Refugee Resettlement in Regional and Rural Victoria: Impacts and Policy Issues

Dr Brooke McDonald

Prof. Sandy Gifford

Ms Kim Webster

Prof. John Wiseman

Ms Sue Casey

VicHealth

Refugee Resettlement in Regional and Rural Victoria: Impacts and Policy Issues

March 2008

Dr Brooke McDonald

Prof. Sandy Gifford

Ms Kim Webster

Prof. John Wiseman

Ms Sue Casey

Contents

Contents

Acronyms

AMEP	Adult Migrant English Program (Commonwealth)
CALD	Culturally and Linguistically Diverse
CMYI	Centre for Multicultural Youth Issues
CVT	Centre for Violence and Torture
CVWPM	Commonwealth–Victoria Working Party on Migration
DPCD	Department of Planning and Community Development (Victoria)
DHS	Department of Human Services (Victoria)
DIAC	Department of Immigration and Citizenship (Commonwealth)
ICAR	Information Centre about Asylum and Refugees
IHSS	Integrated Humanitarian Settlement Strategy (Commonwealth)
KRD	Kommunal-og Regional Department: Ministry for Local Government and Regional Development Norway
PPV	Permanent Protection Visa
RCOA	Refugee Council of Australia
RRAC	Refugee Resettlement Advisory Council (Commonwealth)
SGP	Settlement Grant Program (Commonwealth)
SHP	Special Humanitarian Program (Commonwealth)
TPV	Temporary Protection Visa
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
VFST	Victorian Foundation for the Survivors of Torture
VSPC	Victorian Settlement Planning Committee (Victoria)

Tyntynder Central
Tyntynder South
Wetuppa
Swan Hill
Murray Downs Hmstd & Country Cl
Pental Island
B400
Lake Boga
MURRAY VALLEY HWY
Fish Pt
Benjeroop
Tresco
Mystic Park
59
Kunat
Beauchamp
Lake Charm
Bael Bael
B400
Fairley
Kerang
C262
Dingwall
Normanville
Quambatook
Langville
Meering West
LEAGHUR STATE PARK
Appin Sth
Leaghur
Canary Island
Canary Is Sth
Minmindie
Gladfield
Barraport
Catumnal
Boort
C266
68
Lake Marmal
C273
Mysia
Fernihurst
Boraug
Wychitella
WYCHITELLA FFR
Cuckrabanyule
Korong Vale
Kinypanial
A79
Wedderburn
Fiery Flat
Wedderburn Junction
BearsLagoon
Jarklin
Calivil
Serpentine

Niemur
Niemur River
104
Noorong
Ballbank
Gonn Crossing
Murrabit
Myall
69
Tullakool
Burraboi
Weral
Colima
Wakool
Wakool River
Yallakool
Koondrook
Barham
Thule
Caldwell
C264
Gannawarra
Koroop
Milnes Bridge
Kerang East
Mead
McMillans
B400
Cohuna
MURRAY VALLEY
Wee Wee Rup
New South
104
Leitchville
Horfield
Macorna
Tragowel
B260
Kerang Sth
47
Mincha
Mt.Hope
Gunbower
C267
Torrumberry Weir
Womboota
LODDON
Durham Ox
VALLEY
Yarrawalla
Yarrawalla South
Bald Rock
Pyramid Hill
TERRICK TERRICK N.P.
Mologa
Mt Terrick Terrick
64
Patho
Patho West
Torrumbar
HWY
Victoria
Roslynmead
Kotta
C336
C334
Mitiamo
Bamawm
Lockington
McColl
Ballen
Prairie
Milloo
Tennyson
Roch
B260
32
C336
Dingee
Diggora West
Hunter
Kamarooka
Kamarooka Nth
Tandarra
Drummartin

Foreword

In 1999 the Victorian Health Promotion Foundation (VicHealth) identified the promotion of mental health as one of three health promotion priorities (the others being promoting active communities and healthy eating and reducing harm from alcohol and tobacco). Mental health was identified primarily due to its large and growing contribution to disease burden. VicHealth has also had a longstanding commitment to reducing inequalities in health status between groups in the Victorian population.

While an individual's mental health is determined by a range of factors, among them heredity and luck, there is a strong body of evidence indicating that factors in our social and economic environment are also influential. Since many of these factors can be modified, there are sound prospects for prevention. In its work VicHealth focuses on addressing four factors which are understood to be particularly significant in this regard – discrimination, violence (in particular violence affecting women), social participation and access to economic resources such as education and employment.

Despite the fact that many people from refugee backgrounds have survived horrific experiences, most ultimately settle very successfully in Australia, with a number having made exceptional civic, business, social and cultural contributions. This is testimony to the resilience of refugee communities. Nevertheless, the experiences of forced displacement and of settling into a new country are associated with high levels of exposure to social and economic conditions known to increase the risk of poor mental health. For this reason, VicHealth is particularly committed to supporting mental health promotion efforts in partnership with refugee communities and those working with them.

In recent years there has been increasing settlement of people from refugee backgrounds to rural and regional areas, a trend that has the support of both the Victorian and Australian governments. VicHealth, the Refugee Health Research Centre, the Victorian Foundation for Survivors of Torture and the McCaughey Centre have worked together to identify and synthesise national and international research on the impacts of this trend. This work indicates that this has the potential to reap social, economic and health benefits for both refugee and regional communities. However, it also suggests that if these benefits are to be realised there is a need for careful 'whole-of-government' planning which is integrated with policies to support economically and socially sustainable regional communities.

Victoria has a strong record of successful settlement of migrants and refugees. However, dispersed patterns of settlement not only to regional and rural areas – the subject of this report – but also to Melbourne's outer suburbs, present new challenges that will need to be met to ensure sound health and settlement outcomes.
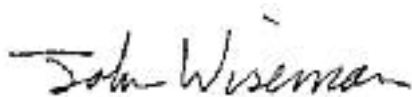
We trust that this report will make an important contribution to addressing these challenges.

Mr Todd Harper
Chief Executive Officer
Victorian Health Promotion Foundation

Mr Paris Aristotle
Chief Executive Officer
Victorian Foundation for Survivors of Torture

Professor John Wiseman
Director
McCaughey Centre,
VicHealth Centre for the Promotion
of Mental Health and Community Wellbeing
Melbourne University

Professor Sandy Gifford
Director
Refugee Health Research Centre,
La Trobe University

Executive Summary

This Report has been commissioned by the Victorian Health Promotion Foundation (VicHealth) and prepared in partnership with the La Trobe Refugee Health Research Centre, La Trobe University; The McCaughey Centre, VicHealth Centre for the Promotion of Mental Health and Community Wellbeing, University of Melbourne; and the Victorian Foundation for Survivors of Torture (VFST) as a contribution to ongoing discussion about regional and rural refugee resettlement policy, strategies and choices. The Report's aims are to:
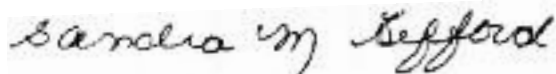
1. increase understanding of the impacts of refugee regional and rural resettlement and relocation programs on the health and wellbeing of refugees;

2. increase understanding about the impacts of refugee regional and rural resettlement programs on regional communities; and

3. contribute to the development and evaluation of national, state and local government policies and programs relevant to the resettlement of refugees in regional areas.

The Report draws on a review of documented national and international studies of regional and rural settlement and other relevant literature. It also incorporates feedback from a range of community, government and non-government stakeholders. This was solicited through a Roundtable convened by the partners in November 2007.

While it is hoped that the Report can make a useful contribution to national debates about the directions of refugee resettlement policy, there is a particular focus on recent Victorian experience and policy implications.

The dominant trend in Australia's post-war immigration program has been for most migrants and refugees to resettle in major Australian cities. However, there have also been a number of attempts by Australian governments to encourage migrants and refugees to resettle in rural and regional areas. In a number of regional areas there has also been a history of informal migrant and refugee settlement, often in response to employment in the agricultural and manufacturing sectors.

The release of the 2003 Australian Government's Report of the Review of Settlement Services for Migrants and Humanitarian Entrants (DIMIA 2003) provided renewed impetus for encouraging the resettlement of refugees in regional and rural Australia. In the 2004–05 Budget, the Australian Government committed $12.4 million to further increase humanitarian settlement in regional areas (DIAC 2005). The aim was to double the number of refugees settling in regional areas by 2005–06 (Taylor & Stanovic 2005). The Australian Government is now actively

attempting to settle new arrivals – both migrants and humanitarian entrants – in regional and rural Australia and is concerned with maximising the long-term viability of these communities.

Alongside this there has been an increasing trend toward secondary migration of refugee families initially settled in metropolitan Melbourne. In some cases this has been supported through a formal program. In others it has been relatively informal, being motivated by a range of 'push' and 'pull' factors.

The international experience of resettling refugees outside of major urban cities not only highlights many challenges, but also raises a number of key elements necessary for success. Evidence from recent international experience of regional refugee resettlement suggests these key success factors include:

- existence of adequate infrastructure to resettle sufficient numbers of refugees to make the locale viable in both human and economic terms;

- availability of secure and affordable housing;

- access to employment opportunities;

- supportive attitudes and environment in the host community;

- presence of appropriate cultural and religious support; and

- commitment to involving refugee communities in design and development of resettlement programs.

While the current phase of Australian regional refugee resettlement initiatives is still evolving, evidence to date provides support for the view that there is great potential for these success factors to apply in the Australian context.

An initial review of a range of recent Australian regional refugee initiatives leads to the following tentative propositions about approaches and actions likely to maximise the success of regional refugee programs.

1. Regional refugee resettlement initiatives have the potential to provide 'win-win' benefits to refugee communities and host communities if care is taken to ensure a well-planned, well-integrated and well-resourced approach. The impacts on refugee young people and on women, however, should be carefully considered in future planning and continue to be closely monitored.

2. Refugee resettlement and relocation policies and strategies need to be based on a holistic approach which recognises and supports both humanitarian and regional development objectives.

3. In future planning the challenge will be to consider the implications of varying pathways to refugee settlement in regional areas, including direct settlement and both formal and informal secondary migration (often referred to as relocation).

4. Refugee resettlement and relocation policies and strategies should be informed by a commitment to the long-term sustainability of refugee communities.

5. Effective processes for consulting and engaging with refugee communities are essential.

6. A supportive host community is an essential component of successful refugee regional resettlement programs and needs to be considered in the selection of sites for development as well as in the allocation of resources for supporting regional and rural settlement.

7. Services to support regional refugee resettlement need to be adequately resourced and well integrated.

8. Given the importance of local planning and coordination to the success of refugee regional resettlement/relocation initiatives, there is a need to investigate appropriate arrangements for supporting this, with particular consideration being given to the role of local government as a lead coordinating agency.

9. Consideration should be given to developing closer linkages between skilled migration and refugee resettlement programs, in particular to investigating the possibility of a common planning framework to support programs targeted at refugees and migrants settling in rural and regional areas.

10. A well-planned, integrated and long-term approach to the funding of refugee resettlement programs and services is essential.

11. There is a need to identify mechanisms and processes for ensuring a whole-of-government approach to planning for refugee resettlement in Victoria that has a particular emphasis on responding to contemporary trends in rural and regional resettlement.

12. There is a need to establish and support processes for monitoring the impacts of refugee regional resettlement/relocation on both refugee and regional communities.

1 Introduction

This Report has been commissioned by the Victorian Health Promotion Foundation (VicHealth) as a contribution to ongoing discussion about regional and rural refugee resettlement policy strategies and choices. The Report's aims are to:

1. increase understanding of the impacts of refugee regional and rural resettlement and relocation programs on the health and wellbeing of refugees;

2. increase understanding about the impacts of refugee regional and rural resettlement programs on regional communities; and

3. contribute to the development and evaluation of national, state and local government policies and programs relevant to the resettlement of refugees in regional areas.

While it is hoped that the Report can make a useful contribution to national debates about the directions of refugee resettlement policy, there is a particular focus on recent Victorian experience and policy implications.

The Report begins by clarifying the meaning of refugee regional and rural resettlement and providing a brief overview of the historical and current policy context of regional and rural resettlement in Australia. This is followed by a discussion of the evidence in relation to the key factors affecting refugee health and wellbeing and successful refugee resettlement. Evidence from the international and Australian experience of refugee regional resettlement is then drawn on to inform understanding of the actions needed to maximise the chances of a successful resettlement for both refugees and communities. The Report concludes with a series of tentative propositions and questions about regional refugee resettlement. These are designed to act as starting points for more informed discussion about future Victorian and Australian policy options.

An initial draft of the Report was submitted to a Policy Roundtable involving key community, government and non-government stakeholders. The Report was then finalised on the basis of their feedback. The aims of the Roundtable were to:

• seek feedback on the Report and ensure that it captured the range of issues and questions that will need to be addressed in a policy and program response to support regional refugee resettlement in Victoria; and

• discuss possible strategies and processes for ensuring that a coordinated whole-of-government approach to planning for refugee regional resettlement was adopted in Victoria.

A list of participants in the Roundtable is provided on page 67.

1.1 What is refugee regional and rural resettlement?

Article 1 of the 1951 Refugee Convention defines a refugee as:

> *A person who is outside his/her country of nationality or habitual residence; has a well-founded fear of persecution because of his/her race, religion, nationality, membership in a particular social group or political opinion; and is unable or unwilling to avail himself/herself of the protection of that country, or to return there, for fear of persecution.*

Refugee resettlement describes the permanent settlement of a refugee in a third country when neither voluntary repatriation nor local integration in the country of first asylum is possible within an acceptable timeframe (Stevenson 2005; Troeller 1991). The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) defines refugee resettlement in the following way:

> *Resettlement involves the selection and transfer of refugees from a State in which they have sought protection to a third State which has agreed to admit them – as refugees – with permanent residence status. The status provided should ensure protection against refoulement and provide a resettled refugee and his/her family or dependants with access to civil, political, economic, social and cultural rights similar to those enjoyed by nationals. It should also carry with it the opportunity to eventually become a naturalized citizen of the resettlement country* (UNHCR 2004b).

The key point to note in this definition is the emphasis on the humanitarian objectives of refugee resettlement, with the primary purpose of resettlement being as a tool both to protect and subsequently to support refugees (UNHCR 2007). It suggests that the obligations of countries receiving refugees extend beyond identification and assessment of applicants and their reception on arrival to include longer-term settlement into the receiving community (UNHCR 2002). While there may be, and often are, important benefits for the host country these are understood as secondary considerations.

Refugee 'resettlement' has also been defined as 'a process during which a refugee, having arrived in a place of permanent asylum, gradually re-establishes the feeling of control over his/her life and develops a feeling that life is back to normal' (Colic-Piesker & Tilbury 2003, p. 62). It is noted that 'back to normal' may mean different things to different people and the re-established normalcy may be different from life before immigration (Colic-Piesker & Tilbury 2003).

Three different approaches to resettlement can be distinguished internationally (UNHCR 2002). The first, now rarely practiced, is **assimilation**, a process whereby new arrivals are required to settle by learning and taking on the ways of the receiving community. The second is **integration**, whereby settlement is seen as a 'two-way street' with the newcomer adapting to the receiving society and the receiving society also adapting to and learning some of the ways of the newcomer. The third approach, **multiculturalism**, emphasises support for newcomers to retain their culture of origin (within certain broad parameters), while at the same time being able to participate equally in mainstream society.

A further useful distinction is between 'regional resettlement', meaning the direct movement of refugees 'off the boat or plane' to regional locations, and 'regional relocation' or 'secondary migration', understood as the voluntary movement of a person of refugee background from their first location to another location within Australia (Simich et al. 2001). In the Australian context, secondary migration has been supported through formalised relocation programs, such as that operating in Warrnambool (see Section 4.2. of this Report). It has also occurred informally as people from refugee backgrounds

move to rural locations to join existing cultural communities or in search of employment or a different way of life. The settlement of people of Iraqi background in Shepparton is an example of this (also discussed in more detail in Section 4.2).

There are many different practices around the world for resettling refugees. In some countries refugees are assigned to specific local communities and strategies are undertaken to develop the integration of these communities. In others, refugees can choose the location within the receiving society prior to arrival. In such cases particular communities may be identified by government or non-government organisations as potential resettlement locales or refugees may have complete choice over the destination with the assistance of social support providers or family and friends (UNHCR 2002).

In the Australian context the terms 'rural' and 'regional' are defined in the following ways. Rural is defined as an area having a connection to and/or dependence on agriculture (Gray & Lawrence 2001). Regional is defined in its broadest sense as 'non-metropolitan'; that is, all parts of the country outside of the major cities with more than 100,000 population (Withers & Powall 2003). Using this definition, 'regional Australia' comprises 'all areas of Australia except Sydney, Newcastle, Wollongong, Melbourne, Perth, Brisbane, and the Gold Coast' (Australian Policy Online, cited in Stevenson 2005, p. 15).

A key point of differentiation within regional Australia is remoteness or distance from metropolitan areas and services (Withers & Powall 2003). However, this is where the similarities end. Regional areas are diverse locales, with varying histories, terrain, resources, industries, agricultural products, heritage and politics. Many have strong and sustainable economic bases; others face significant economic, social and environmental challenges (Taylor 2005). Population decline and skill shortages are two issues facing regional communities that have been particularly important factors leading to increasing Australian Government support for regional resettlement of refugees and humanitarian entrants.

1.2 Refugee regional and rural resettlement in Australia

1.2.1. Historical context

The first officially sanctioned intake of refugees occurred after World War I when 3,500 refugees were accepted into Australia (Hugo 2002b). The first major 'wave' of refugees was made up of some 170,000 central and eastern Europeans, fleeing fascist and communist regimes after World War II (1947-1953) (Taylor 2004). Since the end of World War II, over 675,000 refugees and people in humanitarian need have been resettled in Australia (DIAC 2007a). In 1956 and 1968 two new groups, Hungarian and Czech refugees, resettled in Australia (Taylor 2004). They were followed by refugees from South-East Asia and Latin America in the late 1970s (Taylor 2004). The majority of refugees in the early 1990s came from Vietnam and El Salvador and in the mid-1990s from the former Yugoslavia (Taylor 2004).

Of particular significance is that post-war refugee resettlement to Australia has taken place in the context of a mass migration program with significant bipartisan support. Over six million migrants have settled in Australia since the end of the Second World War (Jupp 2002). As a country of mass migration, Australia has, by international standards, a well-developed specialist policy and program infrastructure to support migrant settlement and to manage cultural diversity. Due to both specific policy measures and the sheer magnitude of the settler population, capacity to facilitate settlement and manage diversity has also been developed in other key mainstream policy and service delivery areas. Further, mass migration and associated policy and program support have contributed to the

development of strong ethno-cultural communities. These communities in turn have played an important role in supporting the settlement of newcomers, both directly through the provision of social and language support and indirectly by facilitating access to cultural resources such as arts and cultural activities, ethnic media and faith communities. Established ethno-cultural communities also play a role in managing diversity, through, for example, facilitating communication and relationships between new arrivals and the institutions of government, business and civic society.

While refugees face some additional issues, they share many needs in common with their migrant counterparts. The often 'taken for granted' infrastructure and experience Australia has developed as a result of mass migration has meant that it has been better positioned to settle new refugee arrivals than countries without such a history (UNHCR 2002). However, this infrastructure and experience is not evenly distributed either across Australia or within Victoria.

Since the inception of the post-war migration program there have been several attempts by Australian governments to encourage migrants and refugees to resettle in regional areas (Cahill 2007; King & O'Connor 2003; Jupp 2002; Williams 1999). In a number of regional areas there has also been a history of spontaneous migrant and refugee settlement, often in response to employment in the agricultural and manufacturing industries. However, historically the dominant pattern has been for most migrants and refugees to settle in major Australian cities, particularly Melbourne and Sydney (Sharp 2005). For example, in the period 1997 to 2005, non-metropolitan areas were home to more than 36% of Australian residents. However, fewer than 10% of all new arrivals settled in these areas in that period and, of these, only 10.4% were Humanitarian Program entrants (DIAC 2003, p.101). Further, while refugees and migrants have settled across the metropolitan area of Melbourne, historically there have been larger numbers of new settlers in inner-city areas to the north and west and in the outer suburbs to the south-east (VFST 2004).

There are some regional areas, particularly those with a past history of migrant and refugee settlement, where the capacity to support settlement and to manage diversity is relatively well developed. There is also evidence of considerable community support for increased settlement of migrants and refugees (DIAC 2003). However, reflecting historical and contemporary patterns of settlement, much of the specialist service infrastructure and experience and expertise in both settlement and diversity management has to date been concentrated in metropolitan areas.

1.2.2 The contemporary context – direct resettlement

As previously noted, in recent years there has been an increasing focus on resettling refugees outside of the more densely populated metropolitan areas of Australia. According to the Commonwealth–Victoria Working Party on Migration there are four key reasons for this development: increasing concentration of immigrants in Sydney and Melbourne, increasing involvement by state and local governments in the attraction of immigrants, concerns about out-migration and the size of the population in regional Australia and a growing interest in sharing the perceived benefits of immigration, and an increasing emphasis on the size and quality of the labour force as a prerequisite for economic development (CVWPM 2004).

Both the Commonwealth and State Governments (and opposition parties) have encouraged regional settlement. This was particularly evident in the *Report of the Review of Settlement Services for Migrants and Humanitarian Entrants* released by the then Department of Immigration and Multicultural and

Indigenous Affairs (now the Department of Immigration and Citizenship) in 2003 (DIMIA 2003). It stated that: 'where appropriate, unlinked refugees arriving in Australia be directed to parts of regional Australia in order to address the demand for less skilled labour in regional economies and to assist humanitarian entrants to achieve early employment'. The Commonwealth Government's position was reaffirmed in January 2004 when it announced that it would aim to further increase the number of migrants and humanitarian entrants in rural and regional areas (DIAC 2005).

Since 2004, the financial support and number of sites and programs in regional areas have all steadily increased. DIAC has encouraged regional settlement in a number of locations – Coffs Harbour, Goulburn, Wollongong, Wagga Wagga, Geelong, Shepparton, Logan/Beenleigh/Woodridge, Toowoomba, Cairns, Townsville, Gold Coast, Mandurah, Launceston, Tasmania's North-West Coast and Alice Springs (DIAC 2005). In the 2004-05 Budget, the Australian Government committed $12.4 million to further increase humanitarian settlement in regional areas (DIAC 2005). The aim was to double the number of refugees settling in regional areas by 2005–06 (Taylor & Stanovic 2005). Particular initiatives included grants for humanitarian community services, needs-based planning frameworks and improved settlement information in rural and regional areas (DIAC 2005).

Unlike the spontaneous settlements of the past, the Australian Government is now actively attempting to settle new arrivals – both migrants and humanitarian entrants – in regional and rural Australia and is concerned with how to ensure the long-term viability of these communities. The Commonwealth–Victoria Working Party on Migration has outlined the following key principles for 'good settlement' in relation to refugee resettlement in regional centres. The overriding principle is that the local council should be involved and the program should have the full support of the State Government. This is followed by eight additional principles:

1. Coordination–readiness: all services need to be prepared to coordinate with each other;

2. Supply of major employers offering entry-level employment: local economy broad enough to offer a variety of skilled employment opportunities for those ready to seek them;

3. Housing: low cost housing accessible to workplaces and essential services;

4. Medical and welfare services: particularly with an awareness of the needs of new arrivals;

5. Existing community: identify existing community and match new arrival community;

6. Language services: consolidate the existing community by matching language (not just ethnicity) of the new arrivals as closely as possible;

7. Education and training: Adult Migrant English Program (AMEP) provider available, able to deliver flexibly; and

8. Selection attributes for pilot group humanitarian entrants: maintain the consistency of one ethnicity and language to match with the host community.

While to date direct resettlement to regional and rural Victoria has been initiated primarily by government, there is also an emerging trend toward direct rural resettlement being supported by human rights and faith based groups. For example, at the time of writing a faith based community in Bendigo is planning settlement of a small group of Karen background refugees from Burma.

It is also important to note that the city of Geelong has long been a destination for direct settlement of new refugee arrivals and this is likely to continue.

1.2.3 The contemporary context – secondary migration

In recent years there has also been increasing secondary migration of refugees to regional and rural Victoria. In some cases this has been through a formal initiative, such as the relocation program established in partnership with the Sudanese community by Warrnambool City Council (see Section 4.2). In examples such as this, resettlement is consciously planned and implemented.

In others, secondary migration may occur less formally as refugees move in response to employment opportunities. Such opportunities are often promoted to them by rural employers, such as abattoirs and fruit growers, through Melbourne based employment services.

There is some anecdotal evidence to suggest that some secondary migrants are moving to escape problems perceived to be associated with urban life (for example, racist violence, drug abuse and youth peer pressure).

Public housing and larger housing units may also be more readily available in some areas in rural and regional Victoria. There is some evidence – again of an anecdotal nature – that this might be another 'pull' factor for increasing informal secondary migration.

At the time of writing there were small but significant settlements of people from refugee backgrounds who were previously settled in Melbourne in Wonthaggi, Swan Hill, Shepparton, Mildura, the Latrobe Valley, Castlemaine and Colac.

It is important to note that alongside the trend toward rural and regional settlement there have also been increasingly dispersed patterns of settlement in metropolitan areas. This appears to have been motivated by a range of factors, including the general trend toward outer-suburban growth, the limited availability of housing stock in the inner-city and the relative affordability of housing in outer-suburban areas (VFST 2004).

1.3 Current refugee settlement policies and trends

1.3.1 Refugee selection

Refugees and other people in humanitarian need arrive in Australia either through the offshore Refugee and Special Humanitarian Program or as onshore asylum seekers (RCOA 2005). The Australian Government's offshore Refugee and Special Humanitarian Program currently accepts about 13,000 refugees per annum (see Table 1) (RCOA 2005). The Refugee Program assists people subject to persecution in their home country and in need of resettlement. Most applicants are referred under this category for resettlement by the UNHCR (RCOA 2005). The general visa categories under which people from refugee backgrounds arrive in Australia are[1]:

• **Refugee (visa subclass 200)**: Applicants are referred by UNHCR and must meet health and character requirements. Medical and travel costs are paid and they are eligible for a full range of Australian Government settlement services (RCOA 2005).

---

[1] There are two additional visa categories which are rarely used:

- In-country Special Humanitarian (visa subclass 201): For applicants unable to leave their own country. These visa applicants have the same entitlements as SHP entrants.
- Emergency Rescue (visa subclass 203): For emergency cases only where an applicant has an immediate threat. There is referral from UNHCR with less than 48 hours from referral to removal. Health and character tests apply and applicants have the same visa rights as a Refugee visa.

- **Woman at Risk (visa subclass 204)**: This visa is for especially vulnerable women and children such as female headed households, single mothers, abandoned or single women. They are referred by UNHCR and other agencies. They are subject to health and character tests and have the same entitlements as refugee visa entrants (RCOA 2005). There is recognition internationally that as a result of their particular vulnerability this group may have more intensive resettlement needs (UNHCR 2002).

- The **Special Humanitarian Program (SHP) (visa subclass 202)**: This program targets people outside their home country and subject to persecution and/or discrimination in their home country. Applications must be supported by a proposer who is an Australian citizen, permanent resident or a community organisation based in Australia. Entrants must meet health and character tests, but receive less support than Refugee visa entrants – they do not receive free air flights into Australia and are entitled to a modified initial settlement package (RCOA 2005). Rather, it is expected that the proposer will provide some assistance to SHP entrants to support them in their settlement.

- Onshore **asylum seekers**: A person who has applied for asylum is granted either a **permanent protection visa (PPV)** – if there has been 'authorised' entry and the person has fulfilled various criteria – or a three-year **temporary protection visa (TPV**) – if they have arrived in an 'unauthorised' manner. People who arrive in an unauthorised manner are generally subject to mandatory detention pending the grant of a TPV or bridging visa (RCOA 2005).

Table 1: Humanitarian Program, grants by category, 1999–2006

Category	2000-01	2001-02	2002-03	2003-04	2004-05	2005-06	2006-07
Refugee	3997	4160	4376	4134	5511	6022	6003
Special Humanitarian	3116	4258	7280	8927[a]	6755[b]	6836[c]	5275
Special Assistance[d]	879	40					
Onshore Protection	5577	3885	866	788	895	1272	1701
Temporary Humanitarian Concern	164	6	3	2	17	14	38
Total	**13,733**	**12,349**	**12,525**	**13,851**	**13,178**	**14,144**	**13,017**

a   This figure includes 1228 grants to the East Timorese and 31 others onshore.

b   This figure includes 148 grants to East Timorese and 22 others onshore.

c   This figure includes 100 grants onshore.

d   The Special Assistance Category has been phased out

Source: DIAC 2007a

1.3.2 Australian Government programs to support refugee resettlement

The resettlement of people from refugee backgrounds in Australia is supported through a number of programs offered by the Commonwealth Government. These include the Integrated Humanitarian Settlement Strategy (IHSS), Settlement Grants Program (SGP), Adult Migrant English Program (AMEP) and translating and interpreting services.

▶ **Integrated Humanitarian Settlement Strategy (IHSS)**

The IHSS provides intensive settlement support to newly arrived humanitarian entrants, including:

- case coordination, information and referral;
- on-arrival reception and assistance;
- accommodation services; and
- short-term torture and trauma counselling.

Services are generally provided during the first six months after arrival on an 'as needed' basis. In practice, entrants in the Special Humanitarian Program tend to receive a lower level of support through the IHSS than Refugee category entrants since it is expected that this will be provided by their proposer. Support is available through IHSS providers to proposers of refugee resettlement initiatives to assist them in their role.

IHSS services are delivered by contracted service providers, with funding provided on a unit cost basis. IHSS tenders are let on a regional basis in the metropolitan area with services to entrants settling in rural and regional areas subcontracted to local service providers.

It is important to note that IHSS assistance is generally limited to the first six months following arrival in Australia, based on the assumption that refugees should then be able to access mainstream services. This makes it unlikely that IHSS assistance will be available for refugees who have been in Australia for some time who then decide to relocate to regional areas. It also leads to particular challenges in areas such as regional Victoria where mainstream service providers have limited experience working with refugee, migrant and culturally and linguistically diverse (CALD) communities. (It is noted, however, that recent changes have provided for a longer period of support for entrants with very complex needs.)

▶ **Settlement Grants Program (SGP)**

The SGP is a discretionary grants program that funds organisations to implement projects that:

- assist new arrivals to orient themselves to their new community;
- help new arrivals to develop; and
- promote social participation and integration (DIAC 2007c).

The SGP is a national program targeted at humanitarian entrants, family stream migrants and dependents of skilled migrants. It includes programs in rural and regional areas (DIAC 2007c). Eligible organisations are not-for-profits, local governments, government service delivery organisations in rural and regional areas and services currently funded to deliver programs under the AMEP (DIAC 2007c).

Feedback from some regional and rural communities suggests that the annual, needs-based approach to project funding has made it difficult for communities and agencies to access funding quickly enough to respond appropriately to rapidly changing patterns of refugee regional settlement.

▶ **Adult Migrant English Program (AMEP)**

The AMEP provides up to 510 hours of English language tuition until functional English is achieved (DIAC 2007d).

▶ **Translating and interpreting services**

Telephone and onsite interpreting is available to assist entrants accessing Commonwealth funded services. Accessibility of on-site interpreting in rural and regional areas, especially for small language groups and clients requiring a particular gender of interpreter, remains an ongoing challenge (DIMIA 2003).

1.3.3 Victorian Government programs to support people from refugee backgrounds

The Victorian Government has been a strong supporter of initiatives to increase humanitarian resettlement in regional Australia. According to the Commonwealth–Victoria Working Party on Migration there are a number of examples of successful regional resettlement across the State – including Shepparton, Warrnambool and Swan Hill. However, the Victorian Government has also raised some concerns about the need for additional Commonwealth Government funded settlement services in rural and regional Victoria (CVWPM 2004).

A 2004 review of refugee and humanitarian settlement in rural Victoria identified the following key issues requiring further discussion and attention:

- varying levels of support for cultural diversity aims and policies;
- uneven availability and quality of mainstream services with experience in working with refugee, migrant and CALD communities;
- need to strengthen cross-cultural sensitivity of mainstream services and programs;
- uneven availability of job opportunities relevant to the skills, education and physical capacity of particular refugee communities; and
- tensions between old and new communities with relation to service provision (Nsubuga-Kyobe 2004).

Although regional and rural refugee resettlement is supported through a number of Victorian Government policies and programs, key initiatives include:

▶ **Refugee Brokerage Program**

Four full-time early intervention refugee service broker workers have been funded in the Melbourne metropolitan area at the time of writing. Part-time positions have been funded in rural areas (Warrnambool, Colac and Shepparton).

The role of these community based positions is to improve outcomes for refugees by facilitating a more coordinated and culturally sensitive approach to service development and delivery by Commonwealth and State Government departments, local councils and community organisations.

▶ **Refugee Health Nurses Program**

This program employs nurses who have expertise in working with diverse communities in selected community health services located in areas with high refugee populations. The program is designed to assist new arrivals to access health and social needs assessments, and to join up clinicians and

resources to ensure appropriate support. Nurses are currently located in six metropolitan and three rural/regional settings. Rural locations are Shepparton, Warrnambool and Ballarat. Colac received six months funding from the Department of Human Services (DHS). This is part of a broader policy response outlined in the Victorian Refugee Health and Wellbeing Action Plan 2005–2008 (DHS 2005).

▶ **Refugee Dental Services Program**

This program is delivered as a partnership between VFST and participating community health centres. There are no refugee dental clinics under this program in rural areas; however, in some areas public dental services have arranged priority access for initial assessment or similar in some regional areas.

1.3.4 Other relevant Australian policy context issues and settings

Discussion about the key impacts, issues and policy options in relation to refugee resettlement needs to be located in the context of a range of other relevant policy issues and settings. These include:

▶ **Population policy**

There is an important ongoing public policy debate about the overall level of growth and the geographical distribution of Australia's future population (Hugo 2002a). The relatively small size of refugee intake numbers will have only minor implications for overall population growth rates. However, proactive policy decisions designed to sustain and increase population numbers in particular regional and rural areas continue to be an important driver for policies designed to increase migrant and refugee resettlement to regional and rural communities.

An explicit population policy of this kind is not currently supported by the Commonwealth Government but is on the agenda of a number of state and local governments. This includes the Victorian Government, which released its population policy, *Beyond Five Million*, in December 2004. The policy provides strong support for overseas migration as a key mechanism for addressing the demographic, social and economic challenges facing regional and rural Victoria (DPC 2004). The policy includes a strong ongoing commitment to accepting and supporting humanitarian entrants and refugees

▶ **Regional economic, social and environmental policies**

Recent analysis of Australian regional trends provides evidence of increasing challenges in ensuring the benefits of economic growth are equitably shared across all Australian regions (ALGA 2003–04). These challenges are likely to be exacerbated by the ongoing impact of drought on regional and rural Australia, with emerging evidence that current dry conditions may reflect longer-term patterns and impacts of climate change (DEH & AGO 2006).

▶ **Labour market policies designed to address skill shortages**

Increasing evidence of and concern about skill shortages, particularly in regional and rural Australia, has also been a key driver of support for refugee regional and rural relocation initiatives (DTRE 2006). As the Productivity Commission (2006) has recently noted, a measured approach to understanding the labour supply benefits of migrant and refugee intakes is sensible given the evidence suggesting that the overall economic impact of current migration policies is positive but relatively small.

In the Victorian context, the Government's Skilled Migration Strategy provides strong ongoing support for encouraging skilled and business migrants to locate in regional and rural Victoria (Victorian Government 2004).

This program, designed to attract skilled and business migrants to Victoria, includes a strong emphasis on regional settlement of migrants, including education and employment program support through the regional Migration Incentive Fund.[2] As discussed later in this Report, there may be some potential to build a common planning infrastructure for the settlement of both refugees and migrants in regional areas.

▶ Policies designed to foster cross-cultural tolerance and understanding

The DOTARS (2005) report on Cultural Diversity and Economic Development in Four Regional Australian Communities noted a 'virtuous circle' between cross-cultural understanding, economic performance and the capacity of regional and rural communities to attract and retain migrants.

In recent decades in Victoria, migrant and refugee settlement has been supported through a strong policy and legislative infrastructure underpinned by the principles of valuing diversity, reducing inequality, encouraging participation and promoting the social and economic benefits of cultural diversity for all Victorians (ALP 2002; VOMA 2002). This is also reflected in the Victorian Government's social policy statement Growing Victoria Together, with one of the 10 goals of the statement being to 'support a fairer society that reduces disadvantage and respects diversity' (DPC 2005, 2007).

The Victorian Government has also supported a range of legislative initiatives designed to reduce discrimination and promote the social, cultural and economic benefits of cultural diversity. These include the:

- *Multicultural Victoria Act 2004*

- *Equal Opportunity Act 1995*

- *Racial and Religious Tolerance Act 2001*

- *Charter of Human Rights and Responsibilities 2007.*

Measures to reduce discrimination and embrace diversity are critical policy considerations in the area of refugee regional resettlement given recent survey data indicating that while large proportions of people in rural Victoria embrace cultural diversity, they are less likely to do so than those in metropolitan areas (Forrest & Dunn 2004; Forrest & Dunn, in VicHealth 2007).

▶ Housing policies

Access to appropriate, affordable housing is becoming an increasingly significant source of financial and emotional stress for many Australian families (Yates & Gabriel 2006). As noted below, housing affordability challenges are likely to be exacerbated for refugee families with minimal savings, limited rental histories and frequent experiences of discrimination in accessing rental accommodation. Among recent refugee arrivals, family size has also been somewhat larger than is the case for Australia as a whole (DIMIA 2003).

---

[2] This program was undergoing change at the time of finalising this Report.

▶ Health and community services

Relatively poor health outcomes combined with difficulties in accessing affordable, high quality health and community services are ongoing issues in many parts of regional and rural Australia (ALGA 2003–04). The need for measures to ensure that all services are responsive to people from migrant and refugee backgrounds is encapsulated in the *Charter of Public Service in a Culturally Diverse Society* (DIMIA 1998), to which the Victorian Government is a signatory. The importance of responding to the particular health needs of people from refugee backgrounds is recognised in the Victorian Government's *Refugee Health and Wellbeing Action Plan* (DHS 2005). Together, these raise important questions about the need for sustained investment in regional universal health and community services as well as investment in services tailored specifically for refugee and migrant communities.

▶ Policies designed to foster a more 'joined up' approach to policy development and program implementation by all levels of government

There is increasing evidence that a more integrated, 'joined up' approach to policy development and the delivery of services is a key ingredient in ensuring good policy outcomes – good services to citizens and communities. This is particularly true in relation to the provision of services for groups, such as refugees, who may tend to 'fall through the gaps' unless careful thought is given to the appropriate mix of services and the communications and governance systems needed to ensure a coordinated approach.

2 Refugee health and wellbeing in the resettlement process

The health and wellbeing of refugees is significantly influenced by their experiences prior to arrival in Australia as well as by the social and economic context in which they live in Australia, including access to employment, housing and income (DHS 2005). Other factors that play an important role include:

▶ **Gender**

Women face a number of challenges on arrival in Australia, especially those arriving through the Women at Risk Program. Some are sole parents and are responsible for large numbers of children. They are, on average, more likely than men to have minimal or no education, to have low English proficiency and to feel isolated from the broader community. Before resettlement they may have been victims of sexual assault and the early settlement period may be a time of particular vulnerability to domestic violence (DHS 2005).

▶ **Age**

Intergenerational issues can place pressure on refugee young people and the older generations who grapple with culture shock, a new language and the pressures places upon them by their families (DHS 2005).

▶ **Cultural background**

Values and traditions that are commonly accepted in refugee homes may not be accepted or understood in Australia (DHS 2005).

Table 2 provides an overview of the key experiences affecting refugee health and wellbeing (VFST 2004).

Table 2: Experiences affecting refugee health and wellbeing

Experiences in countries of origin	Experiences in settlement environment
Forced displacement	Absence of family members, home and community
Violence and human rights abuses	Lack of social and family support
Loss and separation from family members, often in violent circumstances	Guilt about family members remaining in difficult circumstances overseas
	Limited access to cultural and religious institutions and cultural communities
Deprivation of cultural and religious institutions and practices	Stress associated with learning a new language, adjusting to a new culture and dealing with the practical tasks of establishing a life in a new country
Periods of extreme poverty	Unemployment and under-employment (associated with a range of factors, including English language proficiency and non-recognition of qualifications)
Lack of access to health care	Poverty
Constraints on access to education, employment, family and community support, and adequate income	Insecure housing Lack of understanding and, in some cases, discriminatory and xenophobic behaviour in the wider community
Prolonged uncertainty about the future	People of refugee background with limited access to financial and social support (who may also live on a temporary or bridging visa and face and uncertain future in Australia) experience other difficulties in terms of re-establishing their lives

Source: VFST 2004, p.19

2.1 The refugee experience

While there is no standard refugee experience, by definition a refugee has fled serious human rights violations overseas, often as a result of war or organised violence (DHS 2005). Refugee experiences are often traumatic and characterised by persecution, displacement, loss and grief, forced separation from family home and belongings, and violence (CMYI 2006). Refugees may have experienced one or more of the following (RRAC 2002):

- being forced to leave their country of origin;

- profound disruption before resettlement in Australia, including, but not limited to, periods of discrimination;

- conflict and human rights abuses in their countries of origin, often followed by a period of uncertain status in a country of asylum or refugee camp;

- exposure to traumatic experiences, such as loss of or separation from family, torture or life-threatening events;

- prolonged periods in countries where infrastructure and services are inadequate or disrupted due to conflict; and

- as a consequence of torture or other traumatic experiences, grief, anxiety, depression, guilt or symptoms of post-traumatic stress disorder, which may persist long after resettlement. The implication is that the settlement process can be hampered both directly and indirectly by affecting the refugee's capacity to trust and form relationships with family, teachers, peers and the broader community, as well as their ability to accomplish basic survival tasks, such as the learning of a new language (Beiser & Hou 2001).

After fleeing persecution and violence the majority of refugees spend time in the border regions of neighbouring states where the conditions remain perilous. Often the conflict from which they have fled will follow them across the border or the host country may threaten to return them to the danger they have escaped. Even if this is not the case, they often face years of bare subsistence removed from their livelihoods and unable to integrate into the economy and society of the host country (Newland 2002). In many cases, after escaping persecution refugees must face years in refugee camps where they live in squalor and endure malnutrition, lack of adequate shelter and violence (VFST 1998). Children's development is severely restricted by violence and lack of education and the chance to play (VFST 1998). Moreover, infant and adult morbidity and mortality are high due to dehydration, infectious diseases and respiratory illness (VFST 1998). Clearly, life in a refugee camp or country of first asylum is difficult and the refugee's experience during this time should be considered in planning for resettlement.

Although refugees experience immense hardship and trauma on their journey to safety, the experience can also facilitate the development of qualities that assist them during their resettlement. These include: resilience and resourcefulness, adaptability, a strong commitment to the family and value of community, and a strong desire to achieve educationally (CMYI 2006). If fostered, such qualities may contribute to beneficial outcomes during resettlement. First, if encouraged, self-esteem can be advanced and confidence can grow at the individual, group or community level (VicHealth 2003). Second, if utilised, refugees make remarkable progress in rebuilding their lives and make significant cultural, economic and social contributions to Australia (VicHealth 2003). Third, if promoted, these strengths can raise awareness and create an environment in which refugees are able to engage with service providers and the wider community (VicHealth 2003). Hence, by focusing on the attributes of the refugee and the refugee community, resettlement can be promoted.

2.2 Factors that promote successful refugee resettlement

Resettlement is a dynamic process of transition. During resettlement, refugees pass through a number of phases of readjustment (see Figure 1). The first two phases – phase 1, arrival, and phase 2, reality – are typical for all refugees. However, the third and fourth phases are dependent on the presence or absence of factors in the person's broader environment which either facilitate or inhibit resettlement. If these factors are present, the refugee may experience some form of phase 3A, negotiation, and then phase 4A, integration. If absent, the refugee may experience phase 3B, alienation, and finally phase 4B, marginalisation. Each of these phases has a number of possible associated events, psychosocial experiences and needs and service implications (CVT 2002).

The Centre for Violence and Torture (CVT) framework outlined in Figure 1 does not mean to suggest that resettlement follows a linear progression. Instead, refugees may experience events, exhibit behaviours and have service needs that cut across all four phases (CVT 2002). Therefore, refugee

Figure 1: Phases of refugee adjustment
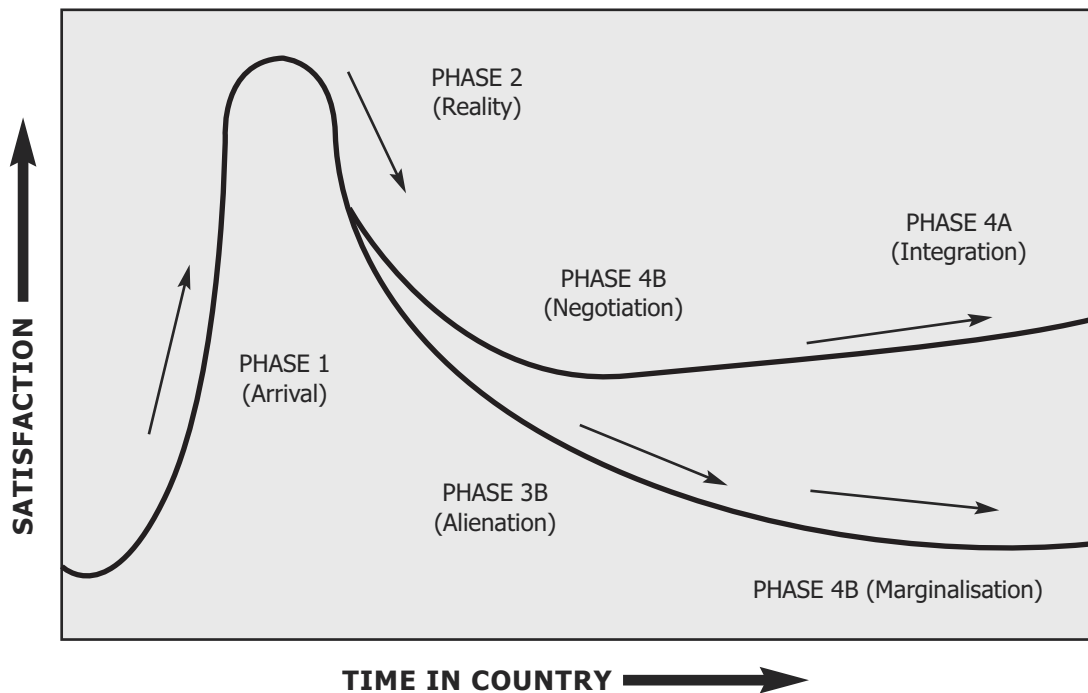
Adapted from: CVT 2002, p. 25 and CMYI 2006, p. 3

adjustment and adaptation are best conceived as having multiple components rather than as being homogenous (Montgomery 1996). However, the CVT framework does highlight an important consideration – refugees may become alienated and marginalised if the factors that promote resettlement are not present.

Factors facilitating settlement are conceptualised and categorised differently by different experts. In this report we have used the VicHealth Framework for the Promotion of Mental Health as an organising schema. This framework was developed to guide interventions to improve mental health and wellbeing across the population. It identifies three factors as being particularly important for mental health and wellbeing:

• social inclusion;

• freedom from discrimination; and

• access to economic resources such as housing, meaningful employment and income.

The evidence relating to factors understood to promote successful settlement (and thereby wellbeing) that follows is organised under these three categories.

2.2.1 Social inclusion and support

Research shows that social support is one of the most important factors for promoting sustainable resettlement. It is particularly important early in the resettlement process when new arrivals face the practical and emotional challenges of settling in a new country (VicHealth 2003). Important are both

support from the new arrivals' family and friends and ethnic community networks as well as that from the wider host community. The existence of social networks can instil a sense of belonging among new arrivals, provide them with resources and assist them in accessing housing and employment (McMichael & Manderson 2004).

There is extensive literature suggesting that social networks provide information about job availability and therefore provide new arrivals with access to the labour market (Beaman 2006). The informal job market in the United States shows that at least 50% of people find employment through their social connections (Beaman 2006). Moreover, interventions to improve the employment rates of some individuals have flow-on effects throughout the social network, thereby reducing the need for government services (Beaman 2006). VicHealth (2003) observes that through developing social connections within new arrival communities and building the skills and confidence of individuals, a solid foundation for exploring economic participation is established.

There is considerable evidence that post-migration stress influences resettlement outcomes and mental wellbeing (Simich et al. 2001; Watters 2001). Social networks can assist refugees through the various problems they face in the country of resettlement, thereby reducing stress (DoL 2004). The existence of strong ethnic communities, in terms of both formal and informal associations within communities, is critical to the refugee's adjustment in an unfamiliar environment (Wahlbeck 1998). The following quote from a resettlement worker highlights how social networks enhance the resettlement process:

> Relatives help the refugees find their way around on the housing estate and in the town in general. They also familiarise them with hundreds of facts about housing, eating habits, daily routines, school, courtesy and consideration. There's a noticeable difference between people who have contact with relatives when they come here and those who arrive completely on their own (UNHCR 2002, p.60).

Connections with one's ethnic community are also important to assist in the maintenance of ethnic identity (Kurrien 2003, cited in Mahalingham 2006), which in turn has been found to influence mental health (Mossakowski 2003; Wong, Eccles & Sameroff 2003). Ethnic communities have also been found to buffer the effects of adversity, especially ethnic and race based discrimination (Noh & Kasper 2003). Further, they can help to promote harmonious relations between new arrivals and the wider community by serving as link between them (UNHCR 2002).

Social connections are dynamic entities that evolve with the resettlement process. Support initially comes from family already in the host country, non-government organisations and from other refugees of the same ethnicity. Over time, social connections develop to include the host community as these people can help in the resettlement process – home tutors, volunteer support people and networks already developed by family members in the host country. For refugees in the labour market and refugees of school age, social networks are also formed through connections with work colleagues and schoolmates. These extended social connections can provide emotional support and a chance to interact with English speakers and improve English skills (DoL 2004).

2.2.2 Freedom from discrimination and violence

There is a strong body of evidence indicating a link between exposure to ethnic and race based discrimination and poor mental health (VicHealth 2007). Racism and discrimination can compromise the safety of new arrivals and contribute to a heightened sense of anxiety. Discrimination and violence

can also revive fear. Such stress and the practice of discrimination may limit access to resources that are critical during resettlement, such as education, employment and health services (VicHealth 2003).

Discrimination and stigma have the potential to undermine religious, racial and cultural identity, which as indicated above is an important influence on mental health and wellbeing. In leading to people feeling shame about their heritage, it can also contribute to social exclusion (Vargas 1999).

According to the UNHCR (2002), perceptions of safety should be considered in the planning of any resettlement community. A host community that is open and respectful of religious and cultural diversity helps to break down the barriers to successful resettlement.

Refugees in Australia often feel stigmatised by the broader Australian community. Diverse Muslim communities are ubiquitously stereotyped by the perceptions of the Australian public that are largely constructed by the media (Saeed & Akbarzadeh 2001). Domestic and international events such as September 11 have exposed refugees to racially based violence and hostility as well as more subtle forms of social exclusion (VicHealth 2003). Refugees from the various African communities in Australia also feel stigmatised. They are often perceived by the broader community as a homogenous group of 'black African refugees'; the specifics of their various cultures, languages, beliefs and homelands are combined into one identity melting pot (Farah 2007).

Recent studies have found that racism continues to be an issue for refugees in Australia. The Brotherhood of St Laurence Life Chances Study, conducted by Taylor and Fraser (2003), found that the children of refugees of Asian background were experiencing racism at school (Taylor 2004). In a study by Brough et al. (2003), violence associated with racism was found to be particularly difficult for refugees who had experienced violence in their past. The experience of two El Salvadorian refugees highlights the seriousness of the impacts on refugee resettlement:

> In one incident involving a racist attack in a public place, two young people from El Salvador were set upon by three adults. The emotional consequences of this attack were profound leading to depression and social withdrawal. One of the young people locked himself in his room for several weeks. The mother of the young people described the worst consequence as triggering 'memories of mistrust, where I couldn't trust my own shadow.' The mother was to later attempt suicide (Brough et al. 2003, p.201).

A survey of 4000 Victorians on experiences of discrimination and attitudes toward race and cultural diversity found that those born in non-English speaking countries reported unacceptably high rates of discrimination and were significantly more likely to do so than respondents born in Australia (Forrest & Dunn, in VicHealth 2007). The survey also found that while there were some exceptions, people in rural areas tended to hold less tolerant attitudes than their metropolitan counterparts.

Discrimination by the mainstream community can have differential impacts on refugee men and women. While many refugee women are engaged in employment, many also experience pressure to maintain their traditional roles in order to keep their communities intact. This can have the effect of further isolating refugee women and cutting them off from host community networks and institutions (Pittaway & Bartolomei 2002). Refugee men also experience a range of barriers in accessing employment and education as a result of discriminatory and racist attitudes and behaviours (Pittaway & Bartolomei 2002). This has follow-on effects for family income, self-esteem and access to housing and services.

2.2.3 Access to economic resources

Economic participation is crucial to positive resettlement (VicHealth 2003). Involvement in economic activities can have a number of beneficial effects. These include: enhancing mental health, increasing economic wellbeing, boosting opportunities for social connections, improving confidence and skills, instilling positive identity and providing a sense of purpose (Kyle et al. 2004; VicHealth 2003). Integration into the labour market is also the key to preventing poverty among refugee communities (Mamgain & Collins 2003). A quote from a Bosnian refugee affirms the importance of economic participation in the resettlement process:

> To have no fear, to reach your dreams. To be able to do this is particularly important for me as a refugee. For everyone deserves to find a job, to have enough financial security, and caring so that they can expand themselves. A job is one basic building block that you need in order to get your rights (Kyle et al. 2004, p. 4).

In recent years, the capacity of refugees resettled in Australia to find employment has declined significantly – six months after arrival the participation rate in the labour force for recently arrived humanitarian entrants was 15% compared with 41% for those arriving in the early to mid 1990s (Kyle et al. 2004; Pittaway, Bartolomei & Eckert 2006). Such poor outcomes have developed even though the labour market in Australia has improved – national unemployment has declined to around 6% (Kyle et al. 2004). VicHealth provides some insight into the reason for the decline in employment of new arrivals:

> The decline in the manufacturing sector (historically a major employer for new arrivals) and increasing ethnic diversity in the refugee and migrant intake have had an impact on the availability of economic opportunities through ethnic businesses networks (VicHealth 2003, p. 16).

There are a number of barriers facing refugees attempting to enter the labour market in Australia. These impediments include: recency of arrival, discrimination, low English language skills, lack of education and training, lack of labour market knowledge, poor access to formal and informal employment networks, poor provision of advice (including guidance and training), cultural transition issues, and pre-arrival experiences (Kyle et al. 2004; Taylor 2004). In addition, it is common that the qualifications and skills of the newly arrived refugee are not recognised or are non-transferable in Australia (Taylor 2004). Without participating in the local economy, refugees find it difficult to generate financial capital and this creates a significant barrier in securing adequate housing.

Housing is another issue that is related to economic participation, but can also be influenced by availability of housing stock, demographics of the refugee family and discrimination by landlords and real estate agents. According to Taylor (2004), housing is a key factor that enables refugee settlement. Phillips (2006, p. 539) explains why housing is so important:

> The ability to access safe, secure and affordable housing is also likely to have an impact on community relations, the level of secondary migration by refugees, and the development of a migrant household's capacity for secure and independent living.

Indeed, previous studies of immigrants have singled out housing as one of the most important factors influencing the settlement experience (Julian 1996). Poverty means that refugees are in a difficult position with respect to the housing market – they are reliant on the rental sector because they are rarely in a position to secure a mortgage to buy a house (Foley & Beer 2003; Phillips 2006).

Securing and holding onto a rental property can be difficult for newly arrived refugees. There are a number of reasons for this. First, some refugees find it difficult to accumulate money for the bond and rent-in-advance and to keep up with rental payments and bills (San Pedro 2001, cited in Foley & Beer 2003). Second, many refugees are discriminated against according to their race, gender or social status by landlords or real estate agents (Foley & Beer 2003; Sinha & Dobric 2006). Third, they often end up in poor accommodation out of desperation (San Pedro 2001, cited in Foley & Beer 2003). Due to large family size, rental accommodation is usually not big enough (Foley & Beer, 2003). Fourth, a lack of familiarity with the housing and legal system means that many newly arrived refugees experience difficulties dealing with the services that are available to them (Foley & Beer 2003).

2.2.4 A supportive 'host' community

A *host community* is any community receiving displaced persons (IFC 2006). A common characteristic of host countries is that there are many groups of refugees from different countries or in different periods that can be resettled in different ways (Jacobsen 2001). Although this definition was formulated with the country of first asylum in mind, it is equally applicable to the major resettlement countries around the world, particularly Australia. The big three resettlement countries – the United States, Australia and Canada – receive refugees from different countries at different times depending on, among other factors, the global political situation.

Resettlement in a host country is vital in providing protection to refugees. Moreover, the health and wellbeing of refugees is heavily reliant on the support and commitment of the host community. Refugees arrive with varying levels of trauma, education, employment experience and language skills. During resettlement they are regularly confronted with barriers to re-establishing their health and wellbeing. These include, but are not limited to, access to the labour market, discrimination, access to services, communication and lower than average wages. Navigating the barriers to successful resettlement requires a good host community, the question is: What makes a good host community?

There has been little research into the characteristics of a good host community and past discussions have centred on the country of first asylum. In the early 1980s host communities were simply considered according to their infrastructure capacity and were regarded as locales of accommodation. However, this quickly shifted and discussion of host communities tended to consider the development opportunities accompanying refugee resettlement (Harrell-Bond 2002; Montemurro 2005). In 2002, the UNHCR compiled a list of characteristics that signify a good host community. These are presented in Box 1.

Box 1: Characteristics of a good host community

A good host community will be a resource for rebuilding the lives of refugees. Therefore, the needs of the resettled refugees must be matched to the resources available in the receiving community (UNHCR 2002). If the host community cannot meet the needs of refugees they might be compelled to move on after a short time (UNHCR 2002). The UNHCR (2002) outlines seven factors which influence the selection of a host community:

1. Availability of secure and affordable housing

2. Access to employment opportunities

3. Presence of appropriate cultural and religious support

4. Commitment of community participation

5. Sufficient capacity, i.e. the existence of requisite infrastructure to resettle sufficient numbers of refugees to make the locale viable in both human and economic terms

6. Partnership potential, i.e. the existence of non-government organisations, local service agencies and civic or religious organisations to serve as partners in supporting newly arrived refugees

7. Attitude and environment – without goodwill amongst the host community, refugees will find it difficult to integrate (see also Jacobsen 2001).

Whether or not a particular locale will be a good host community not only depends on the characteristics of the community and the services available, but also on the situation of the individual refugee. According to the UNHCR (2002), there are a number of factors that should be considered when deciding on a host community for a refugee: the presence of friends or relatives, aspirations and priorities, prior social conditions (e.g. they may be from rural origins), employment skills and educational background, special needs, and language abilities and perceptions of safety (e.g. a densely populated urban area may make the refugee feel safer). Hence, an assessment of any host community requires balanced consideration of the characteristics and needs of both the host and the person resettling.

Implicit in the policies and political discourse of many refugee receiving countries is that refugee resettlement is of primary benefit only to refugees themselves. For example, the UNHCR (2004a) states that 'receiving refugees is the mark of true generosity on the part of the governments'. From this perspective, resettlement is seen as an international obligation and resettlement programs as being designed merely to help people in need. In this light, refugees are cast as passive recipients of charity. Moreover, it is assumed that in hosting refugees there are a number of costs to the local economy, infrastructure and environment (Montemurro 2005). A common assumption in the literature, and among some governments and humanitarian organisations, is that refugees represent a 'problem' or a 'burden' to the host community (Arnoldus, Dukes & Musterd 2003; Mehta & Gupte 2003; Robinson, Andersson & Musterd 2003; Simich 2003; Sherrell, Hyndman & Preniqi 2004).

Contrary to popular opinion, host nations are commonly also benefactors in the resettlement process. Refugees can make substantial contributions to the host country – expanding consumer markets for local goods, opening new markets, bringing in new skills, creating employment and filling empty

employment niches (Harrell-Bond 2002; Montemurro 2005). Such contributions are largely ignored. Harrell-Bond (2002) believes that refugees should not be defined as a welfare problem requiring 'relief' and 'care and maintenance', but rather as people who have problems but who also have determination to survive and put their energies into productive work that can benefit their hosts.

While the benefits of resettling refugees can be great, it is important to recognise that the gains cannot be accrued unless investment is made in the settlement of new arrivals. This investment must be formulated with the ultimate goals of social inclusion, freedom from discrimination, and access to economic resources in mind. In this sense, adequate planning that promotes inclusion in the cultural, economic, political and social systems that underpin the host community is critical. Resources should be directed to three key areas – resources, relationships and rights (Taylor & Stanovic 2005). First, resources must be allocated to employment, education and training, housing, income support, English tuition, interpreters, bilingual workers, and settlement services. Second, relationships must be fostered between the host community and the new entrants and within the family of the new arrival. Third, refugees must be provided with the same rights as the mainstream community (Taylor & Stanovic 2005).

3 International experience in refugee resettlement

Host countries have a responsibility to provide support to refugees in their resettlement. Providing such support requires investment, but is well worth the effort as it promotes optimal settlement conditions and ensures that countries reap the benefits of the skills and attributes that the refugees bring with them (UNHCR 2004a).

According to the UNHCR, the major resettlement countries by refugee intake are the United States (53,813), Australia (13,000)[3], Canada (10,400), Sweden (1263), Finland (766), Norway (749), New Zealand (741), Denmark (483), the Netherlands (419) and the United Kingdom (175) (RCOA 2005; UNHCR 2007). Interestingly, the policy frameworks of the majority of these host nations are devised around the concept of regional dispersal – that is, directing refugees away from the densely populated metropolitan areas. The idea of 'spreading the burden' has been used to form policies towards asylum seekers and refugees in the United Kingdom, Germany and the Netherlands (Andersson 2003). Each country directs all newly arrived refugees and asylum seekers away from immigrant-dense metropolitan areas. Moreover, the policies of all Scandinavian countries aim to disperse refugees throughout these countries – Norway, Denmark and Sweden have elaborate schemes aiming to affect the geography of refugee resettlement (Andersson 2003). Of the big three resettlement countries, Canada and Australia also follow policies of regional resettlement.

Policies to encourage refugees to resettle away from metropolitan areas have been developed to respond to concerns that newcomers tend to gravitate to cities because of the perceived opportunities and/or the presence on ethno-cultural communities. Some of these metropolitan regions are overcrowded, experiencing high levels of unemployment and housing shortages (UNHCR 2002). There are also a number of perceived benefits of dispersing refugees to non-metropolitan regions, including:

- preventing overcrowding in urban areas;

- reducing the costs of resettlement (housing may be cheaper outside urban areas);

- promoting self-sufficiency by matching refugees with communities with labour demand;

- promoting a whole-of-country approach to resettlement by engaging a range of communities;

- providing placement communities that are more compatible with some of the needs of resettled refugees; and

- fulfilling regional economic development and social goals in receiving countries (UNHCR 2002).

[3] Refugees arrive in Australia in two ways: either through the offshore Refugee and Special Humanitarian Program or as onshore asylum seekers (RCOA 2005).

This section explores the international policy frameworks that underpin the regional resettlement programs and/or dispersal policies of the key UNHCR Humanitarian Program Countries,[4] their experiences and the outcomes of these policies. It should be noted that the resettlement programs of these countries differ on a number of key dimensions in addition to whether or not they encourage geographic dispersal (UNHCR 2002). For example, some countries have high expectations that refugees will achieve economic independence at an early stage, while others allow a relatively generous window for new arrivals to orient themselves and to learn the host country language. Moreover, there are stark contrasts in underlying conditions between countries of refugee resettlement. For example, some countries are highly culturally homogenous, while others have long histories of migration and settlement. These factors may influence settlement outcomes but cannot always be readily disentangled from the influences of dispersal per se. Accordingly, they need to be kept in mind when evaluating international experience of dispersal and its relevance in the Australian context.

3.1 United States

Policy framework, procedures and approaches

The United States views refugee resettlement as an important foreign policy tool and recognises the gains of hosting refugees for its economy and community (Ryan 2004; Sauerbrey 2006). Of the big three resettlement countries, the United States is the only country to follow a formal policy of concentration rather than a program of dispersal (Beaman 2006). The decision about where to resettle a refugee is made before the refugee arrives. Contracted voluntary resettlement agencies receive all accepted cases from the Bureau of Population, Refugees and Migration (PRM) of the State Department. Some of these resettlement agencies follow a policy of clustering refugees in geographic locations which have pre-existing ethnic communities. The agency receives information from the State Department about the individual characteristic of each refugee, including basic demographic information, and then decides to send the refugee or the refugee family to one of its 16 regional offices. The agency does not meet with the refugee or the family member until the process is completed. The refugee then travels from his/her home country to the chosen regional office in the United States (Beaman 2006).

Outcomes

The United States follows an employment oriented approach to resettlement, based on the view that employment opportunities are maximised by increasing the sizes of ethnic communities (Beaman 2006). From this perspective, clustering of refugees creates a larger social network that contributes positively to the employment of newly arrived refugees (Beaman 2006). In the long term it is suggested that this strategy generates a variety of benefits – cultural, social and economic – both to the refugees and to their receiving communities (Zucker 1983).

The experiences of refugees resettled under the 'cluster' model in the United States are varied. For example, Utica in New York was essentially revitalised by the efforts of its refugee population who fixed up run-down properties and restored neighbourhoods. They also set up businesses, paid income taxes and voted (Dewey 2004). The State Department has described these refugees as 'model citizens' (Dewey 2004). The Government has also heralded the efforts of some 3700 Sudanese refugee youths who were resettled in the United States in 2000 (Ryan 2004). Many furthered their education,

---

[4] Despite extensive efforts it was difficult to find information about resettlement outside of the major metropolitan centres in New Zealand and therefore its experience is not reviewed in this report.

enrolling in college programs and graduate education (Ryan 2004). However, the news is not all good. A study of refugees in the labour market in Portland found that most refugees were at a disadvantage when it came to the skills sought by the United States labour market (Mamgain & Collins 2003).

3.2 Canada

Policy framework, procedures and approaches

The Canadian Government practices a policy of geographical dispersal of refugees. For the majority of government assisted refugees, the journey to Canada begins at a local UNHCR office that refers displaced people to Canada's visa posts overseas. It is at the overseas post that the destination of refugees is decided. The destination is based on a quota system – a minimum number of refugees from each visa post are sent to designated cities in each province. Provincial views influence the distribution of refugees and financial resources are transferred to each province based on targets (Simich, Beiser & Mawani 2002).

Outcomes

From a rural and regional perspective, attempts to resettle refugees in non-metropolitan areas have resulted in large numbers of secondary migrants. Between 1999 and 2001, over 1400 left the Prairies (35% of those originally destined there) and over 700 (46% of those originally destined) moved from the Atlantic provinces (Simich, Beiser & Mawani 2002). This phenomenon is fuelled by the need to maximise their opportunities for social support and self-sufficiency (Simich et al. 2001). Simich et al. (2001) also outline a number of other factors influencing secondary migration among refugees:

- not having preferences accommodated at the point of destining overseas;

- lack of meaningful orientation information about the destination so resettlers cannot make an informed decision;

- perceived lack of reliable social support in their original destination;

- the destination of secondary migration being perceived to have better opportunities for self-sufficiency; and

- the location of secondary migration providing a sense of comfort and familiarity, including the scale and ethnic composition of the community.

High rates of avoidable secondary migration are problematic for people from refugee backgrounds, many of whom have already suffered a high degree of disruption and dislocation prior to their arrival (UNHCR 2002).

3.3 United Kingdom

Policy framework, procedures and approaches

Under the Immigration and Asylum Act 1999, the United Kingdom follows a policy of compulsory dispersion for refugees and asylum seekers who cannot support themselves. However, it is important to note that the United Kingdom only resettles some 175 refugees each year and therefore its policies and programs are primarily concerned with asylum seekers who make up the large majority – 23,520

in 2006 (IRRSS 2007)[5]. Both groups are dispersed throughout regional areas, pushed by the need for accommodation and led by decentralised consortia (Ondiak 2006; Pearson 2007). The aim is to ensure 'burden-sharing' across the United Kingdom: 'no one locality should be expected to bear a disproportionate share of the "costs" of their resettlement' (Andersson 2003, p. 11). Dispersing refugees and asylum seekers outside of London is housing-driven, that is, it is dependent on the provision of housing outside the metropolis (Pearson 2007). In this way, refugees are denied the opportunity to congregate in clustered ethnic communities (Andersson 2003; Pearson 2007). The principal elements of refugee resettlement are:

- Local organisations and authorities come together into consortia which are expected to provide a full range of services, including 40% of all housing.

- Consortia are given £100,000 per annum to organise, coordinate and administrate provisions and promote positive media images of refugees and asylum seekers.

- Consortia are also expected provide for the long-term integration of refugees, including providing employment assistance, language education and other appropriate education services.

- Consortia were set up to provide these services in the North West of England, Yorkshire, Humberside, the West Midlands, the East Midlands, the North East of England, the South West, South Central England, Eastern England, Wales and Scotland (Robinson, 2003, p. 157, cited in Andersson 2003).

Outcomes

An evaluation completed by the National Audit Commission in 2000 raised a number of concerns that could influence the prime objective of dispersal:

- Failure to plan well and meet the needs of refugees raises community tensions and incurs long-term costs.

- An inadequate response causes severe stress to asylum seekers and constrains the long-term opportunities for those allowed to stay in the United Kingdom (i.e. those recognised as refugees).

- Without effective support asylum seekers are at risk of becoming locked in a cycle of exclusion and dependency on their new community.

- Refugees could return to London and again put pressure on health and education services (Andersson 2003).

Research into the experience of Bosnian refugees found that they were generally satisfied with their resettlement in the United Kingdom and actually have low levels of secondary migration (Robinson & Coleman 2000). Pearson (2007), however, found that after initially taking up the housing offered in other locales, refugees tend to drift back to London. Data on the support of asylum seekers from March 2004 showed that 36% were living in London, despite that fact that in doing so they lost a number of benefits and became eligible only for subsistence support (Schuster 2005). This phenomenon highlights the significant impact of 'pull' factors to urban areas.

---

[5] Due to the large number of asylum seekers compared to refugees in the UK, literature tends to bundle the two groups together. Literature tends to interchange 'refugee' with 'asylum seeker' and vice versa. Moreover, a review of the Immigration and Asylum Act 1999 also finds that the terms 'refugee' and 'asylum seeker' are interchanged (see articles 31(1) available at http://www.opsi.gov.uk/ACTS/acts1999/90033--a.htm#1).

3.4 Sweden

Policy framework, procedures and approaches

Immigrant dispersal in Sweden has been an active policy since 1985 (Walton-Roberts 2005). However, since 1995 the policy has been regarded as one of 'less effective dispersal' and represents a softening in the dispersal policy (Andersson 2003). Before 1995, refugees were required to pass through 'local reception' where they would be actively resettled outside the metropolitan areas. Under the less effective dispersal policy refugees have the option of organising their own settlement and therefore their destination (Andersson 2003).

Outcomes

The dispersal policy in Sweden has resulted in high levels of secondary migration. Damm and Rosholm (2005) found evidence that dispersed refugees experienced long-run losses (measured in terms of earnings, idleness and welfare receipt). Åslund (2001, cited in Damm & Rosholm 2005a) found that 37.6% of refugees who were located during 1987–89, relocated to another municipality within four years of their resettlement. Refugees tended to leave small municipalities in favour of large municipalities.

3.5 Finland

Policy framework, procedures and approaches

The Finish resettlement policy has been labelled a 'defacto dispersal policy' (Valthonen 1994, p. 63). This means that the involvement of individual municipalities in resettlement is voluntary. However, it also means that resettlement is something of an ad hoc process (Valthonen 1994). Resettlement is centralised within the arena of the public service sector and the State makes a contract with the municipality (Ahlgren-Leinvuo 2005). The contract defines the liabilities between the State and the municipalities. Municipalities are responsible for providing services and the State is responsible for funding the costs of these services. The State subsidises the municipality for three years (Ahlgren-Leinvuo 2005).

Outcomes

The dispersal policy of Finland has been associated with social exclusion, poor economic performance and secondary migration. Moreover, the refugee community has not grown to a viable size because places are offered so intermittently (Valthonen 1994). Ekholm (1994, cited in Valthonen 1999) found few cases of economic, social and political participation of Iranian, Kurdish, Somali and Vietnamese refugees in Finland and the unemployment rate of refugees was three times that of the Finnish population. A study of Middle Eastern refugees in Finland found that interaction with the Finnish society is fragmented and limited to official contact (Valthonen 1998). A more recent study found that refugees commonly leave the municipality of their primary resettlement before the State subsidy expires (three years) and move to a municipality that is not entitled to the state compensation (Ahlgren-Leinvuo 2005).

3.6 Norway

Policy framework, procedures and approaches

Like all Scandinavian countries, Norway has a resettlement policy of dispersal. Refugees are resettled all over the country in both small and large municipalities (Hauff & Per 1993). Municipalities choose both how many refugees and who they wish to resettle (KRD 2001). The responsibility is shared by the government and the municipalities (Hauff & Per 1993).

Outcomes

Relying on local government to settle refugees has not proven an adequate solution to long-term settlement needs (KRD 2001). Moreover, secondary migration is common. At the end of 1999, 36% of the 20,000 refugee immigrants who were located away from immigrant-dense areas in Norway during 1994–96 had moved away from the municipality of assignment (Damm & Rosholm 2005a). In southern Norway, the further away from the metropolitan area a refugee immigrant had been placed, the higher the probability that they will leave the region (Damm & Rosholm 2005a). As much as 57% of the refugee immigrants located in the northern part of Norway left the region for towns or cities (Damm & Rosholm 2005a).

3.7 Denmark

Policy framework, procedures and approaches

A new spatial dispersal policy was implemented in 1999 in Denmark. The aim of this policy was to promote better integration of refugees by means of mandatory and increased spatial dispersal. To discourage secondary migration, the program includes an extended introduction program supplied by the municipality of assignment and for the first three years receipt of social assistance is conditional on residing in the assigned municipality (Damm & Rosholm 2005b). According to Beaman (2006), the dispersal policy was implemented for two reasons: out of concern that the financial burden of refugee resettlement was disproportionately falling on larger cities, and to further integration, for example by increasing contact with nationals and increasing employment opportunities

Outcomes

Damm's (2004) review of refugees resettled 1985–96 under the Danish dispersal policy shows the policy was fairly successful in the short term but less so in the medium term. In small municipalities, secondary migration was common: 50% of males and 36% of female refugees. Moreover, around 93% of the migration flows went in the direction of medium-sized or large municipalities.

3.8 The Netherlands

Policy framework, procedures and approaches

The dispersal policy of the Netherlands is based on the fear of ethnic concentrations in particular cities and fuelled by the notion of 'burden sharing' (Andersson 2003). There is a fear in larger cities that big inflows of immigrants will result in segregation and social deprivation among the newcomers (Andersson 2003). However, this simple equation ignores the fact that dispersal of a refugee from an area where he/she has already found work and accommodation might actually be the main cause of deprivation (Arnoldus, Dukes & Musterd 2003). In the Netherlands, the concept of spreading the burden has certainly informed policies towards asylum seekers and refugees (Andersson 2003). The State puts public opinion and the wishes of strong local authorities before the interests of refugees (Andersson 2003). In this sense, refugees are treated as problems by the host society (Andersson 2003).

The Netherlands' dispersal policy is housing-driven. The government makes a one-time offer of housing to a refugee. This may mean that a refugee who was originally living in the north of the country may be offered housing in the south (Andersson 2003). However, it is important to also note that status holders are free to search for housing accommodation themselves – nearly 30% re-house themselves (Andersson 2003). If the refugee does migrate to a secondary locale, the resettlement is then counted against the target for the municipality within which they have chosen to settle (Andresson 2003). Arnoldus, Dukes and Musterd (2003) suggest that the system of dispersal by target setting is a mechanical exercise created by administrators.

Outcomes

A recent analysis by the Ministry of the Interior has shown that about 120,000 refugees were dispersed by means of target setting between 1995 and 1999 (Andersson 2003). This equals 94% of the overall target and indicates a high degree of goal attainment for the compulsory dispersal. However, the outcomes of effective dispersal are not favourable for refugees. Korac (2003) and Arnoldus, Dukes and Musterd (2003) found that refugees in the Netherlands are socially excluded. Furthermore, policy interventions do not correspond to the needs and integration goals of refugees (Korac 2003). Instead, the underlying logic is to cope efficiently with the inflow of refugees and to distribute the costs (Arnoldus, Dukes & Musterd 2003). It seems Dutch strategies do not build the social capital which would provide a sense of rootedness and social inclusion for the refugees (Korac 2003).

C514 Matlock
Fiddlers Green
Mt.Eliza
AVON
WILDERNESS
PARK
Cobbanna

55
The Triangle
Jericho
Red Jacket
Mt Victor
Mt.Selma
Licola
Lees Creek Picnic Area
105

YARRA RANGES NATIONAL PARK
Helipad
Aberfeldy
101
Blue Pool
Culloden

Toorongo
Tanjil Bren
Mt Baw Baw
Mt.St. Gwinear
BAW BAW PARK
Beardmore
Thomson River Dam
77
C486
Upper Maffra West
Boisdale
Bushy Pk
Briagolong

Alpine Village
NATIONAL
Mt.Erica
24
Historic Township
Walhalla
Glenmaggie
Seaton
Newry
C494
Munro

IcyCreek
Fumina
Parkers Corner
Rawson
Thomson R.
Heyfield
Tinamba
Maffra
Stratford

Fumina South
Erica
C481
Coopers Ck
Cowwarr
Llowalong
Airly
C10

Hill End
MOONDARRA STATE PK
C465
Moondarra
Toongabbie
Winnindoo
Nambrok
C492
Montgomery

Willow Grove
C466
TYERS PARK
C481
Glengarry
C105
C486
26
Fulham
Gobains

Shady Creek
Tanjil Sth
Yallourn Nth
Tyers
Rosedale
A1
Kilmany
Wurruk
Sale

C463
Moe
Newborough
Traralgon
M1
23
Flynn
Flynns Ck
HOLEY PLAINS STATE PARK
Longford
Dutso

28
Trafalgar
HWY
Morwell
11
C482
FlynnsCkUpr
Stradbroke West
A440

PRINCES
Coalville
15
Traralgon Sth
Callignee Nth
Hiamdale
Stradbroke
C496

Narracan
Driffield
Hazelwood
Koornalla
Gormandale

Thorpdale
Delburn
Yinnar
Churchill
Callignee
Willung Sth
72

Allambee Sth
B860
C456
MORWELL N.P.
Jeeralang Nth
Le Roy
C484
Carrajung Sth
GIPPSLAND

56
Boolarra
Yinnar Sth
Jeeralang
58
Giffard

Mirboo Nth
Jumbuk
Balook
C453
Darriman

Berrys Ck
Mardan
C455
Mirboo
87
Valley View
TARRA-BULGA NAT PK
Macks Ck
C102
A440
Woodside

Tarwin East
Madalya
Devon Nth
Won Wron
Woodside Beach

Turtons Ck
Ryton
Hiawatha
Jack River
Greenmount
Hunterston
McLoughlins Beach

21
Gunyah
Binginwarri
SOUTH Yarram
GIPPSLAND
Woorarra
Gelliondale
Alberton

Foster Nth
Foster
Hazel Pk
Welshpool
Tarraville
St.Margaret Island
Manns Beach

Buffalo
Toora
HWY
Hedley
A440
29
C453
Robertsons Beach
Shallow Inlet

Hoddle
22
Agnes
Port Albert
Kate Kearney Entrance
NOORAMUNGA MARINE & COASTAL PARK

Port Franklin
Barry Beach
Port Welshpool
Little Snake Island
Sunday Is
Port Albert Entrance

CORNER INLET M&CP
Entrance Point
Snake Island

Sandy Pt
Yanakie
CORNER INLET MARINE N.P.
Lighthouse Point

4 Recent Australian experience in refugee resettlement

As noted in Section 1, Australia's long history of accepting and resettling refugees has, on the whole, been informed by recognition of the economic, social and cultural contributions brought by each 'wave' of refugees (Cahill 2007; Pittaway, Bartolomei & Eckert 2006). Ongoing support for refugee resettlement has been based on a combination of humanitarian and economic motivations. Economic and employment drivers have played an increasingly important role. Evidence suggests refugee settlement policies can contribute to the extension and diversification of skills in regional labour markets and to developing trade links to regional and global markets (Withers 1999, cited in Stevenson 2005).

In January 2004, the Australian Government announced plans to increase the number of migrants and humanitarian entrants in rural and regional areas (Vanstone 2004). The aim was to see regional refugee resettlement as a win–win scenario, providing benefits for both the new arrivals and the host community (DIAC 2007e). This was informed by the view that regional locations provided the best employment opportunities for some refugees, particularly those with rural origins or with skill sets matching skill shortages in particular regional areas (DIAC 2007e).

DIAC began to encourage a small proportion of humanitarian entrants – those without any strong ties to family or friends and who were already in the country – to settle in regional areas once their humanitarian needs were assessed (Vanstone 2004).[6] Some 468 refugees and 451 people entering under the Special Humanitarian Program were resettled in regional areas under the Integrated Humanitarian Settlement Strategy 2003–04 (DIAC 2005). By the beginning of 2007, refugee regional resettlement initiatives had been implemented in Victoria, New South Wales, Queensland, Tasmania, Northern Territory and Western Australia (DIAC 2005). This represented 18% of the total refugees settled under the IHSS in 2003–04 and 7% of the total Special Humanitarian Program entrants for the same period (DIAC 2005). Settlement patterns of Humanitarian Program entrants in Victoria for 2006 - 2007 are documented in Table 3. It is important to note that these data do not include settlers who relocate to regional areas after first settling in another area.

DIAC (2007) has identified a range of factors in identifying locales as hosts of refugee resettlement. Particular features include: opportunities for early employment, population size and diversity, appropriate housing, availability of mainstream and specialist settlement services, and a welcoming environment (DIAC 2007e).

---

[6] In 2004-05, 70% of humanitarian entrants assisted by DIAC had a link in Australia (DIAC 2007).

Table 3: Regional settlement location of Humanitarian Program entrants settling in Victoria. January 2006 - December 2007[1]

Statistical Division	Local Government Areas in Statistical Division	Number
Barwon	Surf Coast, Queenscliffe, Greater Geelong, Colac-Otway, Golden Plains	117
Central Highlands	Ararat, Ballarat, Hepburn, Moorabool, Pyrenees	53
Gippsland	Bass-Coast, Yarra-Ranges, Baw-Baw, LaTrobe, South Gippsland	54
Goulburn	Benalla, Campaspe, Greater Shepparton, Mansfield, Mitchell, Moira, Murrindindi, Strathbogie	288
Loddon-Campaspe	Macedon Ranges, Central Goldfields, Mount Alexander, Greater Bendigo, Loddon	26
Mallee	Buloke, Gannawarra, Mildura, Swan-Hill	162
Melbourne		6352
Ovens-Murray	Wodonga, Wangaratta, Towong, Alpine, Indigo	6
Western District	Warrnambool, Corangamite, Glenelg, Moyne, Southern Grampians	10
Unknown		147
Total settlers		**7215**

1 Data is for settler's first destination only. Excludes those relocating after their initial settlement site. Data courtesy of the Department of Immigration and Citizenship.

4.1 Australian case studies

4.1.1 Shepparton

The resettlement of refugees in Shepparton began as an informal movement. In 1997, large numbers of Iraqi refugees moved to Shepparton in response to perceived employment opportunities, mostly seasonal fruit picking. The perception that the area had a more conservative lifestyle and culture also seems to have played a part (Taylor & Stanovic 2005; VSPC 2005). Many of the Iraqi families involved had found it difficult to find work in metropolitan areas, despite being highly qualified (VSPC 2005).

Iraqi refugees in Shepparton experienced some initial difficulties. Finding permanent employment proved problematic. Fruit picking was only available for around two months a year and many of the refugees found it hard to find additional employment due to limited English and little recognition of prior skills and experience (Broadbent, Cacciattolo & Carpenter 2007). There was also some evidence of discrimination, including being offered lower rates of pay than employees from the host community (Broadbent, Cacciattolo & Carpenter 2007). Refugee women also noted concern about being treated differently because of their clothing (Nsubuga-Kyobe 2004). The following quote highlights the frustration expressed by some of the Iraqi refugees:

> *We've been deprived from taking any work opportunity at all. Specifically for those who are highly qualified, the thing is they experience a language barrier and their English is a bit limited. If those people haven't got the opportunity to practise their English, how are they going to improve their English?* (Broadbent, Cacciattolo & Carpenter 2007, p. 25)

A number of other factors have also been identified as constraints on the successful settlement of Iraqi refugees in Shepparton. First, job placement agencies were inexperienced in catering for high employment demands and training programs did not lead to employment. Second, there was limited planning for an integrated approach to relocation policies, human services, education support systems and social inclusion. Third, there was no agency with responsibility to facilitate the recognition of formal qualifications and employment skills. Finally, Iraqis had difficulty building broad social networks within the broader community (Broadbent, Cacciattolo & Carpenter 2007).

Despite these initial challenges, Broadbent, Cacciattolo and Carpenter (2007) note that the Shepparton community has made concerted efforts to address these issues and the refugee population now appears to be setting down long-term roots in Shepparton. In 2004, DIAC estimated there were some 700 to 800 Iraqis in the Shepparton area (Taylor & Stanovic 2005).

In 2004, more formal steps were taken to attract new arrivals and early reports indicate that the outcomes are more promising for this next group of entrants. Shepparton was identified as one of two regions where a regional resettlement pilot program would be established. A steering committee was set up that identified the characteristics of the refugee families that it would like to move to Shepparton. These were families with the following characteristics: two parents, young children, four or fewer children, at least one member with some English, reasonable prospects for employment, and no complex medical or other needs (Piper 2006).[7] In response to these criteria, DIAC identified refugees from the Democratic Republic of Congo (Piper 2006).

---

[7] As the pilot progressed, families who did not fit the criteria were also accepted.

The general opinion of the formal settlement of the Congolese in Shepparton is that it has been an overwhelming success (Piper 2006). The 10 Congolese families have been openly welcomed into the Shepparton community (Piper 2006). The success of this initiative has been attributed to a number of factors:

- Shepparton's long history of 'making space' for newcomers;

- an effective partnership developed between the three levels of government;

- excellent collaboration between providers;

- a sense of local ownership;

- the strength and breadth of local networks and the creativity of people in using these;

- the openness and friendly nature of the Congolese refugees;

- the fact that the Congolese are not only Christian but also are keen to participate actively in the expression of their Christian faith; and

- the extremely supportive response from the Catholic community and other people from within Shepparton and surrounding areas (Piper 2006).

The pilot also provides a number of useful lessons for future regional resettlements. These include the importance of:

- detailed information being provided to the host community prior to the arrival of refugees;

- a broadly based steering committee with clear and shared objectives;

- a shared understanding of the language of settlement;

- clearly defined roles, responsibilities and referral pathways;

- risk analysis and planning;

- building of strategies that enable entrants to make choices and be supported towards achieving independence;

- ongoing evaluation and reformulation of the tasks required;

- active coordination of service delivery;

- active central coordination of volunteers and the collection and distribution of donations;

- training for all parties about the background of the entrants and about working with refugees;

- clear guidelines about professional and personal boundaries; and

- debriefing (supervision) for those working closely with the entrants and for others who need it (Piper 2006).

4.1.2 Swan Hill

The Swan Hill refugee program was initiated in 2002 by the Horn of Africa Community Network and Victoria University of Technology. The program developed out of the frustration of Horn of Africa communities about their high unemployment in Melbourne. A partnership with Murray–Mallee Training was established with the aim of attracting and supporting refugees from the Horn of Africa who were resident in Melbourne to relocate to Swan Hill and work in its growing economy. Although this

resettlement initiative was primarily employment driven, there was also an explicit understanding by all parties of the need to develop a holistic strategy that integrated employment, capacity building of the Horn of Africa communities and community development in the Swan Hill community (Broadbent, Cacciattolo & Carpenter 2007).

The resettlement program in Swan Hill had six key components:

• promotion of the program to Horn of Africa Communities in Maribyrnong;

• pre-relocation information tours of Swan Hill;

• pre-location training, including job search training, familiarisation with the rural community and preparation for work experience;

• relocation orientation and job placement: Murray–Mallee Training located full-time employment opportunities and assisted in gaining housing, cultural and settlement support; and

• community engagement: promotion of refugee and migrant communities to the region as positive additions (Broadbent, Cacciattolo & Carpenter 2007).

Despite these good intentions, the resettlement program in Swan Hill encountered a number of hurdles (Broadbent et al 2007). First, in contrast to Warrnambool (see below) there was a lack of consistent, long-term funding for community capacity building, case management support and assistance for families to relocate. Second, there was a lack of organisation of the appropriate body to develop ownership within the host community. Third, there was limited local government ownership of the project. Fourth, men moved to Swan Hill ahead of women to test the program and women were reluctant to move because of an absence of adequate social resources and networks. This meant that the important role women often take early on – establishing wider social networks – was absent. Fifth, the employment plan was not implemented because of lack of funding and a shared vision. Sixth, employment options did not eventuate and so new arrivals were not able to move into employment consistent with their qualification and aspirations.

In light of these difficulties, a number of lessons can be drawn from the Swan Hill experience:

• A partnership between host communities, the refugee community and their advocates is fundamental to establishing a successful refugee relocation project.

• A community development framework and set of drivers is essential.

• Local government needs to play a significant role.

• Including representatives from a range of communities rather than from one country of origin may not allow for a critical mass to sustain support and social connections.

• Planning for housing demand and establishing a diversity of housing options is critical.

• Community planning must happen previous to, at the beginning of, and concurrent to, the implementation of the refugee resettlement program.

• Financial support must be sufficient.

• A stable anchor community needs to be established for the refugees to build both resettlement and relocation in the long term (Broadbent, Cacciattolo & Carpenter 2007).

4.1.3 Gippsland: Poowong, Wonthaggi and Warragul

Gippsland has had a refugee presence since the 1940s. In the 1990s, refugees from Bosnia and Nepal settled in the Latrobe Valley but the community diminished as they moved to Melbourne in search of employment. These groups mostly came to Gippsland because they were sponsored by family (in the case of the Bosnians) or the Returned Servicemen's League (in the case of the Nepalese). The most recent arrivals in Gippsland are the Southern Sudanese. This group moved to Gippsland under an initiative by Tabro Meat to attract new employees to the area. In 2004, Gippsland Multicultural Services became involved, identifying further areas and employers experiencing labour shortages. This initiative was later backed by funding from the Department for Victorian Communities (Sinha & Dobric 2006).

A review of three settlement locations in Gippsland (Poowong, Wonthaggi and Warragul) by Sinha and Dobric (2006) revealed a number of common issues:

- lack of suitable long-term housing, overcrowding in private rental leases and real estate agents unwilling to assist families to access local private rental market;
- lack of public transport (in Poowong, Wonthaggi);
- no previous/existing or established community from their cultural background (in Poowong, Warragul);
- limited knowledge of regional Australia, country life and available services;
- very limited support services: Gippsland Multicultural Services was the only agency with experience working with people from refugee backgrounds;
- for service providers, a lack of understanding of the backgrounds and needs of those who are recently arrived and of refugee backgrounds, leading to a lack of skills in providing culturally responsive services;
- for the wider community, no previous experience or contact with either people from refugee backgrounds or people from African backgrounds; and
- isolation.

While settlement in these three sites has been characterised by a fragmented and ad hoc approach, a review of the experience highlights a number of lessons to be learnt. These include the importance of:

- local government ownership, endorsement, support and active participation in the planning and implementation of regional settlement;
- well-planned, well-integrated, long-term funding commitments and service provision;
- access to torture and trauma support services;
- improved primary health care services for refugees and humanitarian entrants;
- raising awareness among estate agents of the rights of renters from refugee backgrounds;
- sourcing suitable housing, bonds and advance rental prior to relocation;
- training to service providers about the needs of African women;
- supporting people from refugee backgrounds to use recreational facilities;
- training police, youth and community workers to respond effectively and sensitively to the needs of young people from refugee backgrounds;
- preparing a refugee 'welcome kit' in a range of languages; and
- improving access to private and public transport (Sinha & Dobric 2006).

Despite the initial challenges and issues facing the three Gippsland sites and their refugee communities, Gippsland Multicultural Services believes that with appropriate resources and commitment, regional resettlement in Gippsland can be a best practice example of a strategic approach to resettlement that meets the needs of community and industry (Sinha & Dobric 2006).

4.1.4 Warrnambool

The Warrnambool project emerged after concerns were raised in 2002 about population decline and loss of services. It was recognised that refugees who had the skills needed for employment in regional areas might help Warrnambool meet these challenges (VicHealth et al. 2005). Warrnambool Council worked closely with the Sudanese community to encourage them to move to Warrnambool (VSPC 2005). Initially, the Council set out to attract 10 families (VicHealth et al. 2005). The attraction of Warrnambool was employment – a large percentage of new arrivals were offered jobs in the meat processing industry (VSPC 2005). The principle underpinning the pilot was that at each stage of the process feedback from everyone involved was considered before further steps were taken (VicHealth et al. 2005). Four general factors were considered critical to the success of the pilot:

- a welcoming community;
- employment and education opportunities;
- access to housing, transport and other services; and
- the ability for new settlers to connect with their own community (VSPC 2005).

A number of more specific lessons can also be derived from the Warrnambool experience:

- Relocating refugees already resident in Australia, rather than resettling refugees directly from overseas can be an important first step. This allows refugees who are relatively well progressed in their settlement to establish an 'anchor community' to support subsequent new settlers. Refugees who have commenced acculturation are also in a better position to be involved in developing the relocation model, thus ensuring that it is relevant to the needs of the settling community.
- It takes time to build the services required to support direct settlement.
- Strong planning is required from the outset and this involves dedicated time and resources.
- It is important to recognise that the relocation project is equally a humanitarian venture and a project to achieve local sustainability.
- There are benefits in preparing the community by accurately gauging the community's needs – local government should initiate community consultation and listen and respond to public opinion.
- Cross-cultural training is required for essential service providers.
- There is a need to establish means of communicating with refugees who have English as a second language.
- Issues such as respect, privacy, communication and culture shock must be considered.
- A strategic plan should be put in place, along with the human resources, funding and infrastructure for implementation.
- It is important to assist families in their settlement by:
  - ~ orienting them to the local community;
  - ~ ensuring rental accommodation is available and that the family is comfortable with the chosen house and location;

~ assisting in the physical relocation of families;

~ providing basic assistance on arrival such as food and accommodation;

~ providing employment assistance, including the development of a career pathway beyond entry-level employment

~ assisting in finding good schools and ensuring adequate support is available at the schools;

~ providing a range of family support services from the beginning; and

~ introducing the legal system (VicHealth et al. 2005).

The Warrnambool experience is widely regarded as a successful example of refugee regional relocation. In 2004 the initiative won the National Award for Excellence at the National Local Government Awards (VicHealth et al. 2005). However, the question of sustainability remains. According to Nsubuga-Kyobe (2004), it is unclear whether the Sudanese will stay long term in Warrnambool as there is a possibility they may relocate back to Melbourne. Broadbent el al. (2007) are more optimistic, suggesting that the refugee community is sustainable. Their research found that during the two years of the study 68 people moved to Warrnambool and were employed in five different places. By the end of 2005, 55 refugees remained in employment and residence in Warrnambool. Extended members of these families have also subsequently moved to Warrnambool, either relocating from Melbourne or resettling directly to Warrnambool as a result of family sponsorship. At the completion of the evaluation, however, there were some members of the refugee community who could not find permanent work. Developing employment pathways beyond entry-level work has also been a challenge. These remain possible threats to the sustainability of the Warrnambool project. Even so, Broadbent, Cacciattolo and Carpenter (2007, p. 106) remain optimistic:

There seems little doubt that a number of the refugee community in Warrnambool will stay long term and continue to establish the Sudanese community there.

4.1.5 New South Wales general

Resettlement in regional and rural New South Wales has involved a number of challenges. Most critically, according to Pittaway, Bartolomei and Eckert (2006), the increase in arrivals has not always been matched by an adequate increase in resources. In addition, the settlement services framework in regional areas is limited and heavily reliant on volunteers who can be unfamiliar with the resettlement needs of refugees. Indeed, regional providers are commonly unable to access essential services such as face-to-face interpreters and experienced torture and trauma counsellors and health practitioners. However, Pittaway, Bartolomei and Eckert (2006) note that there is a level of personalised support in regional areas that is often not available in metropolitan locales.

From the experience of rural and regional refugee resettlement in New South Wales, Pittaway, Bartolomei and Eckert (2006) have made a number of key recommendations to improve future outcomes for refugees and the supporting community:

• Regional host communities must be receptive to refugee resettlement and there must be sufficient community support, employment and education opportunities.

• Refugee groups should be settled together (clustering) rather than dispersing different ethnic groups across communities.

• Regional IHSS service providers must be expanded to reflect increasing numbers of refugees, including women at risk and young people who require a great deal of support.

As was common in the Victorian examples (particularly the three Gippsland sites reviewed in this report), regional communities may not be aware of the circumstances from which refugees have fled. Hostility and suspicion can also exist, particularly if few refugees are resettled in large Anglo-Saxon communities (Pittaway, Bartolomei & Eckert 2006). The following case study provides an example of the New South Wales experience.

4.2.6 Young

The arrival of Afghani Temporary Protection Visa (TPV) holders in Young was largely employment driven. However, it should be noted that under a TPV the Afghans were not formally 'resettling' in Young – their future status in Australia was still unknown in 2003, when Stilwell carried out the research that is discussed in the following paragraphs.

Stilwell (2003) found that Afghanis began moving to Young in mid 2001 in response to a nationwide advertisement for workers at the Burrangong Meat Processors (BMP). BMP was the largest employer in the area, but had difficulty securing an adequate workforce. Mission Employment arranged 85 jobs at BMP over 18 months to January 2003 and some additional employees came after hearing about the opportunities from other Hazara people in Australia. The number of Afghanis in Young fluctuated from an initial two dozen to 90 in late 2001. Most of the Afghanis in Young were male, aged between 20 and 40, and TPV holders at the time of Stilwell's research.

According to Stilwell, the presence of the Afghanis was generally advantageous for the local community, with the positive national publicity Young received providing excellent advertising for the town. The economic contribution of the Afghanis to regional development was estimated at between $2.4 million and $2.7 million over 18 months from mid-2001 to 2003. Their contribution as workers was valued by employers who noted their record of hard work and low absenteeism. No significant social problems arose. However, it is important to note that not everyone in the community was fully supportive. Of the 119 submissions to council from local citizens, about half were critical.

Although the outcomes for Young were mostly positive, it is more difficult to gauge the experience of the refugee community. The review by Stilwell (2003) focused on the experience of hosting rather than on the experience of the TPV holders. Even so, the Afghanis were involved in the community, they had high enrolment rates in English language courses and they expressed a wish to settle in Young if permanent residency was granted. However, as this research is now four years old, the question remains: If Permanent Protection Visas were granted to the Afghans in Young, did they bring their families to the town?

There are a number of positive lessons that can be drawn from the Young case study. Firstly, the workplace was a major source of support for the Afghans – the other workers at BMP and the management went to great lengths to assist the Afghans (for example, providing loans for rental bonds). Secondly, the mobilisation of social capital was significant – local community groups, the Shire Council, local business people, TAFE teachers, volunteer tutors, local library staff, Amnesty International organisers, the Mayor and his staff and many others came together in cooperative activities. Thirdly, social cohesion was evident from the strong social bonds between the Afghanis and the local people – many Afghanis socialised with the broader community (Stilwell 2003).

Victoria

B400

Moama · Kanyapella

Wharparilla

Roslynmead

Echuca

Yambuna · Kotupna

MURRAY Barep VALLEY · Pederick · Kaarimba

Kotta

C334

B400

Undera North

B375

Koyuga

58

Wyuna

Wyuna East

Mundoo

Bamawm

Tongala

St Germains · Bunbartha

Lockington

Simmie

Strathallan

C355

Undera

39

Milloo

Ballendella

Nanneella

Kyabram

Lancaster

Tennyson

Timmering

Merrigum

Shepparton

Rochester

Mooroopna HWY

Diggora West

Girgarre

Byrneside

Tatura

Hunter

C338

76

A300

Hendersyde

maPooka Nth

Drummartin

Corop

MIDLAND

Stanhope

Toolamba

Kamarooka

C337

CaragCarag

C348

C356

C357

C360

34

Elmore

C347

Arcadia

A39

Mayreef

Runnymede

Rushworth

Kamarooka E.

Summerfield

Colbinabbin West

Colbinabbin

C345

A300

Bagshot North

C345

Mathiesons

Murchison

Murchison East

Goornong

B75

Myola

Cornella East

Whroo

46

MIDLAND

Barnadown

Huntly

A300

Muskerry East

Goulburn Weir

51

Epsom

BENDIGO REGL. PK.

Toolleen

HEATHCOTE-GRAYTOWN NATIONAL PARK

Bailieston East

Nagambie

Longwood

BENDIGO

Junortoun

McIVOR

Axedale

Redcastle

Moormbool West

Bailieston

44

Axe Ck

D260

Tabilk · Locksley

M31

Knowsley

Graytown

Strath-fieldsaye

Eppalock

47

Mitchellstown

Avenel

HUME

45

GREATER BENDIGO N.P.

Sedgwick

Derrinal

Costerfield

M39

Pilchers Br

Heathcote

Northwood

Mangalore

Ravenswood South

Myrtle Ck

Pucka-punyal

Sutton Grange

Mia Mia

Hilldene

Seymour

Faraday

Redesdale

Tooborac

NORTHERN

Trawool

Highlands

51

Barfold

Emu Flat

Glenaroua

Tallarook

B340

44

Ghin Ghin

Metcalfe

Taradale

Sidonia

Pyalong

Sugarloaf Ck

M31

Kerrisdale

CALDER

34

Baynton

49

High Camp

Tyaak

GOULBURN

Malmsbury

Langley

Nulla Vale

Broadford

Strath Creek

Edgecombe

Kyneton

Pastoria East

Willowmavin

Sunday Ck

Spring Hill

Pipers Ck

Lancefield

Kilmore

30

Flowerdale

Break O'Day

Newham

Tylden

Rochford

46

Romsey

M31

Clonbinane

Hazeldene

5 Toward a more effective and integrated approach to refugee regional resettlement

The lessons to be drawn from these initial case studies need to be tentative, noting that all of these initiatives are still in their early stages. Resettlement is by definition a process of transition whereby the settlers progress through a number of stages. This process can take many years, depending on the pre-arrival and resettlement circumstances. Bearing this in mind, a summary of the key lessons is provided in Box 2. This is followed by a number of tentative propositions designed as starting points for discussion about future policy directions and priorities. These propositions were finalised in consultation with key government, non-government and community stakeholders at a Policy Roundtable convened by the partners in November 2007 (see page 67).

Box 2: Lessons for Rural and Regional Resettlement

Planning:

- Ensure strong planning around relocation policies, human services, education support systems and social inclusion

- Set up a responsible body that has clear objectives, responsibilities and referral pathways from the beginning

- Establish central coordination of volunteers and collection and distribution of donations

- Provide consistent and adequate funding

- Develop a community framework and a set of drivers

- Ensure ongoing evaluation and reformulation of the tasks required

Informed Choice:

- Provide refugees with informed choice and support towards independence

Services:

- Coordinate service delivery

- Ensure that services such as employment agencies have the capacity and training to deal with the particular needs of people from refugee backgrounds;

- Provide a range of affordable, long-term, stable and available housing options

- Ensure adequate access to public transport

- Ensure adequate support services based on needs assessment. Service providers must be trained in working with people from refugee backgrounds

---

TRAINING AND OPPORTUNITIES:

- Provide training for all parties about the background of the new arrivals and about working with refugees (e.g. boundaries, needs, cultural considerations)

- Set up training programs with local employers that will assist refugees to gain employment so that the programs lead to direct, full-time employment

- Ensure that employment akin to qualifications and aspirations is available and create training and employment pathways for individuals to achieve this

COMMUNITY ENGAGEMENT AND WELCOMING:

- Ensure that the hosts have a good understanding of the refugees' experiences and culture

- Develop ownership of the program by the host community, particularly local government

- Establish a partnership between host communities, refugee communities and advocates

- Invest in building the capacity of the refugee community to enhance support offered to newcomers, help to ensure that newcomers participate in regional resettlement on equal terms and promote communication between new settlers and the host community

- Prepare a welcome kit in a range of languages appropriate to the new entrants: provide orientation and information about regional Australia to the refugees before arrival, introduce the health, education and legal systems

The following series of propositions are intended as starting points for ongoing discussion about Victorian and Australian strategies that can maximise the potential of regional refugee resettlement programs.

Proposition One:

Regional refugee resettlement initiatives have the potential to provide 'win-win' benefits to refugee communities and host communities if care is taken to ensure a well-planned, well-integrated and well-resourced approach. The impacts on refugee young people and on women, however, should be carefully considered in future planning and continue to be closely monitored.

Evidence from the case studies outlined supports the view that refugee resettlement has the potential to make a positive contribution to the economic growth and sustainability of rural and regional communities. A range of rural and regional communities and economies have clearly benefited from the employment of refugees. Moreover, refugees have been shown to be among the most hard-working and economically constructive sections of society, often being prepared to do work that others are not prepared to take on, such as in abattoirs, poultry plants and in fruit picking (Stevenson 2005). Afghani and Iraqi refugees have made important contributions to the regional economy of the Goulburn Valley and the New South Wales Central Coast (Stevenson 2005).

The outcomes for refugees appear to be more mixed. More research is needed to track longer-term impacts, especially for particular sub-groups. The experience of Horn of Africa refugees in Warrnambool and the Congolese in Shepparton appears to have been primarily positive. The experience in the three Gippsland sites reviewed in this report and Swan Hill has been less successful, measured in terms of employment and accommodation outcomes.

Roundtable participants raised particular concerns about the cost/benefit balance for refugee young people and their families. It was noted that movement to a rural location in adolescence may be particularly disruptive, given that this is a vulnerable stage of development and a time when peer group relations and achieving a sense of belonging may present complex challenges. Refugee young people may also ultimately become part of the now well-documented drift of young people from rural and regional areas to metropolitan areas to secure employment and to participate in further education. This is an outcome which may be particularly problematic for rural refugee families who may already have experienced disruption to family relationships and are less likely to have other family connections in their local area. This suggests the importance of ensuring that planning for refugee resettlement is considered in the context of broader regional development and population planning.

Resettlement in rural and regional areas may also be particularly stressful for women, given their greater reliance on family and friendship networks in their roles as primary caregivers of children. Women may also be less likely to be engaged in paid work and to benefit from the social contact this provides.

It would appear, however, that regardless of whether governments continue to invest in formal initiatives to support rural settlement of refugees, this is a trend which may well continue via informal secondary migration.

Proposition Two:

Refugee resettlement and relocation policies and strategies need to be based on a holistic approach that recognises and supports both humanitarian and regional development objectives.

The experience of regional refugee resettlement in Australia and internationally highlights the importance of a holistic approach that meets the needs of refugee and host communities. Recent Australian experience has certainly shown that the availability of employment opportunities alone is not a sufficient basis for successful regional settlement outcomes.

The settlements of the South Sudanese in Gippsland and the Iraqis in Shepparton show that when refugees relocate in an ad hoc manner to fill labour shortages in local industries they face a number of barriers to sustainable resettlement, including lack of planning, limited support services, unprepared service providers and inadequate resources.

Instead, resettlement must be viewed as both a project for local economic and social sustainability and a humanitarian project that meets the economic, social and cultural needs of the refugee community. Recent Australian experience suggests that not all regional areas have the structures, community support or linkages to provide adequately for refugee needs.

There are a number of risks associated with failing to appropriately manage refugee regional settlement in rural areas. These include:

• unacceptably high rates of secondary migration (as has been the case in Canada and Europe) threatening the viability of regional sites and compounding the impacts of prior disruption experienced by refugee families;

• increasing stress on refugee families and its attendant health and social and economic consequences;

- the development of a 'refugee underclass' in rural towns, with this group being locked into situations of chronic low skilled and insecure employment and unemployment; and

- community tension and disharmony.

The full positive potential of refugee regional resettlement is only likely to be fulfilled if careful attention is paid to the development and implementation of an integrated and carefully considered package of supportive policy initiatives.

Consistent with the understanding of refugee resettlement as a humanitarian venture, there was a view expressed at the Roundtable that the rights of refugees to make informed choices about their place of settlement and to retain their right to freedom of movement should be clearly stated in any future policy development in this area.

Proposition Three:

In future planning the challenge will be to consider the implications of varying pathways to refugee settlement in regional areas, including direct resettlement and both formal and informal secondary migration (often referred to as relocation).

Current Australian government policy and planning responses have tended to focus on supporting direct resettlement to regional and rural areas. While direct resettlement is easier to control and plan for, the full picture is becoming more complex with an increasing trend towards secondary migration of refugees from metropolitan to regional and rural areas. This trend is being driven by a range of factors, including:

- regional and rural communities seeking to address skill shortages and population decline (e.g. Warrnambool, Colac);

- refugee communities concerned about limited employment opportunities in metropolitan areas (e.g. Swan Hill);

- refugee community perceptions that rural and regional communities offer a better way of life, one more compatible with that in countries of origin; and

- refugee community concerns about metropolitan lifestyles and environments, including concerns about exclusion, discrimination, crime, safety and drug abuse.

Feedback from Roundtable participants suggests that this is a trend that can often be problematic for settlers and local communities as rural and regional communities may be ill-prepared to welcome and support newcomers. At the same time, existing planning and funding mechanisms (particularly annual needs based planning approaches) do not allow for a timely response. Settlers undertaking secondary migration do so at a time when they are generally ineligible for settlement support through the IHSS (that is, after they have been in Australia for longer than six months). Despite this, their settlement needs still may be high or there may be new settlement needs associated with secondary migration.

Both the evaluations reviewed for this paper and anecdotal evidence suggest that many secondary migrants are men who move to rural areas in advance of their families because of the risks associated with moving the whole family before employment and housing is secured. This can compound the disruption to family relationships already experienced by many refugee families. These problems were avoided to a large extent in Warrnambool where funding was made available through a philanthropic source for families to relocate. This is a model which may be worth considering for its transferability to other rural communities.

Informal secondary migration can lead to the formation of small and highly dispersed communities where it is hard to benefit from the economies of scale that accrue in larger settlements. There are also risks associated with informal secondary migration to rural areas with limited sustainability in human and economic terms.

At the same time, the Warrnambool experience suggests that when consciously planned and supported, secondary migration (or relocation) can provide a means of building capacity for both direct settlement and further secondary migration that minimises potential negative impacts on refugee communities. This is because refugees who are relatively well progressed in their settlement and who have made a fully informed decision to relocate to a rural area, serve as an anchor community. These settlers may be in a better position to play this role than settlers direct from overseas.

Propositions Four and Five:

Refugee resettlement and relocation policies and strategies should be informed by a commitment to the long-term sustainability of refugee communities.

Effective processes for consulting and engaging with refugee communities are essential.

As indicated elsewhere in this Report, there is a broad national and international consensus that planning, funding and service delivery models to support refugee resettlement should be informed by a long-term commitment to creating sustainable refugee communities.

Effective engagement of refugee communities in planning and implementing regional refugee settlement programs is a critical success factor. Consultation with refugee communities about their genuine desire to settle in or relocate to regional areas is a threshold human rights issue. Strong refugee leadership can also help to ease communication and resolve any conflicts which may arise.

Supporting the development of refugee communities in rural areas is also important for providing social support for newcomers, which, as indicated earlier, is critical for mental health and wellbeing. Investment to support the development of refugee communities reaps rewards in the longer term since it is likely to make regional communities more attractive to subsequent arrivals and to ease their settlement. Viable refugee communities also enhance the prospects of rural towns benefiting from the unique economic and cultural contributions of newcomers.

Effective and genuine consultation depends on refugee communities having the information, capacity, resources and skills to effectively negotiate with relevant government and non-government agencies as well as with the host community.

It is important to note the contribution that metropolitan based community leaders have often made to the development and implementation of refugee relocation initiatives. Viable metropolitan based refugee communities are also an important resource for regional settlement because they allow rural settlers to visit Melbourne to participate in faith based and cultural events that may not be available to them locally.

There are currently initiatives such as the Refugee Brokerage Program (a program of the DPCD) and the Community Guides Program (developed by AMES) which aim to strengthen the capacity of refugee communities to engage with service providers and contribute to key policy and program decisions. However, such programs are still in their infancy and receive modest investments.

Proposition Six:

A supportive host community is an essential component of successful refugee regional resettlement programs and needs to be considered in the selection of sites for development as well as in the allocation of resources for supporting regional and rural settlement.

This report has highlighted a number of key attributes that in partnership can create a good host environment for refugee resettlement. These are: availability of secure and affordable housing; access to employment opportunities; presence of appropriate cultural and religious support; commitment of community participation; sufficient capacity (i.e. existence of requisite infrastructure to resettle sufficient numbers of refugees to make the locale viable in both human and economic terms); partnership potential (i.e. existence of non-government organisations, local service agencies and civic or religious organisations to serve as partners in supporting newly arrived refugees); and attitude and environment.

The experiences of Swan Hill and Warrnambool highlight that a good host community must be ready to provide the support needed to generate a harmonious amalgamation of diverse cultures. These are communities that in the face of difference realise the importance of acceptance, tolerance and partnerships and ones where lasting powerful impressions of 'home' are forged. Host communities that are trusting, stable and aware of the difficulties that forced migration brings are those that are best suited for relocation initiatives. Community spirit is important and the host must be prepared to deal with new settlers who are at a particular stage of their adjustment. In this respect, faith based networks and structures can be important supports within the host community, as was the case in Shepparton with the Christian Congolese families.

A number of Roundtable participants identified the importance of engaging existing migrant and refugee communities and local Indigenous communities in efforts to build a supportive host community.

A supportive host community can be assured in part through careful selection of sites for regional settlement and relocation. However, a commitment to investing time and resources in building host community capacity was a success factor identified in the case studies in this report.

Proposition Seven:

Services to support regional refugee resettlement need to be adequately resourced and well integrated.

Although some rural and regional areas have significant experience, expertise and infrastructure to support refugee resettlement, in general the fact that this expertise has been concentrated in metropolitan areas has been a significant barrier to the success of regional refugee resettlement programs.

Local settlement planning committees play a key role in facilitating a coordinated response to settlement. There is a consensus that case management services for individuals and families are essential and that overall settlement planning and development must be coordinated. Key players in service provision and the main needs are listed in Table 4.

The successful case studies reviewed for the purposes of this paper either had the support of personnel experienced in refugee resettlement or, as was the case in Warrnambool, actively sought this. There is a need to identify sources of this support. One possible solution would be to respond via

consultancy services either based in Melbourne or from an established and experienced rural site. The importance of capacity building strategies being driven by rural and regional communities themselves (rather than through a 'top-down' approach) was emphasised by Roundtable participants.

While it is possible to meet many of the needs of new settlers by providing training and support to existing service providers, some needs may require a specialist response. The provision of adult English as a Second Language programs is an example of this. Such services may be difficult and costly to provide to small settlements, suggesting the need to explore alternative models for meeting these needs.

Table 4: The needs of key players in service provision

Service	Main needs
Police	• Cross-cultural education, particularly in regional areas
Employment services	• Well-resourced, well-coordinated case management • Recognition of need for long-term, intensive case management support • Strong links with education and training programs • Strong links between employment case management and other labour market programs (e.g. the Victorian Government Workforce Participation Strategy)
Housing support services	• Availability of affordable, appropriate rental accommodation • Development of pathways towards home ownership • Exploration of potential role of housing cooperatives
Health and community	• Access to a range of specialist and primary health care services services including general practitioners, specialist physicians and counselling and support for survivors of trauma and torture • Training for health and community service providers in refugee related health and psychosocial concerns and working with clients of refugee background • Coordinated approach to refugee health and community services provision, including well-defined referral pathways and protocols across the service system. Ideally, this should be facilitated by a refugee health services working group (e.g. Ballarat, Shepparton) • Access to appropriately skilled interpreters • Expansion of the Refugee Health Nurse initiative. This program is now well established in three rural locations. The nurses are a key part of health services delivery for newly arriving communities and support broader health services development as well as providing direct services to individuals and families
Education providers	• Close integration between education and employment services • A coordinated approach to adult and child English as a Second Language learning, which is less dependent on critical mass

Proposition Eight:

Given the importance of local level planning and coordination to the success of refugee regional resettlement/relocation initiatives, there is a need to investigate appropriate arrangements for supporting this, with particular consideration being given to the role of local government as a lead coordinating agency.

Effective collaboration and communication between policy-makers, funders, service providers, local government, refugee communities and the host community is an essential foundation for successful, long-term refugee settlement outcomes. This requires an integrated approach to regional settlement policy, planning and service delivery with clearly defined and agreed roles for Commonwealth, State and local governments as well as for community and private sector agencies.

The common thread among successful refugee regional settlement programs in Australia and internationally is the establishment and effective operation of a broadly based local refugee settlement planning committee. Internationally (e.g. in Sweden), local governments have been identified as the primary body responsible for managing an integrated approach to refugee resettlement, with resources allocated accordingly. In the Australian context there is certainly clear evidence of the importance of ensuring strong local government involvement and support for regional resettlement initiatives. There was also a strong view expressed at the Roundtable of the importance of refugee resettlement being driven at the local level. However, there are mixed views about the extent to which local governments can, in all instances, fill the role of lead, coordinating agency.

Proposition Nine:

Consideration should be given to developing closer linkages between skilled migration and refugee resettlement programs, in particular to investigating the possibility of a common planning framework to support programs targeted at refugees and migrants settling in rural and regional areas.

At present the Victorian Government is supporting settlement of skilled migrants direct to regional areas. There is a formal policy and program infrastructure to support this, especially in the area of employment. At present this program is distinct from refugee resettlement/relocation. Migrants are selected on the basis of their employment and language skills and therefore some of their needs are distinct from the needs of refugees. However, there are also some similarities and hence some potential to benefit from a common infrastructure. This is particularly the case in the area of employment. Many people from refugee backgrounds have high level education and skills. Their challenge is to identify ways of adapting these to a new workforce environment. One of the barriers to successful settlement in regional areas identified in the evaluations reviewed for this study was the lack of clear pathways out of entry-level employment. This is a concern both for new settlers and for economic development in regional communities.

Many participants in the Roundtable had experience of supporting both skilled migration and refugee resettlement and were of the view that skilled migration programs would be strengthened by some of the approaches to settlement developed in the area of refugee resettlement. At the same time, the need to recognise and respond to the different needs of people from refugee backgrounds was emphasised.

Proposition Ten:

A well-planned, integrated and long-term approach to the funding of refugee resettlement programs and services is essential.

One of the challenges to refugee resettlement is to develop forward-looking funding arrangements in the environment of refugee resettlement that is fluid and unpredictable.

The projects reviewed in this report that tended to be the most successful were those that had an appropriate level of funding and resourcing to support:

• case management support for individual new arrivals;

• resourcing and coordination at the local level; and

• capacity building in the host and refugee communities.

In addition, there is a need to explore programmatic and funding arrangements within specific policy portfolios for the provision of specialist services in rural and regional areas (e.g. the provision of specialist school education services, adult English language programs).

A number of issues emerged in the research and consultation conducted for this paper in relation to funding:

• Relevant funding programs (e.g. DIAC settlement grants) are planned on an annual cycle. This means there is often a lag between people from refugee backgrounds beginning to settle in rural communities and funding being provided.

• In the regional pilots conducted to date, DIAC has led resettlement coordination from within its own staff resources. There is not currently a formal program through which this support is provided.

• IHSS and DIAC support has been made available to facilitate direct settlement to the regions. However, to date there has been no formal funding support available to resource planned or informal relocation (or secondary migration). Projects of direct settlement in Shepparton and Ballarat provide good models and replication should be considered in other larger settlement locations. In this way, regional areas will be able to respond to those who are formally or informally resettling as well as to Special Humanitarian Program entrants who are being sponsored by families.

• There is a need for greater flexibility in the grant system and consideration of a loading for establishment/rurality/minimum funding in recognition of the core organisational infrastructure to support regional settlement.

• The Australian Government has responsibility for the selection of migrants and refugees and for their reception and early settlement. However, the success of regional resettlement programs will depend on the engagement of both levels of government, particularly in the areas of diversity management, employment and regional development. Issues such as cost sharing and responsibility between State and the Commonwealth are areas that require attention.

Proposition Eleven:

There is a need to identify mechanisms and processes for ensuring a whole-of-government approach to planning for refugee resettlement in Victoria that has a particular emphasis on responding to contemporary trends in rural and regional resettlement.

Planning for refugee resettlement in regional areas takes place in the context of a broader policy and program environment to support refugee resettlement, cultural diversity, housing, education, employment and regional and economic development. Commanding and coordinating the resources required for effective planning in these areas are tasks that cross boundaries that traditionally exist between government departments and therefore require a whole-of-government approach. A further complexity is that policies in many of these areas are concerns for both Commonwealth and state and territory governments.

There was a strong view expressed by Roundtable participants that there were many complex policy issues affecting regional and rural areas and that these need to be considered in planning and implementing refugee and migrant settlement in these areas. For example, housing, a significant problem emerging in the evaluations reviewed for this paper, is an area in which there are broader policy challenges, such as problems with public housing infrastructure and the poor distribution of public housing in rural Victoria. Similarly, it was noted that refugee regional settlement needed to be developed in concert with policies to achieve sustained regional economic and social development.

This Report has been primarily concerned with refugee resettlement in regional areas. However, as indicated earlier, this is a trend that has taken place alongside increasingly dispersed settlement of migrants and refugees in metropolitan areas. In particular, there has been increased settlement in newly developing outer suburban areas. Like rural and regional areas, many of these communities will be welcoming new arrivals from refugee and migrant backgrounds in significant numbers for the first time.

Victoria has a good track record in management of diversity and in ensuring equality of access and opportunity for newcomers. However, these efforts have tended to be focused in metropolitan areas where migrants and refugees have traditionally settled. The contemporary challenge will be to determine ways of extending support for this in a more sustained way to other areas of Victoria, and in particular to rural and regional areas.

Victoria has developed sound leadership in responding to these trends, the most notable example being the Department of Human Service's Refugee Health and Wellbeing Action Plan. There are also a number of programs specifically designed to support refugee resettlement that have particular relevance to settlement in rural and regional areas. Examples include the Department of Planning and Community Development's Refugee Brokerage Program and the Department of Human Service's Refugee Health Nurses Program. The challenge will be to build on these developments and engage a broader range of government departments to ensure an effective whole-of-government approach that is responsive to changing demographic trends. The research and consultation conducted for this paper suggest that in Victoria it would be constructive to engage in this process the Department of Planning and Community Development (in particular those areas concerned with multicultural affairs, community strengthening, employment and regional development), the Department of Premier and Cabinet, the Department of Human Services (in particular those area concerned with housing, diversity and primary and public health) and the Department of Education and Early Child Development.

Proposition Twelve:

There is a need to establish and support processes for monitoring the impacts of refugee regional resettlement/relocation for both refugee and regional communities.

Conscious policy and program support for the resettlement of refugees in regional and rural areas is a relatively recent trend both in Australia and internationally. The research documented in this report suggests that its outcomes, especially for refugee communities, are potentially mixed. This is particularly the case for refugee young people and their families and possibly for women. It will be important to establish appropriate means to monitor and evaluate impacts over time, both to identify and address negative impacts at an early stage, and to ensure that ongoing developments are based on learning from established sites.

Bibliography

Ahlgren-Leinvuo, H 2005, *Refugees in Finnish municipalities: from dispersal to the Helsinki metropolitan region*, viewed 5 February 2007, http://www.eukn.org/finland/themes/Urban_Policy/Social_inclusion_and_integration/Integration_of_social_groups/Refugees/refugees_1025.html

Andersson, R 2003, 'Settlement dispersal of immigrants and refugees in Europe: policy and outcomes', in *Research on Immigration and Integration in the Metropolis: Working Paper Series*, vol. 3, no. 8.

Arnoldus, M, Dukes, T & Musterd, S 2003, 'Dispersal policies in the Netherlands', in V Robinson, R Andersson & S Musterd (eds), *Spreading the 'burden'? A review of policies to disperse asylum seekers and refugees*, The Policy Press, Bristol.

ALGA 2003, State of the regions 2003–2004, viewed 28 March 2007, http://www.alga.asn.au/newsRoom/mediaReleases/SOR2003Alert.php

ALP 2002, *Population and diversity: Labor's plan for a stronger multicultural society*, Australian Labor Party, Melbourne.

Beaman, L 2006, *Social networks and the dynamics of labor market outcomes: evidence from refugees resettled in the US*, Yale University, New Haven.

Beiser, M & Hou, F 2001, 'Language acquisition, unemployment and depressive disorder among South East Asian refugees: a 10 year study', *Social Science and Medicine*, vol. 53, pp. 1321–1324.

Broadbent, R, Cacciattolo, M & Carpenter, C 2007, *An evaluation of refugee relocation in Swan Hill and Warrnambool: final report*, VicHealth and Victoria University, Melbourne.

Brough, M, Gorman, D, Ramirez, E & Westoby, P 2003, 'Young refugees talk about wellbeing', *Australian Journal of Social Issues*, vol. 38, no. 2, pp. 193–208.

BITRE 2006, *Skill shortages in Australia's regions: working paper no. 68*, Bureau of Infrastructure, Transport and Regional Economics, Canberra.

Cahill, D 2007, 'Regional and rural migration in and for the 21st century: historical and contemporary perspectives', in *ECCV 2007 Regional Conference: Regional Settlement for Migrants and Refugees*, 5 May 2007, Ethnic Communities Council of Victoria, Bendigo.

Chile, LM 2002, 'The imported underclass: poverty and social exclusion of black African refugees in Aotearoa New Zealand', *Asian Pacific Viewpoint*, vol. 43, no. 3, pp. 355–366.

CMYI 2006, *Information sheet no. 14: refugee young people and resettlement*, Centre for Multicultural Youth Issues, Carlton.

Colic-Piesker, V & Tilbury, F 2003, '"Active" and "passive" resettlement: the influence of support services and refugees' own resources on resettlement style', *International Migration*, vol. 41, no. 5, pp. 61-91.

CVT 2002, *Global war and violence*, Centre for Violence and Torture, Minnesota.

CVWPM 2004, *Final report of Commonwealth–Victoria working party on migration*, Commonwealth–Victoria Working Party on Migration, Melbourne.

Damm, A 2004, *Immigrants' location preferences: exploiting a natural experiment*, working paper 05-02, Department of Economics, Aarhus School of Business.

Damm, A & Rosholm, M 2005, *Employment effects of dispersal policies on refugee immigrants: theory*, working paper 05-01, Department of Economics, Aarhus School of Business.

Damm, A & Rosholm, M 2005a, *Employment effects of spatial dispersal of refugees*, working paper 3, Centre for Applied Microeconometrics, University of Copenhagen.

Damm, A & Rosholm, M 2005b, *Employment effects of spatial dispersal of refugees*, working paper 3, Centre for Applied Microeconometrics, University of Copenhagen.

DEH & AGO 2005, *Climate change in rural and regional Australia*, Australian Greenhouse Office, Department of the Environment and Heritage, Canberra.

DeVoretz, D, Pivnenko, S & Beiser, M 2004, *The economic experiences of refugees in Canada*, Institute for the Study of Labour (IZA), Bonn.

Dewey, AE 2004, *2004 Annual Conference of State Coordinators of Refugee Resettlement*, viewed 21 February 2007, http://www.state.gov/g/prm/rls/37912.htm

DHS 2005, *Refugee health and wellbeing action plan: current and future initiatives* 2005–2008, Department of Human Services, Melbourne.

DIAC 2005, *Australia's humanitarian program: research note no. 9, 2005–2006*, viewed 6 February 2007, http://www.aph.gov.au/LIBRARY/pubs/RN/2005-06/06rn09.pdf

DIAC 2007a, *Fact sheet 60: Australia's refugee and humanitarian program*, viewed 6 February 2007, http://www.dimia.gov.au/media/fact-sheets/60refugee.htm

DIAC 2007b, *Fact sheet 62: assistance for asylum seekers in Australia*, viewed 15 March 2007, http://www.dimia.gov.au/media/fact-sheets/62assistance.htm

DIAC 2007c, *Fact sheet 92: settlement grants program*, viewed 6 February 2007, http://www.immi.gov.au/media/factsheets/92funding.htm

DIAC 2007d *Fact sheet 94: English language tuition for adult migrants*, viewed 6 February 2007, http://www.immi.gov.au/media/factsheets/94english.htm

DIAC 2007e, *Fact sheet 97: humanitarian settlement in regional Australia*, viewed 6 February 2007, http://www.immi.gov.au/media/fact-sheets/97humanitarian_settlement.htm

Dibley, R & Dunstan S 2002, *Refugee voices: a journey towards resettlement – interim report*, Department of Labour, Auckland.

DIMIA 1998, *Charter of public service in a culturally diverse society*, Department of Immigration and Multicultural and Indigenous Affairs, Canberra.

DIMIA 2003, *Report of the review of settlement services for migrants and humanitarian entrants*, Department Immigration and Multicultural and Indigenous Affairs, Canberra.

DoL 2004, *Refugee voices: a journey towards resettlement*, New Zealand Immigration Service, Auckland.

DoL 2007, *Resettlement dispersal policies in New Zealand*, B McDonald, Auckland.

DOTARS 2005, *Cultural diversity and economic development in four regional Australian communities*, viewed 5 February 2007, http://www.dotars.gov.au/regional/publications/doc/Chapter_1.doc

DPC 2004, *Beyond five million: the Victorian Government's population policy*, Department of Premier and Cabinet, Melbourne.

DPC 2007, *A fairer Victoria: building on our commitment*, Department of Premier and Cabinet, Melbourne.

Dunn, K, Forrest, J, Burnley, I & McDonald, A 2004, 'Constructing racism in Australia', *Australian Journal of Social Issues*, vol. 39, no. 4, pp. 409–430.

Farah, O 2007, *Report on Horn of African men in Carlton*, Carlton Local Agencies Network, Melbourne.

Foley, P & Beer, A 2003, *Housing need and provision for recently arrived refugees in Australia*, Australian Housing and Urban Research Institute – Southern Research Centre, Brisbane.

Gray, I & Lawrence, G 2001, *A future for regional Australia: escaping global misfortune*, Cambridge University Press, London.

Harrell-Bond, B 2002, *Towards the economic and social 'integration' of refugee populations in host countries in Africa*, Stanley Foundation, Entebbe.

Hauff, E & Per, V 1993, 'Integration of Vietnamese refugees into the Norwegian labor market: the impact of war trauma', *International Migration Review*, vol. 27, no. 2, pp. 388–405.

Hugo, G 2002a, 'Changing patterns of population distribution in Australia', joint special issue of the *Journal of Population Research* and the *New Zealand Population Review*, pp. 1-22.

Hugo, G 2002b, 'From compassion to compliance? Trends in refugee and humanitarian migration in Australia', *GeoJournal*, vol. 56, no. 1, pp. 27–37.

ICAR 2005, *Are immigrants, refugees and asylum seekers an economic advantage?*, viewed 8 February 2007, http://www.icar.org.uk/?lid=59

IFC 2006, *IFC policy and performance standards and guidance notes: glossary of terms*, viewed 7 February 2007, http://www.ifc.org/ifcext/enviro.nsf/AttachmentsByTitle/pol_PerformanceStandards2006_glossary/$FILE/Glossary+of+Terms.pdf

IRRSS 2007, *Asylum seekers: applications decrease in latest quarter*, viewed 12 March 2007, http://www.statistics.gov.uk/cci/nugget.asp?id=261

Jacobsen, K 2001, 'The forgotten solution: local integration for refugees in developing countries', *New Issues in Refugee Research*, working paper no. 45, United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, Geneva.

Jenkins, S 1944, 'Refugee settlement in Australia', *Far Eastern Survey*, vol. 13, pp. 120–122.

Julian, R 1996, *Hmong refugees in Tasmania: employment, housing and community development*, University of Tasmania, Hobart.

King, S & O'Connor, D 2003, 'Building blocks of settlement: Italians in the Riverland, South Australia', *Italian Historical Society Journal*, vol. 11, no. 2, pp. 24–29.

Korac, M 2003, 'Integration and how we facilitate it: a comparative study of the settlement experiences of refugees in Italy and the Netherlands', *Sociology*, vol. 37, no. 1, pp. 51–68.

KRD 2001, *Asylum and refugee policies in Norway*, Ministry of Local Government and Regional Development, Oslo.

Kyle, L, MacDonald, F, Doughney, J & Pyke, J 2004, *Refugees in the labour market: looking for cost-effective models of assistance*, Ecumenical Migration Centre, Brotherhood of Saint Laurence, Fitzroy.

Lockie, S & Bourke, L 2002, *Rurality bites: the social and environmental transformation of rural Australia*, Pluto Press, Annadale.

Mahalingham, R 2006, 'Cultural psychology of immigrants: an introduction', in R Mahalingham (ed), *Cultural psychology of immigrants*, Lawrence Erlbaum, New Jersey, pp. 1–12.

McMichael, C & Manderson, L 2004, 'Somali women and well-being: social networks and social capital among immigrant women in Australia', *Human Organization*, vol. 63, no. 1, pp. 88–99.

Mamgain, V & Collins, K 2003, 'Off the boat, now off to work: refugees in the labour market in Portland, Maine', *Journal of Refugee Studies*, vol. 16, no. 2, pp. 113–146.

Mehta, L & Gupte, J 2003, *Whose needs are right? Refugees, oustees and the challenges of rights-based approaches in forced migration*, working paper T4, Development Research Centre on Migration, Globalisation and Poverty, Brighton.

Montemurro, M 2005, *Cases for conflict: the impact of refugee flows on host countries – the example of Chad*, viewed 7 February 2007, http://www.iue.it/RSCAS/research/SchoolOnEuro-MedMigration/2005PDFs/2005PaperMontemurro.pdf

Montgomery, RJ 1996, 'Components of refugee adaptation', *International Migration Review*, vol. 30, no. 3, pp. 679–702.

Mossakowski, KN 2003, 'Coping with perceived discrimination: does ethnic identity protect mental health?', *Journal of Health and Social Behaviour*, vol. 44, no. 3, pp. 318–331.

Newland, K 2002, *Refugee resettlement in transition*, viewed 12 March 2007, http://www.migrationinformation.org/Feature/display.cfm?ID=52

Noh, S & Kasper, V 2003, 'Racial and ethnic bias and health: perceived discrimination and depression – moderating effects of coping, acculturation and ethnic support', *American Journal of Public Health*, vol. 93, no. 2, pp. 232–238.

Nsubuga-Kyobe, A 2004, 'Possible antecedents and implications to African-Australians participating in the proposed pilot program of settlement in rural Victoria: a study of strategic management of service delivery to an emerging community in rural areas – a critical review', in *African renewal, African renaissance: new perspectives on Africa's past and Africa's present*, 26–28 September 2004, The African Studies Association of Australia and the Pacific (AFSAAP), University of Western Australia, Perth.

Omidvah, R & Richmond, T 2003, 'Immigrant settlement and social inclusion in Canada', *Working Paper Series: Perspectives on Social Inclusion*, The Laidlaw Foundation, Toronto.

Ondiak, N 2006, 'Refugee community organizations and dispersal: networks, resources and social capital' [book review], *Journal of Refugee Studies*, vol. 19, no. 2, pp. 262–264.

Parsons, L 2005, *Refugee resettlement in New Zealand and Canada*, RMS Refugee Resettlement, Auckland.

Pearson, R 2007, *Integrating refugees into employment: European experience*, B McDonald, Melbourne.

Phillips, D 2006, 'Moving towards integration: the housing of asylum seekers and refugees in Britain', *Housing Studies*, vol. 21, no. 4, pp. 539–553.

Piper, M 2006, Evaluation of Shepparton regional settlement pilot: draft report to DIMIA, Margaret Piper and Associates.

Pittaway, E & Bartolomei, L 2002, 'Refugees, race and gender: the multiple discrimination against refugee women', *Dialogue*, vol. 21, no. 1, pp. 16–27.

Pittaway, E, Bartolomei, L & Eckert, R 2006, *Submission regarding the settlement of African humanitarian entrants in NSW*, viewed 22 January 2007, http://www.crr.unsw.edu.au/coments/CRCSubmission2006.pdf

Productivity Commission 1999, *Impact of competition policy reforms on rural and regional Australia*, AusInfo, Canberra.

Productivity Commission 2006, *Economic impacts of migration and population growth: final report*, Commonwealth of Australia, Canberra.

RCOA 2005, *Program overview: Australia's humanitarian refugee program*, viewed 12 March 2007, http://www.refugeecouncil.org.au/arp/overview.html

Refugee Week 2006, *The heritage and contribution of refugees in the UK: a credit to the nation*, viewed 8 February 2007, http://www.refugeeweek.org.uk/NR/rdonlyres/F90B58C1-0879-4EF1-BA95-4C8D082B084F/0/HistoryofContributions.pdf

Robinson, V, Andersson, R & Musterd, S 2003 *Spreading the 'burden'? A review of policies to disperse asylum seekers and refugees*, The Policy Press, Bristol.

Robinson, V & Coleman, C 2000, 'Lessons learned? A critical review of the government program to resettle Bosnian quota refugees in the United Kingdom', *International Migration Review*, vol. 34, no. 4, pp. 1217–1244.

RRAC 2002, *Strategy for refugee young people*, Refugee Resettlement Advisory Council, Canberra.

Ryan, KJ 2004, *The US refugee resettlement program: trends and possibilities*, viewed 21 February 2007, http://www.state.gov/g/prm/rls/37910.htm

Saeed, A & Akbarzadeh, S 2001, *Muslim communities in Australia*, University of New South Wales, Sydney.

Sauerbrey, E 2006, *Oversight of US refugee admissions and policy*, viewed 21 February 2007, http://www.state.gov/g/prm/rls/2006/73264.htm

Schuster, L 2005, 'A sledgehammer to crack a nut: deportation, detention and dispersal in Europe', *Social Policy and Administration*, vol. 39, no. 6, pp. 606–621.

Sharp, M 2005, 'Regional refugee settlement support requirements: measure for the meaningful assessment of service need', in *Hopes fulfilled or dreams shattered? From resettlement to settlement*, 23–28 November 2006, The Centre for Refugee Research, University of New South Wales, Sydney.

Sherrell, K, Hyndman, J & Preniqi, F 2004, 'Sharing the wealth, spreading the 'burden'? The settlement of Kosovar refugees in smaller British Columbia cities', *Victoria Centre of Excellence, Research on Immigration and Integration in the Metropolis Working Paper Series*, vol. 4, no. 6.

Simich, L 2003, 'Negotiating boundaries of refugee resettlement: a study of settlement patterns and social support', *Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology*, vol. 40, no. 5, pp. 575–591.

Simich, L, Beiser, M & Mawani F 2002, 'Paved with good intentions: Canada's refugee destining policy and paths of secondary migration', *Canadian Public Policy*, vol. 28, no. 4, pp. 597–607.

Simich, L, Beiser, M, Mawani, F & O'Hare, J 2001, *Paved with good intentions: paths of secondary migration of government-assisted refugees in Ontario*, Centre for Addiction and Mental Health, University of Toronto, Toronto.

Sinha, L & Dobric, M 2006, *A new life in Gippsland: a proposed settlement planning model based on an analysis of the Gippsland refugee/humanitarian experience*, Victorian Government and Gippsland Multicultural Services, Melbourne.

Stevenson, R 2005, 'Refugees and economic contributions', in Hopes fulfilled or dreams shattered? *From resettlement to settlement*, 23-28 November 2006, The Centre for Refugee Research, University of New South Wales, Sydney.

Stilwell, F 2003, 'Refugees in a region: Afghans in Young, NSW', *Urban Policy and Research*, vol. 21, no. 3, pp. 235–248.

Taylor, J 2004, 'Refugees and social exclusion: what the literature says', *Migration Action*, vol. 26, no. 2, pp. 16–31.

Taylor, J 2005, 'Refugees and regional settlement: win-win?', in *Australia Social Policy Conference: Looking Back, Looking Forward*, 20-22 July 2005, University of New South Wales, Sydney.

Taylor, J & Stanovic, D 2005, *Refugees and regional settlement: balancing priorities*, Brotherhood of St Laurence, Fitzroy.

Troeller, GG 1991, 'UNHCR resettlement as an instrument of international protection: constraints and obstacles in the arena of competition for scarce humanitarian resources', *International Journal of Refugee Law*, vol. 3, no. 3, pp. 564–578.

UNHCR 2002, *Refugee resettlement: an international handbook to guide reception and integration*, United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, Geneva.

UNHCR 2004a, 'Laying the foundations for integration: planning goals', in *Resettlement handbook*, United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, Geneva.

UNHCR 2004b, 'Resettlement: a vital instrument of international protection and an element of comprehensive solutions', in *Resettlement handbook*, United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, Geneva.

UNHCR 2007, *Resettlement*, viewed 7 February 2007, http://www.unhcr.org/protect/3b8366bc4.html

Valthonen, K 1994, 'The adaptation of Vietnamese refugees in Finland', *Journal of Refugee Studies*, vol. 7, pp. 63–78.

Valthonen, K 1998, 'Resettlement of Middle Eastern refugees in Finland: the elusiveness of integration', *Journal of Refugee Studies*, vol. 11, no. 1, pp. 38–60.

Vanstone, A 2004, *New initiatives to draw more migrants to regional areas*, media release, 12 January 2004.

Vargas, M 1999, 'Cultural mediation of refugee children: a comparative derived model', *Journal of Refugee Studies*, vol. 12, no. 3, pp. 284–306.

VFST 1998, *Rebuilding shattered lives*, Victorian Foundation for the Survivors of Torture, Brunswick.

VFST 2004, *Towards a health strategy for refugees and asylum seekers in Victoria*, Victorian Foundation for Survivors of Torture, Brunswick.

VicHealth 2003, *Promoting the mental health and wellbeing of new arrival communities: learnings and promising practices*, Victorian Health Promotion Foundation, Carlton.

VicHealth 2007, *More than tolerance: embracing diversity for health – a summary report*, Victorian Health Promotion Foundation, Carlton.

Victorian Government 2004, *Start your future here: Victoria's skilled migration strategy*, Victorian Government, Melbourne.

VOMA 2002, *Valuing cultural diversity*, Victorian Government, Melbourne.

VSPC 2005, *A Victorian welcome: a resource for settling migrants and refugees in regional and rural Victoria*, Department of Immigration and Multicultural and Indigenous Affairs, Melbourne.

Wahlbeck, O 1998, 'Community work and exile politics: Kurdish refugee associations in London', *Journal of Refugee Studies*, vol. 11, no. 3, pp. 215–230.

Walton-Roberts, M 2005, 'Regional immigration and dispersal: lessons from small and medium sized urban centre in British Columbia', *Canadian Ethnic Studies*, vol. 37, no. 3, pp. 12–34.

Warrnambool City Council 2005, *A Warrnambool welcome: learning from the Warrnambool regional migrant relocation program*, Warrnambool City Council.

Watters, C 2001, 'Emerging patterns in the mental health care of refugees', *Social Science and Medicine*, vol. 52, pp. 1709–1718.

Williams, M 1999, *Chinese Settlement in NSW: a thematic history*, Heritage Office of New South Wales, Sydney.

Wong CA, Eccles J & Sameroff A 2003, 'The influence of ethnic discrimination and ethnic identification on African American adolescents' school and socio-emotional adjustment', *Journal of Personality*, vol. 71, no. 6, pp. 1197–1232.

Yates, J & Gabriel, M 2006, *Housing affordability in Australia: how has it changed, who does it work for and who does it fail?*, Department of Family and Community Services, Canberra.

Zucker, NL 1983, 'Refugee resettlement in the United States: policy and problems', *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, vol. 467, pp. 172–186.

Roundtable participants

Name	Position	Organisation
Mr Anthony Abate	Manager, Multicultural Advisory Unit	Victoria Police
Ms Susan Chou Allender	General Manager, Community and Settlement Services Adult	Multicultural Education Services
Ms Diana Amato	Coordinator, Sector and Community Development	Centre for Multicultural Youth Issues
Mr Michael Apout		New Hope Foundation
Mr Paris Aristotle	Director	Victorian Foundation for Survivors of Torture
A/Prof Danny Ben-Moshe	Director, Institute for Community, Ethnicity and Policy Alternatives	Victoria University of Technology
Ms Sue Casey	Manager, Health Sector Development	Victorian Foundation for Survivors of Torture
Ms Kavitha Chandra-Shekeran	Project and Policy Officer	Victorian Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission
Mr Nick Chiam	Manager, Strategic Policy Unit	Department of Planning and Community Development
Ms Rachel Cowling	Manager, Diversity Unit	Social Policy Branch Department of Human Services
Ms Ruth Crilly	Manager, ESL Unit	Department of Education and Early Childhood
Mr Hugh Delahunty (MP)	Member for Lowan	VicHealth Board
Mr Steven Dimopoulos	Policy Advisor	Victorian Multicultural Commission
Ms Leigh Gibson	Director, Community and Integrated Care	Goulburn Valley Health
Prof. Sandy Gifford	Director, Refugee Health Research Centre	La Trobe University
Ms Carmel Guerra	Director	Centre for Multicultural Youth Issues
Ms Julie Hebert	Regional Manager, ACFE Northern Metro Region	Department of Planning and Community Development
Ms Claire Henderson	Policy Officer	Victorian Multicultural Commission
Ms Narelle Hibberd	Executive Officer, Ballarat Migration Project	City of Ballarat
Ms Jenny Houlihan	Mayor	Greater Shepparton City Council
Mr Peter Lake	Manager, Housing Support Services Unit Housing Sector Development	Office of Housing
Ms Leonie Lisiecki	Student Wellbeing Staff Group	Catholic Education Office
Dr Brooke McDonald	Refugee Health Research Centre	La Trobe University

Mr Thomas Lual	Secretary General	Sudanese Community of Warrnambool
Ms Philippa McLean	Senior Project Officer, Mental Health and Wellbeing Unit	VicHealth
Ms Therese Meehan	Rural Liaison Coordinator	Victorian Foundation for Survivors of Torture
Ms Bernice Murphy	Senior Policy Advisor, Diversity Unit, Social Policy Branch	Department of Human Services
Mr Phong Nguyen	Chair Victoria	Ethnic Communities Council of
Ms Leah Nichles	State Manager, Settlement	Department of Immigration and Citizenship
Dr Apollo Nsubuga-Kyobe	Lecturer in Business Management	La Trobe University
Ms Monica Pfeffer	Director	Social Policy Branch
Ms Deborah Quinn	Employment and Settlement Officer, Economic Development Unit	Rural City of Swan Hill
Ms Sally Richardson	Senior Policy Advisor, Refugee Health, Social Policy Branch	Department of Human Services
Mr John Sawtell	Community Development Worker	Castlemaine & District Community Health
Dr Melika Sheikh-Eldin	Committee of Management	Horn of Africa Communities Network
Ms Lisa Sinha	Director	Gippsland Multicultural Services
Ms Janet Taylor	Research Coordinator	Brotherhood of St Laurence
Ms Lyn Walker	Director, Mental Health and Wellbeing Unit	VicHealth
Ms Carolyn Wallace	Health Inequalities Project Officer	Victorian Council of Social Service
Mr Stephen Ward	Director of Workforce Participation and Regional Development	Department of Innovation, Industry
Ms Anne Waters	Executive Manager, Community Development	Warrnambool Shire Council
Ms Kim Webster	Senior Program Advisor, Mental Health and Wellbeing Unit	VicHealth
Mr John Werry	Strategic Adviser, Employment Policy and Programs	Department of Innovation, Industry and Regional Development
Prof. John Wiseman	Director, McCaughey Centre,VicHealth Centre for the Promotion of Mental Health and Community Wellbeing	The University of Melbourne
Ms Lina Wong	Policy Adviser	Department of Premier and Cabinet

This publication can be downloaded at www.vichealth.vic.gov.au/mentalhealthreports

Catumnal Boort Pyramid Hill Victoria Wharparilla B400

68 28 21 C266 68 8 10 18 C336 TERRICK TERRICK N.P. Roslynmead 9 B400

C267 Durham Ox Yarrawalla Mologa Kotta C334

Lake Marmal C273 Mysia Yarrawalla South Mt Terrick Terrick! Mitiamo Bamawm Lockington 15

Buckrabanyule Ferniburst Borung Jarklin Calivil Prairie McColl Ballendella

Wychitella WYCHITELLA FFR 32 C334 Minoo Tennyson Rochester

Korong Vale Kinypanial Bears Lagoon C336 Dingee Diggora West Hunter

A79 Wedderburn Fiery Flat Serpentine Kamarooka Nth C338 NORTHERN

Wedderburn Junction Tandarra Kamarooka Drummartin Elmore

Kurnaca West Glenalbyn CALDER 35 Kurting 21 C274 Kamarooka E. C337 Mayreef A300 Runn

C273 Kurraca Inglewood 50 HWY Summerfield Bagshot North B75

Fentons Creek KOOYOORA S.P. Melville Caves Yarraberb Raywood C336 Sebastian GREATER BENDIGO NAT PK Goornong

Wehla Bridgewater on Loddon Kingower C274 Derby B260 Huntly MIDLAND 46 Barnadown Muskerry East

Logan Rheola C282 24 Leichardt Myers Flat Eagle-hawk BENDIGO REGL. PK. Toolleen

B240 Arnold Llanelly A79 Marong 14 BENDIGO Epsom A300 Axedale

Cochranes Creek 85 Moliagul B240 Maiden Gully A79 Junortoun McIVOR B260

60 Newbridge HWY Shelbourne East A790 BENDIGO REGL PK Axe Ck Knowsle

WIMMERA 37 Tarnagulla Shelbourne 20 Lockwood Kangaroo Flat Strath-fieldsaye 47

Bealiba C274 Laanecoorie Lockwood South A79 16 Eppalock GREATER BENDIGO N.P. Sedgwick

Goldsborough Mt.Bealiba Laanecoorie Res C283 A300 Ravenswood Pilchers Br Derrinal

Dunolly Eddington C278 C277 C282 Porcupine Flat 13 Ravenswood South Myrtle Ck Lake Eppalock

Natte Yallock Bet Bet Havelock Baringhup Maldon Sutton Grange Mia Mia

Rathscar C275 Maldon MALDON HIST. RES. Harcourt Redesdale

Homebush C277 Maryborough Carisbrook C282 A300 A79 Faraday 51

PYRENEES PADDYS RANGES S.P. Joyces Ck Castlemaine B180 Barfold

26 Bung Bong C287 HWY 47 Newstead PYRENEES Chewton Metcalfe Sidonia

St Ignatius Tullaroop Resr Elphinstone CASTLEMAINE DIGGINGS NAT HERITAGE PARK Taradale Bayn

Talbot C172 Campbelltown 37 Guildford CALDER 34 Langley Edgecombe

B220 HEPBURN REGL. PK Malmsbury Kyneton Pastoria East

Lexton Evensford Mt Beckworth Clunes Hepburn Springs A300 Drummond Lauriston 15 Pipers Ck Newham

SUNRAYSIA 70 MT B'WORTH SCENIC RES Smeaton Daylesford Glenlyon Spring Hill Tylden M79

Waubra C287 Trout Farm MIDLAND Little Hampton Woodend MACE REGI

Coghills Ckb 47 Lyonville Bullarto Trentham Mt.Macedon