee settlement as a specialised and significant transition process for a group of individuals who are indeed highly motivated survivors and generally want more than to be treated as victims of their past experiences but indeed to be offered the hope and the tools to engage in a productive life in Australia.

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The data reveals that the development of community acceptance is complex and vital for successful settlement. The reactions of a host community are important to both the creation and sustainability of positive police-refugee relations and to refugee settlement more generally. Studies have found that a friendly and understanding

attitude is one of the major factors in promoting health in the successful settlement of refugees (Ager & Strang 2004; Robinson 2006). If an individual thinks they are part of the community and can be accepted as 'normal', it increases their sense of self-worth and therefore enhances that individual's sense of potential, hope and trust.

This concept is supported by the research from Lind and Tyler's 'group value' model (Lind & Tyler 1998; Murphy & Cherney 2010). Recent studies have highlighted issues around losing one's identity in the transition (Samarasinghe 2007) and settlement process (Samarasinghe & Arvidsson 2002). For some refugees, this will lead to dramatic changes in intra-relations (loneliness, identity), inter-relations (roles in family), and extra-relations (employment) (Samarasinghe & Arvidsson 2002). The findings from this research support these experiences of refugees in settlement and also allow insight into how they may influence the police-refugee relations, or at very least the environment in which they occur.

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Timing

The second element to discuss is timing. Admittedly, the concept of timing seems straightforward but, in fact, apart from a few generalised rules of thumb related to the refugee journey and settlement, the best strategies will require particular timing for the greatest impact. The timing of police support such as the transfer of information about police and law in Australia will need to be informed by 'voices' from within refugee

community, cultural competency and a willingness to commit to a process to achieve good quality outcomes for both refugees and police.

Timing of support needs to consider consistency, responsiveness and flexibility.

Consistency refers to all members having access to information and an ability to have first hand experiences with police outside an incident interaction. This requires strong partnerships between police, and ideally other criminal justice representatives, and settlement service providers. Responsiveness links to proactive interactions being aligned with the needs of the phases of adaptation to increase the effectiveness of interaction. The most effective example of specific presentations is when the Tasmanian family violence policies and legislation, Safe at Home, was explained in an open questions and answers session and how the misconceptions in the community were isolating them from the support they needed. It also refers to flexibility of presentation to maximise effectiveness such as with the EMA initiatives with the Ethiopian community including practical demonstrations and hands on activities concerning fire safety.

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There is a link between timing and procedural justice maximising the need to feel police are listening as well as exercising authority. This area may in some instances require reactive initiatives although proactive and preventative mechanisms are strongly advocated from the findings of this research. Timing plays an important role in perceptions of procedural justice as much as the reality of its existence.

Timing needs to be linked to the understandings of the refugee journey and particularly the adaptation phases of settlement. This framework offers an understanding of what methods may work by contextualising the reactions and emotions of refugees in terms of the various stages of refugee settlement. It also sends a strong warning about how the lack of responsiveness may result in the alienation and marginalisation of individual and /or communities especially from police. It is during these times that the likelihood of contact with law enforcement and the criminal justice system increases. This state also means that it is harder to support people back to a sense of integration or active participation in the community. These feelings may prove to exacerbate the negative nature of any contact with police. Hope and trust encourage cooperation and a lack of these can result in behaviour requiring increased exercising of authority further disempowering the individual from having a sense of control and hope over their future. These outcomes are negative both from a settlement and policing perspective. The community more broadly and the individual both lose in these situations.

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Individual/ Community

The third aspect concerns the concept of the individual and community. Most importantly is a practical acknowledgement of how and what influences relationships and relating. It in fact requires using both these lenses of individual and community for understanding, which can be understood by the term 'experiential difference'.

Many refugee communities are traditionally from an oral culture. The verbal presentation of information often still resonates well with the members of these communities. In advocating for the effectiveness of this form of communication, a couple of assumptions must be addressed. This does not imply that members of the community do not have the experience or the ability to understand a written presentation of material. What it does assert is that the verbal presentation of material allows a more familiar and personable medium to counteract the intimidating nature of the material, it allows information to be heard as a group and it also potentially allows the asking of questions or clarification. The group can support each other to maximise understanding and minimise a sense of intimidation related to a fear of authority. Apart from tempering in this way, verbal presentations increase receptiveness and relevance.

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These methods also allow police to use cross-cultural tools to creatively get messages across including more interactive methods of delivery and to also check back understanding. The timing and frequency of presentations aligned with refugee arrival patterns and settlement needs have been addressed, but may cause a tension for service providers and police. These delivery decisions are an aspect of the way police need to work proactively not reactively in terms of education and relationship-building with newly arrived refugee communities.

The ripple effect of successful presentations can achieve an impact on communities with the potential for high vulnerability and resistance to police. An understanding of the individual dichotomy involved in refugee communities allows police to proactively harness opportunities. These insights increase the potential for police to use personnel, resources and time both effectively and efficiently for the most productive outcomes. When this understanding is linked to the concept of trust, transition and timing, police initiatives are much more likely to succeed.

PROCEDURAL JUSTICE

During on the research by Murphy and Cherny (2010), it is suggested that perceptions of procedural justice shape judgement about police legitimacy, leading to a willingness to co-operate with police. This is most important in the refugee context. Murphy and Cherny highlight past experience such as with police and prison experiences with police. Unlike Murphy and Cherny's study, this research has allowed this assumption to be tested, and the findings strongly suggest that these past experiences can be most influenced during phases of settlement using community policing strategies and associated methods of reassurance to increase a sense of legitimacy in police for the newly arrived refugees.

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This research did not begin by adopting procedural justice as a framework. However, through the research process it became clear that the influences on police refugee relations are strongly related to both the concepts of restorative justice and procedural

justice. For refugees these mechanisms make sense in the world and essentially create processes whereby a refugee can resolve their relationship with past experiences, prison experiences and future experiences of police and, more generally, create hope in the future in Australia.

It is important to understand the components of procedural justice to appreciate how this link is significant. Goodman-Delahunty (2010) explores the characteristics of the procedural fairness effect (Goodman-Delahunty 2010) and the fact that citizens are more concerned with the *way* they are treated (specifically with respect, dignity and concern for their views) than with an outcome that was favourable (Tyler & Huo 2002). Goodman-Delahunty offers the group values relational model (GVRM) coupled with components as an approach to assist practitioners. The key to the GVRM in terms of this research is that it may contextualise refugee's need for belonging which in turn affects their perceptions of justice. The findings of this research show that there is a link when individuals expressed concerns about belonging and particularly community acceptance, they often also expressed concerns about access to justice or at least police 'follow through'.

The key ingredients in the Goodman-Delahunty GVRM and the ways in which they are related to the research outlined in this thesis are:

1. Trustworthiness (Tyler 2008; Goodman-Delahunty 2010) The extension of trustworthiness as a concept in relation to social engagement (including willing to conform to group norms) and trust directly, related to the key to return from marginalisation to integration phase. This directly relates to the current research findings also related to procedural fairness and cooperation with police (Reisig 2007).
2. Respectful treatment Goodman-Delahunty argues that respectful treatment will enhance people's perceptions of procedural justice. This research has shown how this applies to refugees. It relates to the respect of citizens rights, dignity, valued input and to 'take them seriously' through demonstrating 'professional behaviour' (Goodman-Delahunty 2010).
3. Neutrality refers to the fact that police procedures must demonstrate lack of bias (related to conduct, decisions, consistency and transparency). Without this confidence in police will diminish (Goodman-Delahunty 2010; Tyler 2008).
4. Voice refers to the ability to ask questions during policing duties concerning police procedures and practices. It is also the ability to express opinion and feel heard (Goodman-Delahunty 2010). This links to a number of finding in this research specifically with refugees all which resulted in a sense of hopelessness and/or fear.

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In short, the research findings can be understood more clearly by adopting a procedural justice framework.

RESTORATIVE JUSTICE

Restorative justice being utilised as a mechanism was also seen to have characteristics that may enhance the relationships between refugees and police. It has the potential to impact on some of the findings related to feelings of less access to justice, limited follow through, assisted process of knowledge transfer, community mythology and reflections on other approaches.

Restorative justice relates to the dealing of offenders through a reparation process, which involves both victims and the community (White and Perrone, 2010). One restorative approach based on three principles could be useful in illustrating restorative justice techniques in the context of this research. The principles include the idea that:

- crime is fundamentally a violation of people and interpersonal relationships;
- violations create obligations and liabilities;
- that restorative justice seeks to heal and put right the wrong (Zehr & Mika, 1998 in Cunneen and White, 2007).

These concepts relate strongly to a need in newly arrived refugee communities to see the justice system in action and to observe how to have its impact support the future to be better. Too often comments from participants reflected a sense of distance from and

a lack of either understanding or trust that the impact of criminal justice systems would change the reality positively. This related strongly to the findings concerning reporting especially when fear of retaliation was given as why there was a reluctance to report.

Restorative justice applications can include victim-offender mediation, peacemaking circles and offender restitution schemes including reparation probation and balanced restorative (White and Perrone, 2010). These mechanisms could produce processes that change attitudes and are less inclined to confirm the 'us and them' mentality that often emerges in these incidents and their follow up. Deeper understandings could in fact influence positively and reduce the likelihood of certain types of violations in the future. It could be especially important when individuals from the refugee community have been the victims, for example in racially motivated assaults.

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These mechanisms however could be equally as productive when individuals from the refugee community have been perpetrators of crime. It can serve to give a human face to the impact of crime. These processes also mirror mechanisms for justice that are practiced in some parts of Africa and more importantly are mechanisms for a community to explore ways to live together in the future past the incident that has occurred. Mechanisms such as restorative justice practices have the advantage of increasing legitimacy for police and the criminal justice system more broadly with newly arrived refugee communities.

Legitimacy for Police and Refugees

The idea of legitimacy of police for refugees holds the key to how all parties can be active agents in promoting the most positive outcomes for police refugee relations.

Tyler's work encapsulates the key components of legitimacy and relationship.

Enhancing trust contributes to enhancing police legitimacy among those who are policed. Tyler (2004) identifies three key ideas concerning the public and police legitimacy:

1. Effective policing requires public support and cooperation. Police benefit greatly from the voluntary cooperation of the public.
2. Support is linked directly to whether the public consider the police to be legitimate.
3. Public assessments of legitimacy are based on the manner in which police undertake their policing role (Tyler 2004).

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The finding of this research particular to the police refugee relationship in regional Australia seems to strongly relate to Tyler's assertion that effect on police legitimacy will be related to process based strategies (Tyler 2004).

People are more satisfied with procedures that allow them to participate by explaining their situations and communicating their views about situations to authorities (Tyler 2004).

Access to community intelligence to help solve crimes and in turn bring criminals to justice is paramount. In a community with high levels of mistrust and vulnerability this need is only increased. The value to police is also increased if either equity of access to police service delivery or police effectiveness is the priority. Some of the interaction that supports these priorities is informal (Tyler 2004) and some is formal. Both need to be valued and encouraged by police. Research has also shown the key to cooperation is the aspiration by the public to partner with police to address community problems. As police can offer no incentives (Tyler 2004) it must appeal to a community's desire for prevention of problems and asserting their sense of belonging by participating actively in a community.

CONCLUSION

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This chapter linked the literature on refugee settlement and the literature on community policing. The chapter made this link and demonstrated how an understanding of the *process* of refugee settlement (as discussed in chapter 2) can inform the *process* of community policing (as discussed in chapter 3). This discussion has explored how understanding the two processes in conjunction with each other demonstrates understandings of police-refugee relations. Furthermore, when these understandings concerning processes were linked with the voices of both refugees and police useful insights were created into what positively influences the relationship.

It is important to revisit the idea of why the police-refugee relationship is so important. Policing is complex and difficult. The effectiveness of policing is strongly influenced by the quality of police-public relations (Tyler 2004). Equally, in the context of refugee settlement, the creation and maintenance of a positive relationship with police is crucial to settlement success. To achieve this it is important that police have the cooperation of this particular group. As the initial period of settlement is characterised by new information, knowledge acquisition and relationship-building for both members of the refugee community and police (as individuals or as a community/organisation) positive and effective communication and exchange is invaluable.

The chapter presented the concept of social inclusion as an overarching aim of long-term successful settlement for refugee communities. It then presented the phases and adjustments in refugee settlement in relation to the research findings from both refugees and police. It explored how a link between the findings, the framework of refugee settlement phases and community policing highlights positive strategies to influence police-refugee relations. The chapter then explored the role of trust in police-refugee relations and its overarching importance. The sub-themes of transition, timing and the individual/community dichotomy are also explained as important concepts influencing this relationship. The chapter then presented the concept of procedural justice and explains how this appeared from the research findings as an important framework for understanding and influencing police-refugee relations.

It is important to highlight the rationale for police investments in refugee settlement outcomes. It is clear from the findings and the supporting literature that it is more beneficial to invest energy in the short term to ensure the benefit to the efficiency and effectiveness of policing and the quality of the police-refugee relationship in the long term. Any particular issues or trends arising in these communities are addressed more effectively, earlier rather than later when the issue may manifest as a more complex issue. These aspirations for policing will influence successful settlement through the promotion of trust and hope in the future.

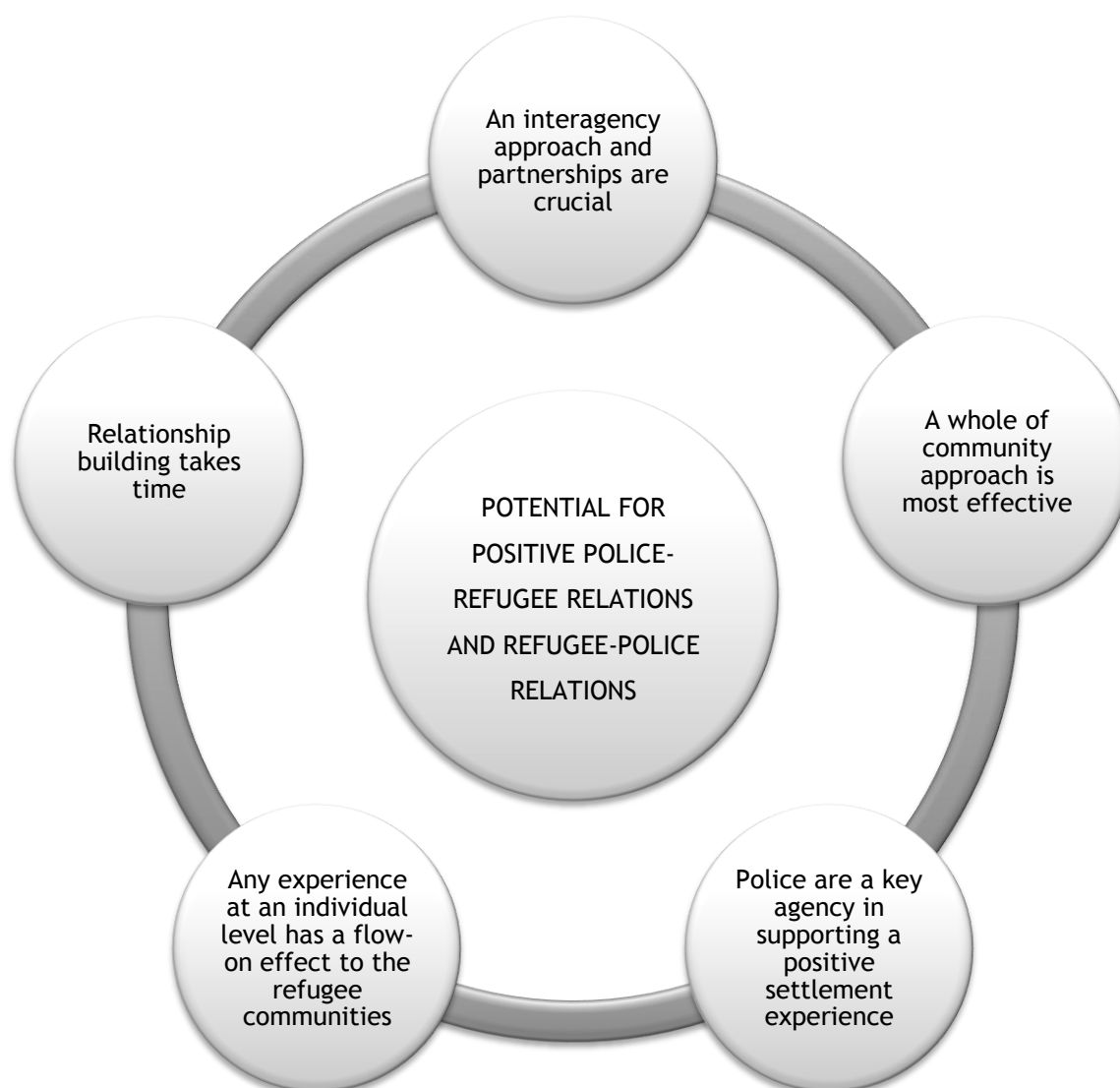
The implications and understandings evolving from the research for creating positive police-refugee relations can be summarised as:

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1. Police are a key agency in supporting a positive settlement experience.
2. Any experience at an individual level has a flow-on effect to the refugee communities.
3. A whole of community approach is most effective.
4. An interagency approach and partnerships are crucial.
5. Relationship building takes time.

These understandings and influencing factors are shown in the model below; all are required to guarantee a fertile environment for the creation and sustainability of positive police-refugee relations. The model provides a visual representation of how all these aspects influence the development of positive police-refugee relations.

Figure 8: Overarching Understandings and Influences on the Potential for Positive Police-Refugee and Refugee-Police Relations



This discussion chapter has presented an analysis of the influences on police-refugee relations. It has also explored the challenges for the different parties involved in these relations: police, refugees and other service providers. These discussions are useful as a framework for identifying the practical applications that can be developed to create, maintain and sustain positive police-refugee relations, which are presented in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 8 – PRACTICAL APPLICATION IN COMMUNITY POLICING

At first glance, the themes explored in the discussion chapter give the illusion of simple concepts but the influence that these concepts can have on the quality of police-refugee relations should not be underestimated. This chapter of the thesis presents the practical application of the research data in the form of desired outcomes and principles, which are presented as a framework for enhancing positive police-refugee relations in regional Australia. The presentation of the discussion in this form aims to link the findings to practical knowledge and application strategies. It creates a tool for police to explore the influences on police –refugee relations and to inform policy and procedure, including informing the training curriculum of police at recruit level and senior ranks.

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DESIRED OUTCOMES

The research and the underpinning research questions were founded in concerns about the potential volatility of the police-refugee relationship or, at least, that the potential for the creation of positive police- refugee relations was underestimated. In light of the evidence collected during the research, there emerged four desirable outcomes for police-refugee and refugee-police relationships. These include:

1. An understanding by members of refugee communities of the role of police in maintaining law and order by promoting education about rights and responsibilities in Australian law in a way that is accessible, practical and easy to understand.

2. The education of police officers to ensure proficiency in dealing with an incident involving members of newly arrived refugee communities.
3. The maximization of police effectiveness and efficiency by adopting community policing, particularly focussing on reassurance strategies, which are underpinned by cultural competency training.
4. Equal access by all members of the Tasmanian community to police services and the criminal justice system.

The first of these relates to the understanding of Australian law by refugee communities both as individuals and as a community. It includes the foundational concepts of law in Australia related to particular areas of law and policing but equally how those laws are policed in Australia. Considering that there are eight jurisdictions in Australia encompassing the states, territories and the role of the AFP, these understandings need to be specific to the settlement location of those refugee communities.

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These understandings need to be accessible to all individuals both in the pre-departure and post-arrival settlement process. Ideally, individuals would receive this information first-hand, including any appropriate language support, in a way that is easy to understand and highlights the practical ramifications. Importantly the information sessions or training that are conducted in this area with newly arrived communities, must also 'skill up' the individuals or representatives who will be supporting the ongoing understanding of Australian law within the refugee

community. This needs to focus heavily on ensuring the information is relevant and transferable in the lives of refugees as they settle in Australia. Ideally, a person should be able to understand how any law or police process would affect them now or in the future. This is not to suggest that this is in any way a straightforward and easy task but it needs to be undertaken through a quality process that includes presentation, confirmation, reiteration and, importantly, mechanisms for people to gain clarity at times when the detail of Australian law may become more pertinent to what is happening in their lives.

The second outcome focuses on the way police organisations can support their personnel through education processes in a uniform way, therefore maximising positive results. This includes the ‘up skilling’ in cultural competency of individual police personnel to inform their decision-making and increase the effectiveness of their communication, both listening and conveying messages, to achieve policing outcomes required and ideally mutually satisfying outcomes for all parties. It also relates to how organisations can build up and support future initiatives in training and policy, for providing a reflective model within that organisation.

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The third outcome relates very closely to the second outcome but is concerned with maximising the efficiency and effectiveness of policing. Resource allocation and effectiveness supports a prevention approach that focuses on de-escalation of any negative relationship that an individual may have with police into the future,

including the community version of that relationship as explored in the findings on the creation of community mythology. It refers to knowledge and the importance that individuals' attitudes to police will have on the severity and proliferation of negative contact that police may have with other members of the refugee community.

The last of these four desired outcomes relates to the practical challenges of equal access. This access refers directly to police services and the criminal justice system but fundamentally to the process of knowledge acquisition for people who have not been socialised in Australian society over a long period. The data has supported the concept that equal access may, at least temporarily, require unequal information and resource allocation particularly from police and those representing the criminal justice system. This concept was articulated differently depending on the perspective of the participant, police, service provider or member of the refugee community. The fundamental understanding though was the same, with a strong sense that equal access related as much to a moral right to be empowered as to a permanent resident or citizen's right to service delivery in this country. Whether unequal service delivery is required to ensure equal access as a temporary necessity or in an ongoing way depends on a few contributing factors. However, there was strong agreement that the quality of information, communication and the timeliness of its delivery would have the most impact.

These desired outcomes and their relationship to the research findings relate directly to overarching strategies that affect the relations and therefore the long-term effectiveness and efficiency of policing of vulnerable groups such as refugee communities. These overarching strategies, if effective, should require a reasonably short-term implementation for a long-term gain.

OVERARCHING STRATEGIES TO ENHANCE POLICE-REFUGEE RELATIONSHIP

Overarching key strategy areas to stimulate positive police-refugee relations include:

1. Communication;
2. Education and training;
3. Maximising organisational intelligence and expertise;
4. Positive partnerships; and
5. Promotion of positive images of newly arrived communities.

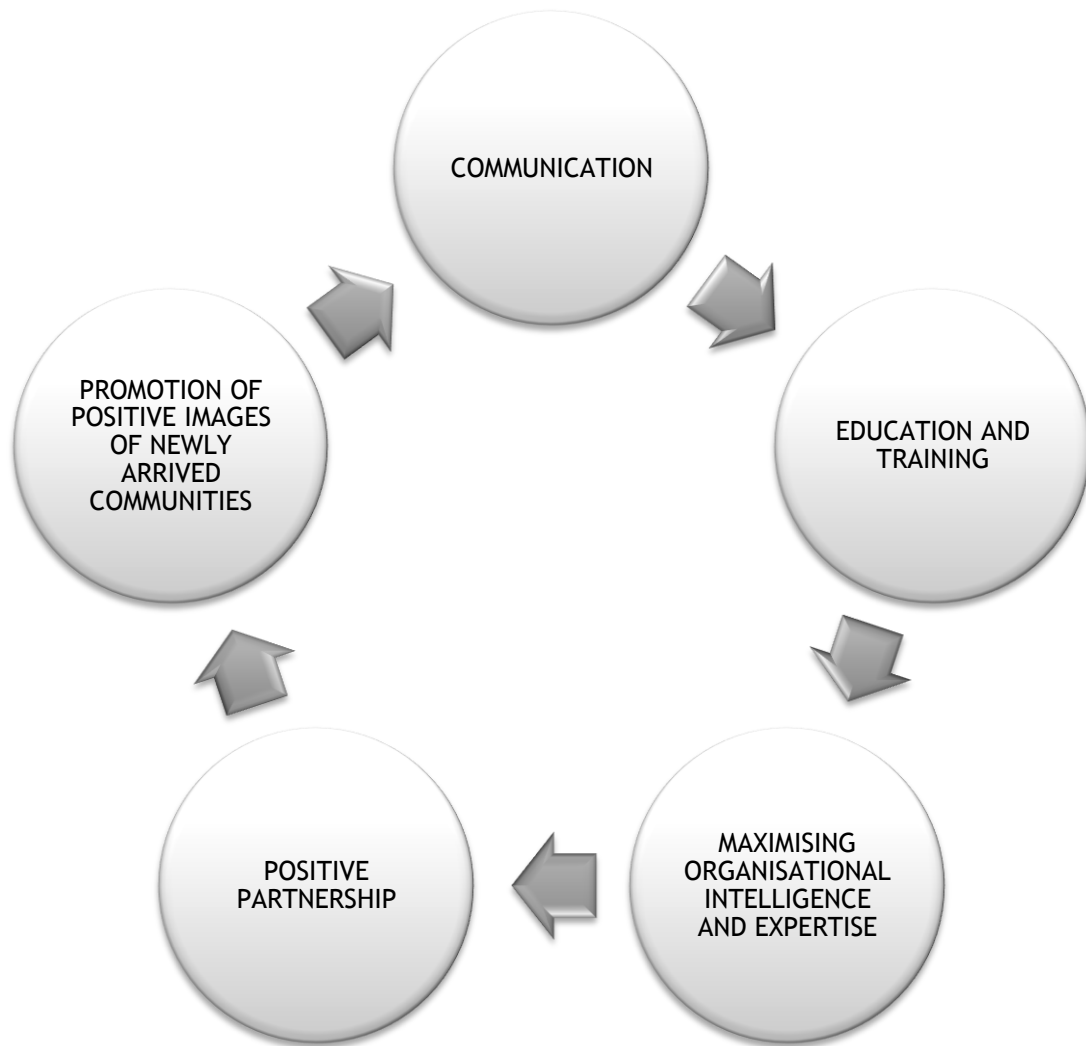
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It can be seen in the following model that these overarching strategies overlap and influence each other to enhance police-refugee relations most effectively. Indeed when multiple elements, or ideally all elements, are being utilised these overarching strategies will create the most fertile environment for police-refugee relations to become and remain positive. That is, if service providers are engaging in positive partnerships to maximise successful settlement both broadly and specifically concerning police, especially concerning the understanding of Australian law, then this

means trends can be observed and a more preventive approach initiated. Partnerships allow for positive reinforcement and reiteration of these messages.

Communication strategies and education/training are interrelated in terms of all parties understanding the importance of clear and respectful communication especially as this is influenced by cultural difference during the early stages of settlement. The education and training component relates both to police but also to members of the community where education and training can be supportive of creating trust and hope in life but also an important site to safely learn and understand about police and Australian law. Positive partnerships, communication and education training all need to be focused on maximising organisational intelligence and expertise both at the policy and the procedural level. In addition, the focus needs to maximise the initiative and confidence of individual officers to undertake their policing roles with a maximum positive effect on police-refugee relations. All parties need to promote positive images of newly arrived communities both through the mechanisms within their organisations and the use of formal and informal media. Promotion strategies encourage more widespread community acceptance of newly arrived refugees into Australia and therefore potentially create a less political, emotive and difficult environment in which to undertake policing. These overarching strategies (below) when linked with the following principles gives clear practical applications for how community policing can be a positive influence on police-refugee relations.

Figure 9: Overarching Strategies to Enhance the Relationship between Refugees and Police



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PRINCIPLES

The next section outlines a framework and associated strategies that can be adopted to encourage positive relations between police and refugees. The successful development and maintenance of positive relationships between police and newly arrived refugee communities requires a focus on the following principles:

Table 22: Principles and Prerequisites

PRINCIPLE	DESCRIPTION
The refugee journey	An understanding of how prior experiences and the social context during settlement in Australia may be experienced from the perspective of a newly arrived refugee.
Complexity	An appreciation of the potential complexity of an incident when language, cultural and experiential differences are present.
Access	An understanding of the importance of access to education and knowledge acquisition for members of refugee communities (regardless of whether their contact with police is as victims or perpetrators) to reduce the likelihood of negative contacts with police in the future.
Active requests	An appreciation that not all individuals will need extra support but that those who need assistance most are potentially least able to ask.
Two way relations	An appreciation that any positive relationship will be established through a two way process and often needs to be ongoing to achieve lasting results for that refugee community or family
Multidimensional communication	An appreciation that relationships may involve multidimensional communication with other parties involved in a support role (for example, interpreters and settlement support staff).
Whole of community education	An understanding that the impact of contact should be considered from an individual, family and community perspective to maximize relationship building and to minimise misunderstandings.
Consistency and quality	Although some of these strategies may be in use by police personnel, acknowledgement that consistency is important and therefore strategies need to be embedded in training, policy and procedures to have maximum effect.
Agents of change	An appreciation that both police and members of the refugee communities need to act as agents for change.

STRATEGIES FOR POLICE AND REFUGEE COMMUNITIES AND NON-POLICE ORGANISATIONS TO ENHANCE POSITIVE POLICE AND REFUGEE RELATIONS

The application of these principles presents both challenges and opportunities for the parties involved. These parties include police at all levels, location and rank. It presents both challenges and opportunities for the police academy in its training of recruits and the ongoing professional development of more senior staff particularly related to promotion. These challenges and opportunities can be seen at an organisational level and have a component that will require cultural reflection and potential change in the way the police present policy, procedures and training. These challenges and opportunities also exist at the individual level which again can be related to cultural change, but essentially they are about individual police officers at any rank, acknowledging how they can make a difference in their interaction, communication and then feedback to Tasmania police about dealings with refugee communities. For more details about specific strategies, see Appendix 21 and 22.

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Equally, change will occur and positive police-refugee relations will be created and maintained through the engagement of refugee communities in this process. These challenges and opportunities for the refugee communities will again be at organisational levels particularly concerning governance, representation and relationship building with police. This will require concerted cultural change to deal with the inherent discomfort and often mistrust of police officers and other uniformed government officials due to past experiences. As well, profound change can occur at

the individual level where initiatives break down the residue from these past experiences and replace it with positive interactions with police, both to re-educate the refugee community but also to assist in supporting the education of police officers themselves. The education of young people and children in these communities will be paramount to the long-term success of police-refugee relations into the future. For more details about specific strategies, see Appendix 21 and 22.

The practical application of strategies supporting police-refugee relations offers opportunities for service providers to play an active role in this process. Their assistance in the crucial time of transition and will be paramount. Their roles may be first-hand in the initial stages of settlement but over time they will play an important role in reiterating the sentiments and in some cases supporting individuals and their families who do indeed find themselves in trouble with police and the criminal justice system. Again, this will demand a cultural change to ensure that in the already busy schedules of these organisations and their workforce that solid partnerships with police and the refugee communities are maintained, particularly focusing on this area of police-refugee relations. For more details about specific strategies, see Appendix 21 and 22.

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Ideally, there is a role for the general public who can either initiate or participate as supportive agents of positive police-refugee relations. In this way, they become the advocates for community acceptance in the wider community, a vital ingredient to the

successful settlement of refugee communities particularly in regional Australia where refugee settlement may be less common. For more details about specific strategies, see Appendix 21 and 22.

The lives and roles of all will be made simpler if positive police-refugee relations are achieved and therefore the aspiration is that the challenges and opportunities will be actively embraced by police, refugee communities and service providers,. This is not to suggest that these changes require a complete overhaul of the way business is done, but that it requires an acknowledgement and a consciousness around how every interaction can effect police-refugee relations. An education process for all parties will suggest ways in which refinement and value adding to the way the process is already occurring can result in profound change.

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MEDIA

These practical applications also offer the opportunity for media to acknowledge their role in attitude formation particularly of the wider community and therefore of community acceptance, but in addition of individuals within the refugee community and police. The legitimacy of all parties can be enhanced or undermined by the way the media portrays the parties involved. Media should not underestimate its influence and therefore the opportunity to be a supportive mechanism to promote diversity in our community in a positive way. The mechanisms of media should also partner actively with both refugee communities and with police to create positive media

coverage of successful initiatives. The media need to be conscious of both the strong political and emotional mechanisms that they use in daily reporting and on whether, in the case of police-refugee relations, they want to situate themselves as part of the problem or part of the solution.

CONCLUSION

Based on the analysis of data collected through interviews and focus groups with African refugees and police, this research concludes that the following components are required to ensure positive and sustainable refugee-police relations in regional Australia. There needs to be an assisted process of knowledge creation and transfer about Australian law for individuals, families and communities with a focus on practical application of policing and the law to counteract the effects of past experiences.

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Education delivery must also acknowledge diversity in the different refugee communities, coping strategies and personalities of individuals. There needs to be consistency in the delivery of education about Australian law in terms of time and amount. The spot fire mentality of providing education when trouble starts should not be relied on so extensively. Education and support concerning understanding the law in any incident-based contact needs to be sensitive of the family involved even if service delivery is directly focused on the individual. The wider family will be the support for that individual and therefore that family needs to understand the context

and processes. An acknowledgement of the power/gender/age dynamic shifts and their implications in settlement needs is also required , along with an appreciation of the implications on the family and individual in their contact with police services. Overall, it is clear that an understanding of ‘experiential difference’ by refugees, police and other service providers is crucial for enhancing the settlement experiences of refugees in new and emerging communities.

Finally, there needs to be an appreciation of how policing in Australia may cause tensions between members of the refugee communities and police due to the importance of the relationship between the individual and community among refugees. Police may need to reflect on their role in triggering negative representations of police such as body language, treating people with dignity and the use of police and legal terminology.

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The key ideas to emerge from this research focus on the importance of trust and how that relates to the refugee journey and refugee settlement in influencing police-refugee relations. It offers insight into attitude formation and change by highlighting how transition, timing and the understanding of individual and community are fundamental to these relations. It demonstrates that the perceived legitimacy of police, and the concept captivated in multicultural citizenship particularly equity of access also need to be considered in any focus on positive police-refugee relations. It also highlights that the concept of access to justice and the follow-through by police is

strongly related to the sense of procedural justice for the individuals in these newly arrived communities in Australia. It demonstrates that this particular population, in its acute vulnerability during the initial stages of settlement, needs a sense of voice, a sense of hope in the future and a sense of trust in institutions that now surrounds them in a country to which they have fled for the primary reason of seeking safety.

CHAPTER 9 – CONCLUSION

The key argument of this thesis is that police are well placed to have a positive role in refugee settlement. Community policing is a powerful strategy to achieve positive long-term police-refugee relations particularly in regional Australia. To date very little research has been conducted on community policing and refugees in Australia especially with a focus on the process of settlement and its link to policing. The successful outcomes of positive relations can result in enhanced feelings of community safety and increased police effectiveness.

This research has undertaken a qualitative investigation of the process of creating, maintaining and enhancing positive police-refugee relations. By identifying and applying concepts through linking the processes of both refugee settlement and community policing the research offers strong insights with a practical application for policing. The research views community policing as a *process* (building relationships and trust) which needs to take into account the *process* of refugee settlement (timing, transition, relationship building and integration/social inclusion). Identifying strategies that can be applied is fundamentally important to enhancing police-refugee relations. However, there is a dearth of research such as this either in Australia or internationally. In a recent study, Murphy and Cherny (2010) strongly argue for the need for qualitative research in the area of police and refugees to complement quantitative studies that exist. This research has addressed this gap in the research in the area of police-refugee relations.

The thesis has comprehensively explored both the refugee literature and the community policing literature and linked them to enhance knowledge related to police and refugees. Research such as this has not been undertaken previously, especially with a focus on the process of relationship building rather than restricting analysis to police responses to isolated incidents. Undertaking this approach has meant that the research has captured understandings related to prevention and the enhancing of mechanisms that support police to undertake their job. These maximise both the effectiveness and efficiency of policing as well as the positive outcomes for the newly arrived refugee communities.

In relation to policing, the contribution is in informing both proactive and reactive strategies. This is achieved by focusing on the processes involved in community policing and understanding the mechanisms that build trust and communication between refugees and police. All these strategies need to directly reflect on the phases of refugee settlement and work actively to positively enhance relationships during these phases. Doing so will increase the likelihood of integration and decrease the chances of alienation and marginalisation. Strategies to avoid these negative phases of refugee settlement increase social inclusion outcomes for refugees and can also mitigate the risk of marginalisation, which may result in increased contact with police and the criminal justice system, subsequently adding to the workload of police.

The research demonstrates that the key issue is that of maximizing the efficiency and effectiveness of police work not about making police counsellors. It indicates that the process of policing must contain maximum education and knowledge acquisition opportunities for members of these new communities. It highlights the need for a strong understanding of the detrimental nature of negative perceptions of police held by refugees that are carried from pre-arrival experiences and that can remain with individuals, families and the community as a whole in the settlement context. The longer the negative attitudes remain the more difficult they are to change. Therefore, the proactive presentation of law and order issues and the way in which the face of Australian police is presented, are of utmost importance.

The research achieved these outcomes by not making assumptions initially about how enhancing police-refugee relationship may be achieved. The integrity of the research was built into the qualitative methods, which was inquiry-based and exploratory, searching for meanings and understandings of the world from the perspectives of refugees and police and therefore not using a model of hypothesis testing. The research explored the refugee perspective and the police perspective on police-refugee relations in regional Australia through interviews and focus groups, and was enhanced by observations of interactions between police and refugees.

In doing this, the research and the data collection process did not assume common understandings of terms by either police or refugees concerning such important

concepts as successful settlement, crime, policing, law and specific understandings related to aspects of law (for example, family violence). The research acknowledged that assumptions at this basic level of understanding fed into the difficulties in communication and conflicts in the understandings of the law. This inductive process of identifying 'voices' led to a recognition of the importance of the role of both restorative justice and procedural justice practices in influencing the police-refugee relationship positively.

By identifying the themes from a police perspective concerning refugee settlement in regional Australia, this thesis argues that police-refugee relations can be enhanced through community policing. Community policing strategies offer the key to developing and maintaining positive police-refugee relations. The research demonstrates that it is equally important for members of the refugee community and police personnel to act as agents of change and to create opportunities to enhance both police-refugee and refugee-police relations. In this way, change will require the participation of all parties.

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The meanings and understandings in police-refugee relations identified in this research are different from those in metropolitan Australia because of the limited history of cultural diversity in regional Australia especially in terms of refugee settlement. This research has the potential for a greater impact in these areas as the relationships and

practices between police and refugees are not yet institutionalised in regional Australia, when compared with such practices in metropolitan areas.

Strategies in regional areas may need to be different to those in metropolitan locations and focus on communication as a strong foundation for police and refugee relationships. Effective communication and relationships enable quality policing to overcome barriers that may have been created by the refugee experience and transition to a new country. As was commented:

... the community as our customer means everyone deserves equal quality of policing to address their need to feel safe. In this case, it might mean more effort. (Commissioned Officer)

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IMPACT OF THE RESEARCH

Evidence of both the importance of the contributions of this research and its impact currently is demonstrated in four ways:

1. The final report related to the research is currently posted on the following websites as an ongoing publication resource: Department of Immigration and Citizenship, Australian Institute of Criminology, Settlement Council of Australia, Refugee Council of Australia, Australian Human Rights Commission, the Anti Discrimination Commission and on AfricanOz.com.au (African Australian Online Resource).
2. The research developed strategies for Tasmania Police in police training and practices. The research is used in the curriculum for police recruits at the

Tasmania Police Academy. The research has also developed strategies for DIAC and refugee communities.

3. Various police jurisdictions around Australia have requested information or cited the work.
4. The research has actively informed current implementation projects that aim to strengthen positive police-refugee relations and refugee understandings about Australian law (e.g in regional New South Wales).

The research is transferable to other locations particularly in regional Australia or in smaller pockets of metropolitan areas. In this context, it could also be transferable to other countries where a similar process in the settlement of refugees occurs. Although this research specifically focuses on refugees from Africa, many of the learnings are transferable to other refugee communities. This is particularly so for communities who have experienced torture and trauma, especially if it relates to violence that has been state sanctioned. The research findings are useful for, but not limited to, communities who may be visibly different to their host communities in that they support the idea of successful settlement using police-refugee relations as a medium for community acceptance. Transferability of the research learnings to other service providers in other locations and/or working with other communities is potentially significant and may offer insight into ways to support the successful settlement of refugee communities.

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To test the potency and applicability of the research it was promoted in a large number of forums. The rationale was to raise debate and discussion concerning this highly

sensitive aspect of refugee settlement and to test the research with diverse audiences that influence and contribute to the wider area of research in both refugee settlement and policing in Australia. These forums included both international and national conferences in discipline areas such as criminology, cultural diversity, sociology, refugee settlement, policing and social exclusion and inclusion.

The diversity of interest and the audiences reached by these opportunities mentioned above demonstrates the success of the research to portray the voices and perspectives in police-refugee relations in Australia. As an applied research project motivated by the purpose of affecting both the theory and practical elements of a current, highly emotive and politically charged social issue in Australia, it has fulfilled its objective.

WIDER CONTRIBUTIONS

The research has highlighted issues relating to over-reporting and under-reporting among refugee communities, which were brought to the attention of both DIAC and Tasmania Police to ensure that support could be sourced for the community. The research has contributed knowledge to projects such as those aimed at assessing the extent of victimisation and under-reporting by members of refugee communities in Tasmania.

Feedback from the ARC Linkage partners has acknowledged that the project has been very beneficial. Issues of concern regarding policing and the new and emerging

communities are regularly raised by community members and are a high priority for DIAC to support positive settlement outcomes for humanitarian entrants. The research has raised the awareness of individuals and contributed to the organisational intelligence of both DIAC and Tasmania Police. In particular, it is expected that the findings and the strategies emerging from the research will inform and enable Tasmania Police to respond to humanitarian entrants in a coordinated and proactive manner rather than being reactive in the context of an incident. It has also assisted in the strengthening of positive partnerships in the pursuit of successful refugee settlement in regional Australia.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO RESEARCH

The research has made significant contributions to knowledge on refugee settlement, specifically regional refugee settlement and contributions to knowledge related to African refugee communities. In doing so, it has impacted on understandings and knowledge concerning the notion of relationship building at an individual level and a community level. This is an important distinction to understand when working cross culturally.

The research has also made contributions to knowledge on the significance of support during periods of transition for vulnerable populations. It has highlighted the importance of trust, especially institutional trust, and has also highlighted the importance of host community acceptance in refugee settlement. The contribution to

the community policing literature has been significant particularly due to the increased understanding of the practical application of how community policing can work with diversity and vulnerability to assist in effective policing. Specifically, the research highlights the ways in which police can become active agents to enhance police-refugee relations and refugee settlement more generally. Important is the contribution to the Australian body of knowledge in these areas as a majority of previous research has been undertaken in the United States or the United Kingdom. The research has also made a significant contribution on knowledge of research design for sensitive research with vulnerable individuals particularly those with a refugee background. It has shown how processes in research implementation can enhance understandings and the value of the research findings.

FURTHER RESEARCH

At the present time, there is a dearth of research with positive findings on refugee settlement in regional Australia particularly in the area of policing. This is because much of the material has been produced in reaction to justifiable and practical concerns about service delivery capabilities in regional Australia in supporting refugee settlement. However, much anecdotal evidence suggests that not all aspects of the regional settlement experience are negative. What is required now is the production of best practice models from these positive refugee settlement experiences. There is some interesting research emerging from Canada and Northern Europe (Danso 2001; Withers & Powell 2003) emphasizing the influences of different social environments

and community acceptance on refugee settlement and overall health. It is timely for research adopting a similar approach to be conducted in regional Australia. There are also implications for further research in the area of institutional trust and generalised trust in terms of police-refugee relationship building, including the encouraging of reporting to police (Kaariainen 2011).

CONCLUSION

The regional settlement of refugees is a relatively recent phenomenon in Australia and the research has implications for refugees, host communities and for policing in regional areas. Strategies in regional Australia will need to be different to those in metropolitan areas and locally relevant to reflect the characteristics of the refugee and host communities while also considering the resources available. A challenge exists for police to play an active role to counteract the detrimental consequences of negative perceptions of police held by many refugees, to support refugee-police relationships and to assist in creating stronger communities. This thesis argues that it is possible to support and create positive perceptions of law enforcement services among refugees. Police will need to be actively and practically aware of supporting a community with characteristics that include high visibility, high trauma background and diverse language support needs (Chan 1997) as well as negative experiences of police in the pre-arrival context. This process has the potential to reduce negative perceptions of refugees and in turn heighten understanding of the refugee experience for both host communities and the general public. The challenge is to create hospitable

communities, to restore the faith of refugees in institutions such as police and to establish a sense of safety and hope for the future during the settlement process.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1



SOCIAL SCIENCE APPLICATION FOR RESEARCH INVOLVING HUMAN SUBJECTS

On completion please
return to:

Executive Officer
Research and Development Office
Private Bag 01
Hobart, Tasmania 7001 Australia

435

1. TITLE OF INVESTIGATION		
Community Policing and Refugee Settlement in Regional Australia – A Case Study of Tasmania		
2. APPLICANTS		
Title/Name	Position	School or Discipline
Chief Investigator/Supervisor Associate Professor Roberta Julian	Director	TILES School of Government
'Phone 62262217	Fax 62262864	Email Roberta.Julian@utas.edu.tas

Other Investigator(s) / Students Danielle Campbell	PhD Student	TILES
Phone 0417778675	Fax	Email danielle.campbell@utas.edu.au
3. PURPOSE Research x Teaching <input type="checkbox"/>		
4. OUTLINE OF PROPOSAL		
Aims This research aims to explore the settlement of refugees in regional Australia through the lens of police-refugee relations. This research aims: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • to identify, analyse and theorise police-refugee (and refugee-police) relations in regional Australia; • to identify the ways in which policing generally, and community policing in particular, can enhance the settlement experiences of refugees in regional Australia; • to identify the barriers (e.g. cultural, religious, linguistic, socio-economic) to establishing and maintaining good working relations between police and refugees in regional Australia; • to identify and analyse police perceptions of refugees and refugee perceptions of police over a three year period; • to identify and analyse mechanisms for maintaining law and order within refugee communities in Tasmania, and; to develop best-practice models for community policing in the context of refugee settlement in regional Australia.		
Justification The UNHCR estimates that there are 20 million refugees in the world today (Kneebone and Allotey, 2002). Australia accepts 12,000 people per year under its Humanitarian Program. For the majority, past experiences with police and other law and order agencies have been		

overwhelmingly negative and often marked by brutality. Traditionally the majority of these settle in the larger Australian capital cities; namely, Sydney and Melbourne. However, in recent years there has been an increased effort on the part of Government to settle refugees in rural and regional Australia. A number of significant issues arise in relation to the cost and benefits of such regional settlement policies, for both the refugees and the wider Australian community(ies).

There is an urgent need to research the experiences of refugees who have settled in regional Australia. The strengths and the weaknesses of such a policy need to be analysed with a view to identifying those factors that enhance their settlement experiences. Key matters of concern that have been identified to date include infrastructure costs and the provision of services appropriate to the needs of this distinct population as well as employment, unemployment and leisure activities that influence processes of community integration. Taking a more proactive position, there are also law and order issues that may arise out of a lack of integration (boredom, mental health problems, domestic violence) as well as conflicts that may arise between refugees and other residents of regional Australia.

Tasmania provides an excellent location to analyse police-refugee relations and service provision to refugees in rural and regional Australia. Tasmania as a whole is recognised as a regional location by the Department of Immigration, Multicultural and Indigenous Affairs. However, there are significant variations within the state that will allow for the examination of differences within 'types' of region

In the past five years, decisions have been made by DIMIA, in consultation with other government and non-government agencies, to dramatically increase the intake of humanitarian entrants in Tasmania. Numbers have grown from an average of 150 over the past ten years to 380 in 2003.

This research will make a significant contribution to knowledge in the field of policing in multicultural societies. It will not only contribute to existing knowledge on police-minority relations, but begin to mark out new theoretical territory that is crucial for understanding settlement processes and law and order processes among refugees throughout Australia. Since much of the international research on police-minority relations has focused on urban environments, the research will also make an important international contribution to theoretical and substantive knowledge of these processes in rural and regional contexts.

Period of investigation

Commencement	Feb 2006	Completion	date	December
date		2007		

5. FUNDING

Do the investigators have any financial interest in this	Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>
--	-----	--------------------------

project?	No <input type="checkbox"/> X
If this Application relates to a Grant or Consultancy, please indicate the title and Number relating to it:	
ARC Linkage Grant Project ID: LP455618	Amounts \$150 660 Total Cash and in kind support
6. REVIEW OF ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS	
Has this protocol previously been submitted to a committee operating within the HREC (Tasmania) Network If 'yes' please indicate when and the reference	Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Does this project need the approval of any other Ethics Committee?	Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
If 'YES', Please indicate below what Institutions are involved and what the status of the Approval?	
State name of other Ethics Committees:	Indicate Status:
7. APPROVALS FROM OTHER DEPARTMENTS/INSTITUTIONS	
(i.e. Department of Education, Particular wards in hospitals, Prisons, Government Institutions, Businesses)	
Does this project need the approval of any other Institution?	Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
If 'YES', Please indicate below what Institutions are involved and what the status of the Approval?	
Name of other Institutions	Indicate Status
Tasmania Police: Approval from the Department has been given through the ARC Linkage grant process. The Letter of Support documents financial and practical support for the project. (Added to supporting documents) All areas of this support were negotiated	

and will continue to be clarified throughout the project. In these negotiations ethical issues, concerns and expectations were discussed and signed off on by the Deputy Commissioner for Police, Jack Johnson. In addition the researcher will be subject to a confidentiality agreement. All PhD students in TILES sign a confidentiality agreement with Tasmania Police.

DIMIA (Tasmanian State Office): Approval from the Department has been given through the ARC Linkage grant process. The Letter of Support documents financial and practical support for the project. (Added to supporting documents) All areas of this support were negotiated and will continue to be clarified throughout the project when support is required from the department. In these negotiations ethical issues, concerns and expectations were discussed and signed off by the State Director, James McCormack.

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9. PROCEDURES

Detailed procedures

1. Interviews with Tasmania Police

In-depth semi-structured interviews will be conducted with members of Tasmania Police who have some interaction with refugees on a regular basis. This will comprise 10 police in Hobart, 6 in Launceston and 4 in Burnie/Devonport. They will be interviewed twice: at 6 months into the study and again 18 months later (i.e. at the end of year 2). The focus in these interviews will be on their understandings and perceptions of, and experiences with, refugees in the previous 12 months.

2. Interviews with key service providers and Community Support for Refugees (CSR) volunteers as contextual actors

Interviews will be conducted with key service providers and members of the refugee support (CSR) groups. These will take place in the first 6 months and again about 18 months later.

3. Interviews with humanitarian entrants/refugees

Following ethical procedures adopted in previous studies to ensure the *informed* consent of humanitarian entrants (see, for example, Julian et al., 1997; Julian, 2003), prior to interviewing humanitarian entrants/refugees extensive consultation will be undertaken with refugee groups/organisations where they exist (e.g. the African Reference Group in Hobart, the Sudanese and Sierra Leone Associations), the CSR groups, MRC workers and others who work regularly with refugees. The aims of such consultation will be (a) to provide information on the aims and expected outcomes of the study, and (b) to ensure that procedures for voluntary participation, confidentiality and anonymity are understood. The position of the researcher vis-a-vis Tasmania Police and DIMIA will be made clear, feedback mechanisms to refugees will be explained and opportunities for refugees to provide feedback to the researcher (on methodological and substantive matters) will be provided. Interpreters will be employed at the request of the

interviewee and/or the interviewer.

Interviews with humanitarian entrants/refugees will involve a number of strategies:

3.1 Individual interviews

In-depth semi-structured interviews will be conducted with individual refugees including community leaders. These interviewees will include men and women, youth and adults representing different settlement periods. The aim of these interviews will be to explore perceptions of, and experiences with, Tasmania Police in the early stages of settlement and again 12 months later.

3.2 Focus group interviews

A number of focus group interviews will be conducted to address specific issues that arise from the individual interviews (concerning police-refugee relations in regional Australia). These will investigate the issues from the group's perspective, document symptoms of these issues highlighted by refugee community members and address solution and preventative approaches to these issues by police, service providers generally (where appropriate) and by the refugee communities themselves. These issues may include: young people and the police; family violence; trauma-related violence such as assaults, licencing and traffic, substance abuse and mental illness. The specific issues to be addressed will emerge during the course of the research. These focus groups will be conducted in the second year of the project.

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4. Participant Observation

Observations will be undertaken on a regular basis by the researcher in each of the 3 sub-regions in Tasmania (North, North West and South). This will involve attendance at activities such as refugee community events and those associated with the 'Police in Schools Program' as well as accompanying police on some of their patrols. In addition access has been agreed to by Tasmanian Police for observation of Academy training curriculum, cross- cultural presentations and diversity training.

Data Analysis

The data analysis will comprise a thematic analysis of the qualitative data. Analysis and documentation of primary data will be in reference to:

- Comparison with international strategies.

- Differences and similarities in regional Tasmanian data.
- Observations in relation to potential preventative strategies in community policing relationships particularly in the rural/regional setting.

Where is this project to be conducted?

The researchers will conduct the research in the South (Hobart), North (Launceston) and North West (Devonport and Burnie).

10. SUBJECTS

The subjects will be

- **Members of the Tasmanian refugee communities**
 - 1. Adults**
 - 2. Youth aged between 12-18 years**
- **Tasmania Police personnel**
- **Key Service Providers: Stakeholders from Government and community organizations, AMES teachers and Community Support for Refugees Volunteers**

10.1 Selection of subjects

Refugee Interview participants

Refugee interview participants will represent all countries of origin (Sudan, Ethiopia, Sierra Leone, Rwanda, Burundi). A selection of ethnicities from these countries will also be sought. The type and length of camp stay in the country of asylum and the character of the transition period will also be represented. Interviews will include people of different ages, gender and positions in family.

Focus group participants

Focus group participants may be sought from among interview participants, in addition to individuals associated with the issue being discussed at the focus group. The above differentiations as in the refugee interview participants will be sought in the selection of focus group participants.

Police personnel

Police personnel will be sought through the Tasmania Police Multicultural Liaison

Officer and will mainly include police who have had experience with the refugee community or show an interest in this area. Selection will aim at variations in rank, length of service and gender. It will aim to represent a range of police policy makers, crime investigators and police general duties.

Key service providers and CSR volunteers

The selection of key service providers and CSR will involve a cross section of stakeholders working in the industry with different levels of policy making/ grassroots experience. Information regarding the research will be sent to all relevant agencies, government departments and volunteers who work with the refugee communities.

All participants will be voluntary and will be given both information sheet and consent forms to sign. A wide range of research participants (especially from the refugee community) is desirable and wide range of service providers will be invited to participate.

Permission to interview participants who are under 18 years will be arranged in advance of the study and individual permission will be sought from young people and adults prior to commencement. All participants and guardians will be given information sheets and asked to sign consent forms.

10.2 Recruitment of subjects

All subjects will be invited to participate in the study as volunteers. Subjects will be informed of the research aims prior to agreeing to participate.

Refugee Interview participants

Refugee Interview participants will be selected through interest originating from the knowledge of the research from key service providers, CSR volunteers and police personnel (specifically the Multicultural liaison officer). These stakeholders will be asked to provide information on the research to refugees who will then contact the researcher if they are interested in participating.

Focus group participants

Focus group participants will be interview participants, plus individuals interested in the issues being discussed at the focus group. Participants will be informed of the focus group through interviewees, service providers or police personnel. The notice board and newsletters of AMES and CSR maybe utilised. People interested in participating in the focus groups will contact the researcher to indicate their interest.

Police personnel

The Multicultural Liaison Officer will verbally inform police personnel of the existence of the research if they have had experience with the refugee community or show an interest in this area. They will be given contact details of the researcher to follow up if interested in participating in an interview.

Key service providers and CSR volunteers

Key service providers and CSR volunteers will be selected from a group of interested parties that contact the researcher after notification of the research is sent to all relevant agencies, government departments and volunteers who work with the refugee communities.

All participants will be voluntary and will be given both information sheet and consent forms to sign. A wide range of research participants especially from the refugee community is desirable and a wide range of stakeholders will be invited to participate.

Permission to interview participants who are under 18 years will be arranged in advance of the study and individual permission will be sought from young people and adults prior to commencement. All participants and guardians will be given information sheets and asked to sign consent forms.

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10.3 Information about subjects

State whether information will be identified, potentially identifiable or unidentified

Each survey and interview will be individually coded and re-identifiable. A system of ID codes will be used for all research participants. All transcripts consent forms and ID codes will be kept separately from each other in sealed containers. A data base will be kept secure by the researchers

De-Identified ☐

Re-Identifiable X

Identifiable ☐

If the information is Re-Identifiable or Identifiable please give details of the information that will be collected. Also indicate how the confidentiality and anonymity of the participants will be protected:

Information may include general past experiences and experiences with/ or as

Tasmania Police. (See interview schedules attached). Names and details will be coded and stored separately. All information collected will be securely stored during and after the research in locked and secure premises in TILES at the University of Tasmania.

10.4 Will any personal information be collected from sources other than the subjects themselves? Yes ☒ No ☐

If **YES**, please declare the sources of the Information i.e. medical records, databases, registries, lists of members from Associations, clubs etc:

Information concerning specific incidents may be gained through verbal communication from Tasmania Police, but will not involve access to formal Police documentation. The details of the incident will be accessed not the names or details of those involved.

In the research report no details of specific incidents will be provided without the consent of all those involved.

10.5 Will data on individual subjects be obtained from any Commonwealth Government agency without seeking the Consent of the Individuals? Yes No ☒

See 10.4 above If **Yes**, then please declare which agency and what information is being sought:

11. POTENTIAL RISKS

11.1. Identification of the Risks:

Risk of identification in the focus groups.

Both the consent form and the interview introduction delivered oral requires a signature or requests that any participant that was not willing to ensure confidentiality can leave before the session begins.

Risk of reintroduction of trauma

There will be another research assistant to observe participants to ensure that no one is too upset. This person can accompany a person outside the room with an interpreter if necessary. No one will leave the session in an agitated state.

Risk to anonymity through the reference to an identifiable event in the material

<p>produced</p> <p>Any reference to a specific event where anonymity is at risk will have details removed to ensure every participant's anonymity. Any report or document that is produced for the research will therefore assure anonymity by omitting reference to both names and events.</p> <p>11.2. Precautions taken to mitigate the risks</p> <p>Engagement of university counsellors or staff from the Phoenix centre specialising in torture and trauma issues. This will be in place before research begins but will be utilised as need arises.</p>							
<p>12. POST CONTACT</p> <p>No post contact is envisaged</p>							
<p>12. REMUNERATION</p> <p>None</p>							
<p>14. CONFIDENTIALITY</p> <p>Through TILES the researcher has signed a confidentiality agreement with Tasmania Police.</p> <p>All raw data will be held on University of Tasmania Premises for a period of 5 years from the date of publication (This includes the publication of the thesis).</p> <table> <tr> <td>Where will the data be kept -</td><td>TILES, School of Government</td></tr> <tr> <td>How will the data will be kept secure (in locked cabinets or secure servers):</td><td>Secure locked cabinets and server</td></tr> <tr> <td>How will the data be destroyed after the 5 years is up?</td><td>All tapes and electronic data will be erased and all paper</td></tr> </table>		Where will the data be kept -	TILES, School of Government	How will the data will be kept secure (in locked cabinets or secure servers):	Secure locked cabinets and server	How will the data be destroyed after the 5 years is up?	All tapes and electronic data will be erased and all paper
Where will the data be kept -	TILES, School of Government						
How will the data will be kept secure (in locked cabinets or secure servers):	Secure locked cabinets and server						
How will the data be destroyed after the 5 years is up?	All tapes and electronic data will be erased and all paper						

	documentation will be shredded
Are Audio Tapes and Videotapes being used to record data?	Yes <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/>
<p>If YES then please indicate how the anonymity of the participants is going to be protected:</p> <p>An ID number will identify the interview participants. The central register for the ID numbers will be stored on a secure database by the research staff and kept separate from the research data.</p>	
15. ANONYMITY	
15.1 How will anonymity of subjects be assured?	
Names will be recorded separately from the ID numbers (re-identifiable).	
<p>The raw data collected through interviews and focus groups will belong to TILES. Tasmania Police will not be given access to raw data. Tasmania Police will be provided with reports that do not identify any individuals either through information about an individual or through details of any specific event.</p> <p>Inspector Richman is a CI in the study. However, for this particular research he has waived his right as a CI to access raw data. He will only receive de-identified reports.</p>	
15.2 Are Focus Groups involved in this project?	Yes <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/>
<p><i>If YES: Please take note of the comment</i></p> <p>See Focus Group Consent Form</p>	
16 ADMINISTRATION OF SUBSTANCES OR AGENTS	
N/A	
17. OTHER ETHICAL ISSUES	
None	
18. INFORMATION SHEET	
<p>Is the Information Attached? Information sheets attached for all anticipated research cohorts:</p> <p style="text-align: right;">Yes <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Interview participants from the Tasmanian refugee communities (Form not titled 'refugee' due to concerns 	

<p>about unnecessary labelling of participants)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Focus Group participants from the Tasmanian refugee communities (Form not titled 'refugee' due to concerns about unnecessary labelling of participants) Under 18 years Focus group and Interview participants from the Tasmanian refugee communities (Form not titled 'refugee' due to concerns about unnecessary labelling of participants) Tasmania Police personnel Key informants: Stakeholders from Government and community organizations, AMES teachers and Community Support for Refugees Volunteers
<p>If 'No' please provide an explanation why it isn't attached:</p>
<p>19. CONSENT FORM</p> <p>Consent forms attached for all anticipated research cohorts:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Interview participants from the Tasmanian refugee communities (Form not titled 'refugee' due to concerns about unnecessary labelling of participants) Focus Group participants from the Tasmanian refugee communities (Form not titled 'refugee' due to concerns about unnecessary labelling of participants) Under 18 years Focus group and Interview participants from the Tasmanian refugee communities (Form not titled 'refugee' due to concerns about unnecessary labelling of participants) Tasmania Police personnel Key Service Providers: Stakeholders from Government and community organizations, AMES teachers and Community Support for Refugees Volunteers <p>Is the Consent Form Attached? As explained in 18 above Yes <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>If 'No' please provide an explanation why it isn't attached:</p>

20. DECLARATIONS
Statement of scientific merit

The **Head of School*** is required to sign the following statement:

- This proposal has been considered and is sound with regard to its merit and methodology.
- The Head of School's (or Head of Discipline's) signature on the application form indicates that he/she has read the application and confirms that it is sound with regard to:
 - (i) educational and/or scientific merit and
 - (ii) research design and methodology.

If the Head of School/Discipline is one of the investigators **this statement must be signed by an appropriate person**. This will normally be the Head of School/Discipline in a related area or by the Dean.

This does not preclude the Committee from questioning the research merit or methodology of any proposed project where it feels it has the expertise to do so.

(Name of Head of School) (Signature)

(Date)

Assoc. Professor

Marcus Haward

* In some schools the signature of the Head of Discipline may be more appropriate.

* The certification of scientific merit may not be given by an investigator on the project.

Conformity with NHMRC guidelines

The *chief investigator* is required to sign the following statement:

I have read and understood the *National statement on ethical conduct in research involving humans*

1999. I accept that I, as chief investigator, am responsible for ensuring that the investigation proposed in this form is conducted fully within the conditions laid down in the *National Statement* and any other conditions specified by the University Human Research Ethics Committee.

(Name of chief investigator)	(Signature)	(Date)
Associate Professor Roberta Julian		
Signatures of other investigators		
(Name)	(Signature)	(Date)
(Name)	(Signature)	(Date)
(Name)	(Signature)	(Date)

Appendix 2



Private Bag 01 Hobart
Tasmania 7001 Australia
Telephone (03) 6226 2764
Facsimile (03) 6226 7148
Marilyn.Knott@utas.edu.au
http://www.research.utas.edu.au/human_ethics/index.htm

HUMAN RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE (TASMANIA) NETWORK

Social Sciences – Ethics AMENDMENT Form

Any changes to an approved Ethics project

Please email the completed form to: marilyn.knott@utas.edu.au

Please post the signed copy to:

**Marilyn Knott, Ethics Officer Social Sciences, Research Services, Private Bag 01,
Hobart, Tas. 7001.**

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Ethics Reference No. H8597

Date 23 April 2007

Project Title:	Community policing and refugee settlement in regional Australia: A case study of Tasmania
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CHIEF INVESTIGATOR DETAILS	
Name:	Danielle Campbell
Phone:	62267598

Email address:	Danielle.campbell@utas.edu.au
Contact address:	1 Carriage Drive, Queen's Domain, Tasmania, 7000
OTHER INVESTIGATOR NAMES (Co-Investigators, students)	

REQUESTED CHANGES TO PROJECT
(These may include, for example, changes in procedure or direction of the project, changes to research personnel, changes in the source or manner of recruitment, or changes in the number of subjects.)
<p>There are two proposed changes:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Focus groups will be organised according to refugee community rather than the by specific theme and having mixed communities in focus groups. 2. A refugee informant will liaise between the refugee participants and the researcher. To assist in the organisation of these groups a research assistant will be utilised from each of the communities to be represented. These research assistants will be sourced through service providers and have a practical understanding of the dynamics of these communities. There will be 7 focus groups. The reason for the changes is explained below.

JUSTIFICATION/REASON FOR THE CHANGES

1. The as research assistants will assist in organisation, assistance in focus group management to support the facilitator and in debriefing to ensure the validity and content of the data has been interpreted soundly from the group. They will assist in organising the focus group ie dissemination of information of focus group, venue and hospitality organisation all in the assistance of creating familiar and conducive environment. The primary researcher/facilitator will have a meeting with the research assistant prior to the focus group to familiarise with project details including the purpose and project level design. These include standardisation, sampling and numbers in the group. It also involves allowing the research assistant to understand the purpose of project and to ask any questions. This places them in the best position to support potential participants in understanding the project and their involvement. The research assistant will also be enlisted to support the primary researcher/facilitator in group level design and any issues that a particular group may present to the project. This includes strategies for maximising comfort and trust before, after and most importantly during the focus group. The research assistant will also be briefed to support the presentation of focus group questions if at first the facilitator is not completely understood both for reasons of language but also due to conceptual understanding i.e. how family violence laws work in Australia. With two people supporting these focus groups, it will maximize the focus group purpose and ability to stay on track to maximise data collection with participants their need to be heard.

2. There has been a notable rise in suspicion to enquiries into their communities. The nervous reaction by the refugee community in Tasmania in response to the recent negative media portrayals of particularly Sudanese but black Africans in general. Although these media portrayals occurred in Melbourne in refugee communities nationally are well linked. These portrayal have lead to many individuals believing that they personally or their community has been grossly misrepresented and in a number of cases directly misquoted or that quotes were taken completely out of context. There is a distinctly higher level of suspicion. In appreciation of this understandable change in behaviour generally and with consultation with community members the above strategies were decided upon to combat the decline in trust and maximise the success of the research. The fundamental difference to the original application in adding another layer of contact to act as a familiar face and person to instil trust in the process of both recruitment, (whereby people can ask questions), an ease of contact, (with someone the participants know and trust) and a person present in the room to support a safe an constructive environment for research data to be gathered.

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Do the changes raise any ethics issues? If yes, please identify the issues.		x
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YES

NO

Do the Information Sheet or Consent form need to be changed? If yes, please attach the revised information sheet and/or consent form.	x	
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Chief Investigator name:

Chief Investigator signature:.....

Date:



ARE YOU INTERESTED IN BEING PART OF RESEARCH?

Project Title: Community Policing and Refugee Settlement in Regional Australia A Case Study of Tasmania

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TILES, which is part of the University of Tasmania, has been asked to investigate community policing and refugee settlement in regional Australia. This gives you a chance to tell us what you think of issues surrounding police-refugee relations so that police can improve understanding and refugee communities can achieve more successful settlement. As part of the research we would like to interview members of the police force who have had experience with the refugee community in Tasmania.

PLEASE CONTACT:

PhD Researcher
Danielle Campbell
Email: danielle.campbell@utas.edu.au
Ph (03) 62267598
0417778679

Appendix 4



Information Sheet for Tasmania Police Personnel

Project Title:
Community Policing and Refugee Settlement in Regional Australia
A Case Study of Tasmania

TILES, which is part of the University of Tasmania, is undertaking an investigation into community policing and refugee settlement in regional Australia. The research will be part of a PhD study. This gives you a chance to tell us what you think of issues surrounding police-refugee relations so that police can improve understanding and refugee communities can achieve more successful settlement. As part of the research we would like to interview members of Tasmania Police.

The information sheet has been sent to you through Tasmania Police and your details have not been given to the researcher. Therefore this process is voluntary. If you are interested in participating in the research please contact the PhD researcher through contact details at the end of this information sheet.

To undertake this research we would like to interview you at a time that is convenient for you. The interview will last for 1-2 hours. All information collected will be confidential, that is we will not record your name on the information we collect and any data published in reports will not identify anyone who helped with the research. We ask your consent to do this.

The interview will cover issues concerning police-refugee relations. These may include issues surrounding refugee settlement and also more specific issues concerning police interaction with refugee communities and their members.

The research will conclude with an Australian Research Council report and a more practical report to both DIMIA and Tasmania Police. The data will be primarily produced in thematic form but if quotes are included they will be de-identified or direct permission for their inclusion will be sought from you.

With your consent the interview will be recorded. The recording will be de-identified to protect the participant's privacy. These recordings will be stored in a secure place for five years and then destroyed.

Participation is entirely voluntary and you can withdraw at any time. You may also have data from the interview withdrawn if you wish. You may choose not to answer questions. A participant can also make a request for a transcript of the interview for editing or modification.

No one will be identifiable in any way as a result of participation in the research.

A final summary of the results of the study will be provided to participants who request it. Your contact details will only be kept if you wish to have a summary of the research. Contact details will be kept separately from any data collected during the interview.

This research has received ethical approval from the Human Research Ethics Committee (Tasmania) Network. If you have any concerns about the ethics of the interview or the research process please contact the Executive Officer.

Executive Officer – Amanda McAully. (03) 62262763

You will be asked to sign a consent form to evidence your willingness to participate in this research, and you will be provided with a copy of this information sheet and the consent form to keep.

If you have any further questions or complaints please contact:

Chief Investigator
Associate Professor Roberta Julian
Email: Roberta.Julian@utas.edu.au
Ph (03) 62262331

PhD Researcher
Danielle Campbell
Email: danielle.campbell@utas.edu.au
Ph (03) 62262393

**Associate Professor
Roberta Julian**

Danielle Campbell

Appendix 5



CONSENT FORM

Tasmania Police Personnel Interview Participation

Community Policing and Refugee Settlement in Regional Australia –
A Case Study of Tasmania

1. I have read and understood the 'Information Sheet' for this study.
2. The nature and possible effects of the study have been explained to me.
3. I understand that the study involves my participation in an interview for approximately two hours at a venue to be decided. The topics will cover community policing and refugee/police relations.
4. I understand the interview will be recorded and transcribed. I understand that all research data will be securely stored on the University of Tasmania premises for a period of 5 years. The data will be destroyed at the end of 5 years.
5. I understand that I can make a request for a transcript of the interview for editing or modification.
6. Any questions that I have asked have been answered to my satisfaction.
7. I agree that research data gathered for the study may be published provided that I cannot be identified as a subject
8. I agree to participate in this investigation and understand that I may withdraw at any time or withdraw data without any effect to my participation in the study.

Name of participant _____

Signature of participant _____ Date _____

9. I have explained this project and the implications of participation in it to this volunteer and I believe that the consent is informed and that he/she understands the implications of participation.

Name of investigator _____ Danielle Campbell _____

Signature of investigator _____ Date _____

Appendix 6



Information Sheet for Key Service Provider Participants

Project Title:
Community Policing and Refugee Settlement in Regional Australia
A Case Study of Tasmania

TILES, which is part of the University of Tasmania, is undertaking an investigation into community policing and refugee settlement in regional Australia. This is part of a PhD study. This gives you a chance to tell us what you think of issues surrounding police-refugee relations so that police can improve understanding and refugee communities can achieve more successful settlement. As part of the research we would like to interview members of the refugee community in Tasmania.

This information sheet has been sent to you through a service provider and your details have not been given to the researcher. Therefore this process is voluntary. If you are interested in participating in the research please contact the PhD researcher through contact details at the end of this information sheet.

To undertake this research we would like to interview you at a time and venue that is convenient for you. The interview will last for 1-2 hours. All information collected will be confidential, that is we will not record your name on the information we collect and any data published in reports will not identify anyone who helped with the research. We ask your consent to do this.

If you need an interpreter, one will be provided.

The interview will cover issues concerning police-refugee relations. These may include issues surrounding refugee settlement and also more specific issues concerning police interaction with refugee communities and their members.

The research will conclude with an Australian Research Council report and a more practical report to both DIMIA and Tasmania Police. The data will be primarily produced in thematic form but if quotes are included they will be de-identified or direct permission for their inclusion will be sought from you.

With your consent the interview will be recorded. The recording will be de-identified to protect your privacy. These recordings will be stored in a secure place for five years and then destroyed.

Participation is entirely voluntary and you can withdraw at any time. You may also have data from the interview withdrawn if you wish. You may choose not to answer questions. If you withdraw or choose not to participate in the research this will not affect your standing in the project.

No one will be identifiable in any way as a result of participation in the research.

A final summary of the results of the study will be provided to participants who request it. Your contact details will only be kept if you wish to have a summary of the research. Contact details will be kept separately from any data collected during the interview.

This research has received ethical approval from the Human Research Ethics Committee (Tasmania) Network. If you have any concerns about the ethics of the interview or the research process please contact the Executive Officer.

Executive Officer – Amanda McAully. (03) 62262763

You will be asked to sign a consent form to evidence your willingness to participate in this research, and you will be provided with a copy of this information sheet and the consent form to keep.

If you have any further questions or complaints please contact:

Chief Investigator
Associate Professor Roberta Julian
Email: Roberta.Julian@utas.edu.au
Ph (03) 62262331

PhD Researcher
Danielle Campbell
Email: danielle.campbell@utas.edu.au
Ph (03) 62262393

**Associate Professor
Roberta Julian**

Danielle Campbell

Appendix 7



CONSENT FORM

Key Service Providers Interview Participation

Community Policing and Refugee Settlement in Regional Australia –
A Case Study of Tasmania

1. I have read and understood the 'Information Sheet' for this study.
2. The nature and possible effects of the study have been explained to me.
3. I understand that the study involves my participation in an interview for approximately two hours at a venue to be decided. The topic of the interview is police/refugee relations and refugee settlement issues.
4. I understand that if I need counselling as a result of my participation in the interview that this will be provided by the University of Tasmania counsellors and to access this I will contact the investigator.
5. I understand that the interviews will be audio recorded. I understand that all research data will be securely stored on the University of Tasmania premises for a period of 5 years. The data will be destroyed at the end of 5 years.
6. Any questions that I have asked have been answered to my satisfaction.
7. I agree that research data gathered for the study may be published provided that I cannot be identified as a subject
8. I agree to participate in this investigation and understand that I may withdraw at any time or withdraw data from the interview without any effect to my participation in the study.

Name of participant _____

Signature of participant _____ Date _____

9. I have explained this project and the implications of participation in it to this volunteer and I believe that the consent is informed and that he/she understands the implications of participation.

Name of investigator _____ Danielle Campbell

Signature of investigator _____ Date _____

Appendix 8



Information Sheet for Interview Participants

Project Title:
Community Policing and Refugee Settlement in Regional Australia
A Case Study of Tasmania

TILES, which is part of the University of Tasmania, is undertaking an investigation into community policing and refugee settlement in regional Australia. The research is part of a PhD study. This gives you a chance to tell us what you think of issues surrounding police-refugee relations so that police can improve understanding and refugee communities can achieve more successful settlement. As part of the research we would like to interview members of the refugee community in Tasmania.

The information sheet has been sent to you through a service provider and your details have not been given to the researcher. Therefore this process is voluntary. If you are interested in participating in the research please contact the PhD researcher through contact details at the end of this information sheet.

To undertake this research we would like to interview you at a time and venue that is convenient for you. The interview will last for 1-2 hours. All information collected will be confidential, that is we will not record your name on the information we collect and any data published in reports will not identify anyone who helped with the research. We ask your consent to do this.

If you need an interpreter, one will be provided.

The interview will cover issues concerning police-refugee relations. These may include issues surrounding refugee settlement and also more specific issues concerning police interaction with refugee communities and their members. At a later stage you may be asked about your willingness to participate in a focus group to explore further the issues for the community that may emerge from the interviews. Any participation will be entirely voluntary.

With your consent the interview will be recorded. The recording will be de-identified to protect the participant's privacy. These recordings will be stored in a secure place for five years and then destroyed.

Participation is entirely voluntary and you can withdraw at any time. You may also have data from the interview withdrawn if you wish. You may choose not to answer questions. If you withdraw or choose not to participate in the research this will not affect your standing on the project

No one will be identifiable in any way as a result of participation in the research.

A final summary of the results of the study will be provided to participants who request it. Your contact details will only be kept if you wish to have a summary of the research. Contact details will be kept separately from any data collected during the interview.

This research has received ethical approval from the Human Research Ethics Committee (Tasmania) Network. If you have any concerns about the ethics of the interview or the research process please contact the Executive Officer.

Executive Officer – Amanda McAully. (03) 62262763

You will be asked to sign a consent form to evidence your willingness to participate in this research, and you will be provided with a copy of this information sheet and the consent form to keep. Any participants under the age of 18 years will need to also complete a parental/guardian consent form.

If you have any further questions or complaints please contact:

Chief Investigator
Associate Professor Roberta Julian
Email: Roberta.Julian@utas.edu.au
Ph (030) 62262331

PhD Researcher
Danielle Campbell
Email: danielle.campbell@utas.edu.au
Ph (03) 62262393

**Associate Professor
Roberta Julian**

Danielle Campbell

Appendix 9



CONSENT FORM

Interview Participation

Community Policing and Refugee Settlement in Regional Australia –
A Case Study of Tasmania

1. I have read and understood the 'Information Sheet' for this study.
2. The nature and possible effects of the study have been explained to me.
3. I understand that the study involves my participation in an interview for approximately two hours at a venue to be decided. The topic of the interview will include refugee/police relations and refugee settlement issues.
4. I understand that if I need counselling as a result of my participation in the interview that this will be provided by the University of Tasmania counsellors or the Phoenix centre and to access this I will contact the investigator.
5. I understand the interview will be recorded and transcribed. I understand that all research data will be securely stored on the University of Tasmania premises for a period of 5 years. The data will be destroyed at the end of 5 years.
6. I understand that I can make a request for a transcript of the interview for editing or modification.
7. Any questions that I have asked have been answered to my satisfaction.
8. I agree that research data gathered for the study may be published provided that I cannot be identified as a subject.
9. I agree to participate in this investigation and understand that I may withdraw at any time or withdraw data without any effect to my participation in the study.

Name of participant _____

Signature of participant _____ Date _____

10. I have explained this project and the implications of participation in it to this volunteer and I believe that the consent is informed and that he/she understands the implications of participation.

Name of investigator Danielle Campbell

Signature of investigator _____ Date _____

Appendix 10



Information Sheet for Focus Group Participants

Project Title:
Community Policing and Refugee Settlement in Regional Australia
A Case Study of Tasmania

TILES, which is part of the University of Tasmania, is undertaking an investigation into community policing and refugee settlement in regional Australia. This investigation is part of PhD studies being undertaken at the University of Tasmania. This research gives you a chance to tell us what you think of issues surrounding police-refugee relations so that police can improve understanding and refugee communities can achieve more successful settlement. As part of the research we would like to run a focus group and are interested in your participation.

This information sheet has been sent to you through a service provider and your details have not been given to the researcher. Therefore this process is voluntary. If you are interested in participating in the research please contact the PhD researcher through contact details at the end of this information sheet.

Focus groups are a research tool that involves group discussion and sometimes the disclosure of personal information. There is an understanding that in a focus group participants will maintain the confidentiality of other participants. If there is information or discussion about sensitive or distressing subjects counselling and

debriefing is available. The focus group facilitator will assist with all elements of the process. The focus group should take about 3 hours and will be facilitated by members of the TILES research team. A location convenient to participants will be arranged.

Each focus group will investigate an issue that has emerged as important in research into police and refugee relations. Participants in each focus group will be asked to comment about the following questions:

1. What is **[the issue]**?
2. What are the symptoms of the **[issue]** in their community?
3. How might refugee communities be assisted with their interactions with law enforcement personnel particularly in relation to **[issue]**?

If you agree, the outcomes of the focus group will be written on sheets of paper as group participants agree them. The facilitator will do this at the time of the group discussions. The focus group will also be audio recorded to aid clarity in the research. These tapes and papers will be stored in a secure place for five years and then destroyed.

Participation is entirely voluntary and you can withdraw at any time. You may also have data that you contributed, withdrawn if you wish. You may choose not to answer questions. If you withdraw data or choose not to participate in aspects of the research this will not affect your standing on the study.

No one will be identifiable in any way as a result of participation in the research.

A final summary of the results of the study will be provided to participants who request it. Your contact details will only be kept if you wish to have a summary of the

research. Contact details will be kept separately from any data collected during the focus group.

This research has received ethical approval from the Human Research Ethics Committee (Tasmania) Network. If you have any concerns about the ethics of the focus group or the research process please contact the Executive Officer.

Executive Officer – Amanda McAully. (03) 62262763

You will be asked to sign a consent form to evidence your willingness to participate in this research, and you will be provided with a copy of this information sheet and the consent form to keep. Any participants under the age of 18 years will need to also complete a parental/guardian consent form.

If you have any further questions or complaints please contact:

Chief Investigator

Associate Professor Roberta Julian

Email: Roberta.Julian@utas.edu.au

Ph (03) 62262331

PhD Researcher

Danielle Campbell

Email: danielle.campbell@utas.edu.au

Ph (03) 62262393

Associate Professor

Roberta Julian

Danielle Campbell

Appendix 11



CONSENT FORM

Focus Group Participation

Community Policing and Refugee Settlement in Regional Australia –
A Case Study of Tasmania

1. I have read and understood the 'Information Sheet' for this study.
2. The nature and possible effects of the study have been explained to me.
3. I understand that the study involves my participation in a focus group for approximately three hours on the topic of [topic] at a venue to be decided.
4. I understand that focus group participation has some risks involved. There is a risk that personal information will be disclosed by myself and or others. There is a special level of confidentiality within a focus group and I agree not to disclose any personal details about participants to anyone. All focus group participants must agree to this prior to participation in the group.
5. I understand that If I need counselling as a result of my participation in the focus group that this will be provided by the University of Tasmania counsellors and to access this I will contact the investigator.
6. I understand that the outcomes of the focus group discussions will be recorded by the facilitator on paper and audio recorded to ensure clarity. I understand that all research data will be securely stored on the University of Tasmania premises for a period of 5 years. The data will be destroyed at the end of 5 years.
7. Any questions that I have asked have been answered to my satisfaction.
8. I agree that research data gathered for the study may be published provided that I cannot be identified as a subject

9. I agree to participate in this investigation and understand that I may withdraw at any time or withdraw data without any effect to my participation in the study.

Name of participant _____

Signature of participant _____ Date _____

10. I have explained this project and the implications of participation in it to this volunteer and I believe that the consent is informed and that he/she understands the implications of participation.

Name of investigator _____ Danielle Campbell _____

Signature of investigator _____ Date _____

Appendix 12

Community Policing and Refugee Settlement in Regional Australia – A Case Study of Tasmania Interview Schedule Police Personnel

Background

Personal position in police force: Rank, length of time, when recruit
Multicultural experiences, travel etc
Understanding of police-refugee relations

Community policing

Perceptions of community policing
Strengths and Weaknesses
Experiences of community policing

Experiences

Experience involving members of the refugee communities in Tasmania
When and what
Feelings about these experiences

Organisational Context and Support

Training
Additional support in police for cross cultural experiences
Use of interpreters
Case follow through
Gender considerations

Issues or trends emerging

Why

Why
How does it manifest
Solutions

Barriers

What
Why
How can be assisted

Mechanisms of law and Order and Policy

What existing in Tasmania police
Strengths and weaknesses

Future strategies and why

Police interviews

Additional prompts (if not covered in initially questioning)

General Experiences

1. Have you had experiences involving members of the refugee communities in Tasmania?
2. Were these personal or professional
3. How were these experiences?
4. Have you had any experiences involving multicultural members of the community?

Professional Experiences

1. When was that experience
2. How was that experience?
3. What was your position in that experience? If not clear
4. Was an interpreter necessary in this situation?
5. Are you aware what legally occurred in that case after your involvement?
6. What do you think about that experience given that TIME has past?

Organisational

1. Have you had any training?
2. Is there any additional procedural or reporting requirements of you in dealing with members of the refugee communities in Tasmania?
3. Did you speak to other colleagues concerning the experience mentioned above?
4. Did you feel there was addition information or support that was required?
5. Do you feel that your gender impacted on the way the situation

Appendix 13

Community Policing and Refugee Settlement in Regional Australia – A Case Study of Tasmania

Interview Schedule

Key Service Providers

Background

Who

Job position

Contact with Refugees

Contact with police

Community policing

Knowledge of community policing

Strategies

Strengths and weaknesses

Experiences of police-refugee relations

Extent

Issues

Outcomes

Barriers

What

Why

How overcome

Impact of past trauma experiences

Perceptions

Perceptions of police by refugees

Police perceptions of refugee communities and its members

Best Practice Settlement

Police-refugee relations

Contributing factors

Strategies

Appendix 14

Interview introduction for Individual Interviews

TILES, which is part of the University of Tasmania, is undertaking an investigation into community policing and refugee settlement in regional Australia. The research is part of a PhD study. The idea is that this gives you a chance to tell us what you think of issues surrounding police-refugee relations. The understanding of everyone's perspective will help police improve understanding and the way to do their jobs. It will also help refugee communities gain support so that they can achieve more successful settlement as individuals, families and as a community. As part of the research we are interviewing members of the refugee communities in Tasmania.

The interview will cover issues concerning police-refugee relations. These may include issues surrounding refugee settlement and also more specific issues concerning police interaction with refugee communities and their members. At a later stage you may be asked about your willingness to participate in a focus group to explore further the issues for the community that may emerge from the interviews. Any participation will be entirely voluntary.

The interview will last for 1-2 hours. All information collected will be confidential; that is we will not record your name on the information we collect and any data published in reports will not identify anyone who helped with the research. We have asked for your consent to do this. No one outside this room will know anything about what you have said. If there is an incident that is mentioned we will not refer to it in a way that you or anybody else could be identified. The only time this will change is if I, as a researcher, had a solid reason to believe someone was in real danger of being harmed and then I must seek help for that person. This is the law in Tasmania. I would not have a choice. Otherwise in all other ways your identity will be protected.

We have provided interpreters where requested to ensure clarity and to make sure we really understand the details of this issue for your community.

If any of you needed counselling as a result of your participation in the interview, this will be provided by the University of Tasmania counsellors, and to access this feel free to let me know. The outcomes of this interview will be recorded on paper and audio recorded to ensure clarity. The recordings will be de-identified to protect the participant's privacy. All research data will be securely stored on the University of Tasmania premises for a period of 5 years. The data will be destroyed at the end of 5 years.

Any material produced will be thematic in presentation (this may need clarification and maybe an example) but if quotes are used it would only be if you or anyone else could not be identified.

Participation is entirely voluntary and you can withdraw at any time. You may also have data from the interview withdrawn if you wish. You may choose not to answer questions. If you withdraw or choose not to participate in the research this will not affect your standing in the research at a later stage.

No one will be identifiable in any way as a result of participation in the research. This research has received ethical approval from the Human Research Ethics Committee (Tasmania) Network. If you have any concerns about the ethics of the interview or the research process please contact the Executive Officer.

You have been asked to sign a consent form to evidence your willingness to participate in this research, and you will be provided with a copy of this information sheet and the consent form to keep.

Are there any questions?

Appendix 15

Community Policing and Refugee Settlement in Regional Australia – A Case Study of Tasmania Interview Schedule Refugee Interview Participants

Background

Age
Gender
Position in household
Ethnicity
Length of transition and camp
Length of time in Australia

Attitudes to police

Past experience
Present experience
Understanding of community policing

Experience with police directly

Personal
Family
Friends

Issue

- (1) What is this problem for your community?
- (2) What are the symptoms for your community?
- (3) What are the solutions to enhance police–refugee relations in your community?

Importance to individual and community
Impact on life
Strategies/solutions

Barriers affecting police interaction

General
Specific issue
Strategies

Best practice settlement

What is important?
Why
What needs to be done differently?

Appendix 16

Interview introduction for Focus Group

TILES, which is part of the University of Tasmania, is undertaking an investigation into community policing and refugee settlement in regional Australia. The research is part of a PhD study. The idea is that this gives you a chance to tell us what you think of issues surrounding police-refugee relations. The understanding of everyone's perspectives will help police improve understanding and the way to do their jobs. It will also help refugee communities gain support so that they can achieve more successful settlement as individuals, families and as a community. As part of the research we are interviewing members of the refugee communities in Tasmania.

The interview will cover issues concerning police-refugee relations. This may include issues surrounding refugee settlement and also more specific issues concerning police interaction with refugee communities and their members. At a later stage you may be asked about your willingness to participate in a focus group to explore further the issues for the community that may emerge from the interviews. Any participation will be entirely voluntary.

The interview will last for 1-2 hours. All information collected will be confidential; that is we will not record your name on the information we collect and any data published in reports will not identify anyone who helped with the research. We have asked for your consent to do this. No one outside this room will know anything about what you have said. If there is an incident that is mentioned we will not refer to it in a way that you or anybody else could be identified. The only time this will change is if I, as a researcher, had a solid reason to believe someone was in real danger of being harmed and then I must seek help for that person. This is the law in Tasmania. I would not have a choice. Otherwise in all other ways your identity will be protected.

We have provided interpreters where requested to ensure clarity and to make sure we really understand the details of this issue for your community.

It must be understood that focus group participation has some risks involved. There is a risk that personal information could be disclosed by another member of the group. Therefore we ask everyone for a special level of confidentiality within a focus group and everyone must agree not to disclose any personal details about participants to anyone. All focus group participants must agree to this prior to participation in the group. If you do not feel like you can do this I will ask you to leave now.

If any of you needed counselling as a result of your participation in the focus group, this will be provided by the University of Tasmania counsellors, and to access this feel free to contact the facilitator.

If you feel upset during this session and wish to leave the room temporarily, this is fine. [The assistant] will follow you out to check that you are OK. Please return to the group when you are ready.

The outcomes of the focus group discussions will be recorded on paper and audio recorded, by the facilitator, to ensure clarity. The recordings will be de-identified to protect the participant's privacy. All research data will be securely stored on the University of Tasmania premises for a period of 5 years. The data will be destroyed at the end of 5 years.

Any material produced will be thematic in presentation (this may need clarification and maybe an example) but if quotes are used it would only be if you or anyone else could not be identified.

Participation is entirely voluntary and you can withdraw at any time. You may also have data from the interview withdrawn if you wish. You may choose not to answer questions. If you withdraw or choose not to participate in the research this will not affect your standing in the research at a later stage.

No one will be identifiable in any way as a result of participation in the research.

This research has received ethical approval from the Human Research Ethics Committee (Tasmania) Network. If you have any concerns about the ethics of the interview or the research process please contact the Executive Officer.

You have been asked to sign a consent form to evidence your willingness to participate in this research, and you will be provided with a copy of this information sheet and the consent form to keep. Any participants under the age of 18 years will need to also complete a parental/guardian consent form.

Are there any questions?

Appendix 17

Community Policing and Refugee Settlement in Regional Australia – A Case Study of Tasmania Interview Schedule Focus Groups

Background

Age, gender

Position in household

Ethnicity

Length of transition and camp

Length of time in Australia

Attitudes to police

Past experience

Present experience

Experience with police directly

Personal

Family

Friends

Issue

(1) What is this problem for your community?

(2) What are the symptoms for your community?

(3) What are the solutions to enhance police–refugee relations in your community?

Importance to individual and community

Impact on life

Strategies/solutions

Barriers with police interaction

General

Specific issue

Strategies

Best practice settlement

What is important?

Why

What needs to be done differently?

Appendix 18



Need for Interpreter Form for Participants

Project Title:
Community Policing and Refugee Settlement in Regional Australia
A Case Study of Tasmania

Name of participant: _____

Date of Interview: _____

Location of Interview: _____

(See map attached)

Type of Interview: _____

Language required: _____

Any Comments: _____

Signature of Participant _____

Signature of Researcher _____

Interpreter booked: Date _____ Interpreter Confirmed: Date _____

Appendix 19

Dear xxx

Since you have expressed an interest in attending the conversation with Police' Forum, I wish to formally invite you and convey how much I appreciate your time and enthusiasm. I believe this 'conversation' to be a great opportunity for the experiences of the community to be heard and to potentially create a more supportive environment to deal with these difficult issues. Below I have also supplied you with a few extra details that may answer questions you may have about the day. Do not hesitate to contact me if you wish more information on 0417778679. I look forward to seeing you there on Saturday.

Danielle Campbell

A Conversation with Police

As a follow up from the 'Community Policing and Refugee Settlement in Regional Australia -A Case Study of Tasmania' research conducted for the University of Tasmania by Danielle Campbell there will be a forum held on:

Saturday 12th April

between 12.30 and 2pm Room D202 at the

TAFE Wellington Street, Launceston

Tea and coffee provided

Please look for signs 'A Conversation with Police'

Reason for Forum

After the interviews in December 2007 it was felt important that the African communities in Launceston have a chance to speak to Tasmania Police about some of their concerns. It became clear that recently had been a difficult time for these communities. There seems to be a rise in experiences of confrontations in public, sometimes taking the form of abuse, racism and assaults. The concern was that many of these experiences were not being reported formally to police and that police may therefore lack the information to understand the reality being experienced by some individuals, families and the African community as a whole. As well as this the media has been quite negative about African immigration into Australia in recent times.

The reality of these experiences needs to be voiced, along with an expression of the feelings and frustrations that these experiences produce in a community. The forum is to allow information to be given to Tasmania Police and representatives of Department of Immigration and Citizenship to strengthen the support that these organisations can provide for newly arrived communities to regional Australia.

Police will not be able to comment on individual cases but it is important that personal experiences rather than general comments are heard to stimulate real understanding. The trust between police and the community is fundamentally important to the effectiveness of policing, so it is hoped that this opportunity can support some new communication to help tackle the issues that the African community is facing.

How the forum will be organised

It is really important that the session creates the maximum potential for people to speak or if appropriate speak for others who wish to be represented. For this reason, the session will be facilitated to help this to occur effectively. The facilitator will be Danielle Campbell who conducted the research in December 2007. It would be most beneficial if each African community could nominate between 2 and 6 representatives to attend the forum. These people can be those interviewed in December or anybody the community feels is best suited. These people need to feel confident to represent the experiences of others in their community as well as their own.

The panel will include the three representatives from Tasmania Police both from Launceston and the Inspector in charge of State Multicultural Liaison Division. Also attending will be State Director of DIAC and representatives from the settlement division.

What will be talked about?

1. What are the experiences of individuals and the community in recent times?
2. How have these experiences made the community act/ feel?
3. What support is needed from Tasmania Police in their jobs and what support can DIAC offer?

Please notify the representative who contacted you of numbers, people's names from your community and if any interpreters are required

Appendix 20

Dear xxx

Since you have expressed an interest in attending the conversation with Police' Forum, I wish to formally invite you and convey how much I appreciate your time and enthusiasm. I believe this 'conversation' to be a great opportunity for the experiences of the community to be heard and to potentially create a more supportive environment to deal with these difficult issues. Below I have also supplied you with a few extra details that may answer questions you may have about the day. Do not hesitate to contact me if you wish more information on 0417778679. I look forward to seeing you there on Saturday.

Danielle Campbell

A Conversation with Police and Youth

As a follow up from the 'Community Policing and Refugee Settlement in Regional Australia -A Case Study of Tasmania' research conducted for the University of Tasmania by Danielle Campbell there will be a forum held on:

YOUTH FORUM

Saturday 12th April

between 2.30 and 4pm Room D202

at the TAFE Wellington Street, Launceston

Tea and coffee provided

Please look for signs 'A Conversation with Police'

Reason for Forum

After the interviews in December 2007 it was felt important that the African communities in Launceston have a chance to speak to Tasmania Police about some of their concerns. It became clear that recently had been a difficult time for these communities. There seems to be a rise in experiences of confrontations in public, sometimes taking the form of abuse, racism and assaults. The concern was that many of these experiences were not being reported formally to police and that police may therefore lack the information to understand the reality being experienced by some individuals, families and the African community as a whole. As well as this the media has been quite negative about African immigration into Australia in recent times.

The reality of these experiences needs to be voiced, along with an expression of the feelings and frustrations that these experiences produce in a community. The forum is to allow information to be given to Tasmania Police and representatives of Department of Immigration and Citizenship to strengthen the support that these organisations can provide for newly arrived communities to regional Australia.

Police will not be able to comment on individual cases but it is important that personal experiences rather than general comments are heard to stimulate real understanding. The trust between police and the community is fundamentally important to the effectiveness of policing, so it is hoped that this opportunity can support some new communication to help tackle the issues that the African community is facing.

How the forum will be organised

It is really important that the session creates the maximum potential for people to speak or if appropriate speak for others who wish to be represented. For this reason, the session will be facilitated to help this to occur effectively. The facilitator will be Danielle Campbell who conducted the research in December 2007. It would be most beneficial if each African community could nominate between 2 and 6 representatives to attend the forum. These people can be those interviewed in December or anybody the community feels is best suited. These people need to feel confident to represent the experiences of others in their community as well as their own.

The panel will include the three representatives from Tasmania Police both from Launceston and the Inspector in charge of State Multicultural Liaison Division. Also attending will be State Director of DIAC and representatives from the settlement division.

What will be talked about?

1. What are the experiences of individuals and the community in recent times?
2. How have these experiences made the community act/ feel?
3. What support is needed from Tasmania Police in their jobs and what support can DIAC offer?

Please notify the representative who contacted you of numbers, people's names from your community and if any interpreters are required

Appendix 21

Table 23: Key Strategies for Police to Enhance Positive Police-Refugee Relations

STRATEGY	DESCRIPTION
Training and Education	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. To ensure cultural competency is built into all police training. Four key areas have been identified: <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Awareness raising of the refugee journey in recruit training. 2. Education in recruit and officer training on how to deal with incidents involving a member of the refugee community. 3. In-service training and supervisor support mechanisms to ensure proficient handling of both community policing strategies and incident response when newly arrived refugees are involved. 2. To ensure training opportunities include the following aspects: <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. The provision of training to staff in cross-cultural communication skills in order to maximize the refugee's understanding of an incident. 2. How to work with interpreters: when, why, and how. 3. How to use community policing strategies in refugee communities to maximise individuals' perceptions of safety. 4. How to maximise the education potential of every incident so that contact with members of the refugee community has the capacity to inform the whole community through effective communication, clear direction, feedback and follow through mechanisms. 5. Highlighting the dangers of stereotyping and uncritical assumptions and the potential impact of these in dealing with an incident. 6. Acknowledgement of the specific needs of sub-sections of the population such as refugee women, youth and young men arriving alone. 7. Promotion of the necessity of reporting crime to police and the education of refugee communities about its importance. 8. To acknowledge diversity in refugee communities and how it may influence service delivery.

STRATEGY	DESCRIPTION
Effective Policy and Procedures, and Facilitating Communication	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. To communicate clearly and respectfully with humanitarian entrants and to actively facilitate the ability of members of refugee communities to communicate clearly with police. 2. To develop protocols that ensures the use of interpreters to enable the client to communicate more effectively. 3. To listen and act on information from individual refugees to increase perceptions of safety through community policing strategies. 4. To provide accessible information to individuals and refugee communities on referral and post incident support and to provide follow-up to individuals, families and the wider refugee community post-incident through a tailored approach that takes into account individual circumstances. 5. To ensure that police contact in these complex circumstances is supported by protocol and enhanced by cultural competency. Review and monitor the current methods of dealing with cases involving refugee clients to ensure the effectiveness of these processes in maximizing positive policing outcomes. 6. To effectively mentor new police officers and offer a clear line of enquiry when dealing with complex interactions involving members of refugee communities. 7. To ensure succession plans for key contact staff such as Multicultural Liaison Officers in each district/region so as to minimize loss of networks and organisational intelligence. 8. To develop methods of tracking refugee contact with police, especially incidents related to violence, racism, discrimination and anti-social behaviour, to identify emerging trends. 9. To support the development of legislation to strengthen police capacity to address acts of discrimination, racism, violence and anti-social behaviour. 10. To encourage and facilitate the recruitment of members of refugee communities to the police organisation.
Relationship Building	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. To build and maintain relationships with newly arrived refugee communities, particularly with current key community leaders, and to promote inclusion of members of newly arrived refugee communities. In the process, it is important to identify individuals well placed to build trust, links and relationships with newly arrived refugee communities. 2. To create welcoming and accessible services that recognises diversity within each refugee community. 3. To promote education on rights and responsibilities under Australian law, in a way that is accessible, practical and easy to understand. 4. To promote the importance of communication and the need to create opportunities for individuals and communities to provide feedback to police. 5. To work together to develop partnerships with key agencies to establish regular contact and to support education about Australian law and the role of police to newly arrived refugee

Appendix 22

Table 24: Key Strategies for Refugee Communities and Non-Police Organisations to Enhance Positive Police-Refugee Relations

STRATEGY	DESCRIPTION
Education and Information	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. To promote education on the rights and responsibilities associated with Australian law in a way that is accessible, practical and easy to understand. 2. To ensure the use of interpreters to enable the client to communicate effectively. 3. To maximise the education potential of every incident so that police contact with a member of a refugee community has the capacity to inform the whole community. 4. To promote the importance of reporting to facilitate police support and longer-term safety of the community. 5. To promote the establishment of a mechanism for reporting crime and anti-social behaviour to a non-police party as a process to build up trust in the system of law and its enforcement. Additionally, to collect data and evidence from this process to inform policy and procedures.
Relationship Building	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. To develop relationships with police and to create or take up opportunities for feedback to the police as an organisation. 2. To actively participate in the wider mainstream community to increase acceptance, and to normalise the presence, of humanitarian entrants in regional Australia. 3. To maximise positive portrayals of African Australians and newly arrived refugee communities more generally.