



Hopes Fulfilled or Dreams Shattered? From resettlement to settlement Conference November 23rd - 28th, 2005

Background Paper

Part of society? Refugees in the Australian labour market

“Settling in Australia, the basis is having a good job, if you don’t, obviously you are not settled. If you have a good job you have the confidence that you are part of society” (Refugee service provider).

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This background paper has been prepared to inform discussion at this conference and does not necessarily represent the views of the Centre for Refugee Research.

1. The International Refugee Protection Regime

Under the Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees, a refugee is someone who is outside his or her country of origin and cannot return because they fear persecution on the grounds of “race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group, or political opinion” (UNHCR, 1951, article 1A(2)). The Convention and the establishment of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees¹ were the response of the international community to the one million refugees remaining in Europe after the Second World War (Barnett, 2002, pp. 245-246; Feller, 2001, pp. 582-285). Time and geographical restraints were lifted by the 1967 Protocol to the Refugee Convention, meaning that the provisions cover people from any country who seek asylum in any of the states signatory to the Convention (UNHCR, 1967, article 1). The purpose of the treaties and organizations that make up the International Refugee Protection Regime is to provide protection to refugees, who lack the protection of their own state, and to facilitate a durable solution to their plight (Barnett, 2002, pp. 245-246; Feller, 2001, pp. 582-285). However, the three possible solutions of repatriation, local integration and resettlement remain elusive for most refugees (UNHCR, 2005b, p. 143, UNHCR, 2005a, pp. 2 & 25-29).

Most are hosted by poor countries in their region of origin, which lack the resources or the will to offer mass local integration; the protracted nature of many conflicts make repatriation impossible for many; and only about 1% of refugees are offered resettlement places by third countries (Crisp, 2003, p. 1; UNHCR, 2005a, pp. 2 & 27-28). UNHCR encourages states to offer aid and resettlement places to poor states hosting large refugee populations, as part of the international cooperation necessary to implement refugee protection (UNHCR, 2002a, pp. 58 & 61). Some states see their cooperation in this regard as a way to justify measures to prevent asylum seekers from exercising their right to seek asylum in their territory (UNHCHR, 1948, article 14; UNHCR, 2002d). As one of the few states to provide a substantial resettlement program, the Australian government claims it goes beyond its international obligations on refugee protection (Mares, 2002, pp. 102-103). Relative to its population size, Australia has the largest

¹ The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees is the UN organization with a mandate to coordinate international refugee protection and the promotion of durable solutions for refugees. It is also involved with people who are stateless and internally displaced persons (UNHCR, Mission Statement)

resettlement program, but in overall intake it does not even make the top 40 list of countries due to the small amount of onshore asylum seekers it receives (Mares, 2002, pp. 103-104, USCRI, 2005, pp. 12-13).

Refugees in Australia

Australia treats refugees differently, depending on how they arrive, with fewer rights and entitlements for those who arrive independently without a visa than those who come as part of the resettlement program (Mares, 2002, pp. 4-5 & 104-105). This has created two classes of refugees in Australia (Leach & Mansouri, 2004, p. 108; Mares, 2002, pp. 104-105). Resettlement is known as the offshore program, and the onshore program grants visas to those who claim asylum in Australia (DIMIA, 2005d).

Offshore resettlement program

The offshore program consists of two categories; refugees who apply to UNHCR in their country of first asylum and are brought to Australia by the Government, and those who are outside their home country, experience human rights violations and are sponsored by residents or organizations in Australia under the Special Humanitarian Program (Government of Australia, 2004; UNHCR, 2004, p. 2). The offshore program has seen a shift towards refugees from African countries in the last five years and entrants from that region now make up around 70% of the program (DIMIA, 2005d; RCOA, 2004, p. 20). From 2000 to April 2005, refugees from Sudan have constituted the largest group (DIMIAa). The Middle East has been the second largest region of origin and intake from Europe has dropped dramatically, whilst numbers from Asia and South America remain have remained low (DIMIAa; RCOA, 2004, p. 20). DIMIA has suggested that recent humanitarian entrants may have had more traumatic pre-arrival experiences than earlier waves, accounting for poorer settlement outcomes and requiring greater levels of settlement support (DIMIA, 2003e, pp. 65 & 320-322). There are slightly more men than women in the resettlement program and around half of this group are under 20 years old (DIMIAa). In 2005-2006 13,000 arrivals are envisaged, 6,000 refugees and 7,000 under the Special Humanitarian Program (DIMIA, 2005a).

Refugees and humanitarian entrants who arrive through the offshore resettlement program gain full access to Australia's protection as a durable solution and they can

sponsor family to join them (Table 3.1). They are granted permanent residency, with the same economic, social and cultural rights as Australian citizens and can apply for citizenship after two years (Table 3.1). They are eligible for Australian Government services and government funded settlement services designed to assist refugees and migrants to settle successfully, including free English classes and mainstream employment services (Table 3.1).

As a signatory to various human rights treaties, the Australian Government has an obligation to ensure that everyone is able to enjoy an adequate standard of living, regardless of their race, language, sex or national background (UNHCHR, 1966, articles. 2.2 & 11.1). Work is a means of earning income, but also defines a person's social identity and status, and facilitates personal autonomy and social participation. (Jamrozik, 2005, pp. 151-2 & 154; Winkelmann & Winkelmann, cited in Perkins & Angley, 2003, p. 4). The right to work of each individual is outlined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (UNHCHR, 1966 & 1948). Article 23 of the UDHR states:

Everyone has the right to work, to free choice of employment, to just and favourable conditions of work and to protection against unemployment (UNHCHR, 1948).

In signing these conventions, Australia has committed itself to pursuing policy aimed at promoting full, productive and freely chosen employment (ILO, 2005, ILO, 1964, article 1). Ensuring that everyone has a job of their choice involves adopting policies that enable full employment, providing technical and vocational guidance and training and ensuring that the labour market is free from discrimination (ILO, 1964, article 1, UNHCHR, 1966, article 6.2). Everyone should be able to choose a job that utilizes their skills, irrespective of race, sex, language or national background (ILO, 1964, article 1c). Working conditions should include fair pay that enables a decent standard of living, safe workplaces, equal opportunity and paid holidays (UNHCHR, 1966, article 7). Favourable work conditions should be protected by national legislation, with the right to join a trade union and strike (UNHCHR, 1966, article 8).

Onshore program

Refugees with Temporary Protection Visas

“In every aspect of our lives, in every step we make to improve our lives, we hit this solid wall, the wall that the Immigration Department has built to remind us that we’re punished” (Salim, cited in Leach & Mansouri, 2004, p. 83).

Traditionally, refugees who reach industrially developed countries receive permanent protection (Hoffmann, 2002, p. 5; RCOA, 2003; UNHCR, 2005a, p. 43). People who come to Australia to seek asylum without a visa are detained in immigration detention and since 1999 have been granted temporary visas if found to be refugees, and therefore denied durable solutions (DIMIA, 2004d). Since December 2001 only a handful of asylum seekers have been able to reach Australian territory by boat due to the efforts of the Australian Government, including deploying the navy to prevent boats of asylum seekers from entering Australian waters, and removing those who do to processing centres in Nauru or Papua New Guinea (Brennan, 2002, pp. 59-61; DIMIA, 2005f). Over 8,000 refugees have been issued with Temporary Protection Visas and they have mainly come from Afghanistan and Iraq, with smaller numbers from Iran and Sri Lanka (Barnes, 2003, p. 5). The majority are men, but included are women and children, some of who arrived without parents (Pickering et al, 2003, p. 19).

Temporary Protection Visas entitle holders to some welfare payments, permission to work and Medicare (DIMIA, 2003c; Table 3.1). However, experiences of detention, the uncertainty arising from this visa and the denial of the right to family reunion, travel outside Australia, free English classes, employment assistance and most government services have caused much distress, settlement difficulties and led refugees with Temporary Protection Visas to feel that they are being punished for their method of arrival in Australia (Leach & Mansouri, 2004, pp. 82-97; Table 3.1). Changes introduced in August 2004 enable TPV holders who were refused a permanent visa after three years, to apply for a Return Pending Visa, giving them a further 18 months in Australia with work rights. They can also apply for other family, student or employer sponsored visas (DIMIA, 2004a&b).

Three articles of the Refugee Convention are devoted to the work rights of refugees (UNHCR, 1951 & 1967, articles 17-19). Australia has agreed that refugees should have the same rights as foreign nationals in relation to work, self-employment and the liberal professions (UNHCR, 1951, articles 17-19). UNHCR recognises that legal permission alone does not safeguard the right to work and has expressed concern that long asylum determination processes, the segregation of refugees in camps and the lack of policy or

programs targeted to refugees also prevent them from finding suitable employment (UNHCR, 1987, paragraphs 51-52). In Australia refugees with permanent protection have the same work rights as citizens, but refugees with temporary protection should be able to access rights outlined in the Refugee Convention. However, the purpose of the TPV is to deter others from coming to seek asylum (Hoffmann, 2002, pp. 7-8 & 13). The withholding of services providing information and assistance, and English tuition is supposed to make it difficult for them to establish themselves in Australia (Hoffmann, 2002, pp. 7-8 & 13).

Asylum Seekers in the community

“It is a very good country to live. There are very nice people, very peaceful. Only it hurts the way they’re treating us. If I had work rights and a permanent place of residence, I would do my best for the country” (Asylum seeker from Sri Lanka, quoted in Brotherhood of St Laurence, 2002, p. 6).

Asylum seekers who enter Australia with a valid visa and successfully claim asylum are granted permanent protection entitling them to the same rights as resettled refugees, bar some initial refugee settlement services (DIMIA, 2003b; DIMIA, 2005e). They are not detained whilst their application is processed, which can take several years, and along with undocumented arrivals released from detention on health grounds, they receive a bridging visa (Hotham Mission, 2003, p. 4). Under the terms of this visa they are denied access to many rights and services and cannot access free English classes, settlement services, education or family reunion (Table 3.1). Work rights and Medicare are only granted to those who applied for asylum within 45 days of arrival in Australia and they are withdrawn on application of a high court appeal or ministerial review (DIMIA, 2003b; Hotham Mission, 2003, p. 7). Financial assistance through the Asylum Seeker Assistance Scheme is only available after 6 months and is also withdrawn after a negative Refugee Review Tribunal decision² (DIMIA, 2003b). As a result, many asylum seekers in the community are destitute and rely on charity for survival (Hotham Mission, 2003, p. 19). Asylum seekers come from a range of countries such as Sri Lanka, the People’s Republic of China, the Former Yugoslavia, the Russian Federation, Iran and Colombia (DIMIAa). There are around 8,000 asylum seekers living in the community

² The Refugee Review Tribunal is an independent reviews tribunal that reviews negative DIMIA decisions an applications for refugee status

(Hotham Mission) They are almost three times more likely to be male than resettled refugees, and the largest age group is made up of 20 to 40 year olds (DIMIAa).

UNHCR EXCOM conclusions are international soft law, signalling political commitments made by states (UNHCR, 2005c, p. 29). At the EXCOM meeting in 2002 the conclusion was passed by states, including Australia, that asylum seekers should be able to access governmental and non-governmental assistance to meet basic needs, such as food, clothing, accommodation, and health care (NCCA, 2005; UNHCR, 2002b, No. 93 (LIII) – 2002). Therefore, Australia has made a commitment to ensure that the basic needs of asylum seekers are met, yet many are left without work rights or material assistance. The idea is gaining ground in the international refugee regime that refugees without access to durable solutions should be assisted to become self-reliant to facilitate dignity and to enable them to prepare for durable solutions (UNHCR, 2005d, paragraphs 8, 9 & 10). For asylum seekers in Australia this means that enabling them to work would better prepare them for local integration or repatriation. The US Committee for Refugees is leading a campaign to win work rights for refugees in protracted situations internationally, and in Australia a campaign for work rights for all asylum seekers is underway (Hotham Mission, 2005; UNHCR, 2005d, paragraphs 8-14; USCRI). In any case, the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights obliges signatory states such as Australia to ensure that everyone, without discrimination, enjoys the right to an adequate standard of living and is able to work (UNHCHR, 1966 articles 6 & 11).

Table 3.1 The Rights and Entitlements of Refugees and Asylum Seekers in Australia

	Permanent Protection Visas (Entitlements of refugees granted a permanent protection visa offshore)	Temporary Protection Visa (Entitlements of refugees arriving without visas after initial detention)	Bridging Visas (Entitlements of asylum seekers who cleared immigration and then claimed asylum)
Commonwealth Income support	Immediate access to the full range of social security benefits	Access only to Special Benefit for which eligibility criteria apply. Work test imposed. Ineligible for Newstart, Sickness Allowance, Parenting payment, Youth Allowance, Austudy	No access to any benefits from Centrelink. After waiting 6 months for a Primary Decision may qualify for Australian Red Cross' Asylum Seeker Assistance Scheme (ASAS) funded by DIMIA, receiving 89% of Special Benefit. Asylum seekers lose access to ASAS if they appeal a decision beyond the Refugee Review Tribunal (RRT)
Education	Same access to education as other permanent residents	Access to primary and secondary education subject to state policy. Effective exclusion from tertiary study due to imposition of full fees.	May get access to primary and secondary education following consultation – subject to state policy. Effective preclusion from tertiary education due to the imposition of full fees
Settlement support	Access to full DIMIA settlement services, including Migrant Resource Centres and ethno-specific agencies, interpreter service, and practical integration assistance. Includes torture and trauma counselling, on-arrival accommodation, household formation support, case management, early health assessment	Denied settlement support services except for health screening and referral	No access to DIMIA settlement services
Family reunion	Eligible to sponsor family to reunite with them in Australia	Denied family reunion rights – even spouse and children	Denied family reunion rights while case being processed
Travel	Permitted to travel abroad & return like all permanent residents	No right of return after leaving Australia (ie. Cannot visit family and return to Australia)	No right of return
Work Rights	Permission to work	Permission to work, but job search severely restricted by temporary visa and poor English skills.	Dependent on applying for asylum within 45 days of arrival. Work rights withdrawn if RRT decision is appealed
Job Assistance	Full Job Network services including Intensive Assistance	Very limited access to job placement support. Problems with finding work due to English and visa uncertainties	Denied. Problems with finding work due to English and visa uncertainties
English classes	610 hours of free English classes. Children have free intensive English classes	Denied standard 610 hrs of free English classes and translating and interpreting services	Denied standard 610 hrs of free English classes and translating and interpreting services
Medical benefits	Same eligibility for Medicare and Health Care card as other permanent residents	Eligible for Medicare and Health Care cards	Eligible for Medicare Card only if permitted to work. No Health Care Card. Not eligible for torture and trauma services
Housing	Assistance with public housing included in settlement services	Not entitled to on-arrival accommodation assistance. Limited access to state-provided public housing assistance	Not eligible for government housing assistance

Sources: Brotherhood of St Laurence, 2002, p. 3; National Council of Churches Australia; DIMIA, 2003c, Hotham Mission, 2003, p. 7

Australian refugee policy

630,000 refugees and humanitarian entrants have settled in Australia over the last 50 years (DIMIA, 2005c). In Australia refugee policy was part of immigration policy until the 1970's and displayed elements present in immigration policy such as utility, control and the White Australia policy (Neuman, 2004, p. 108, Jupp, 2002, pp. 13-19, 66-67, 180 & 182). Until 1972 refugees accepted to come to Australia were predominantly white Europeans, displaced as a result of the Second World War or fleeing communism (Jupp, 2002, p. 180). Their entry was tightly controlled by the Department of Immigration and the rationale for accepting them has included the need for population and labour in light of the decreasing availability of British immigrants (Jupp, 2002, pp. 12-13, 182 Neuman, 2004, p. 32). The Department of Immigration is still charged with coordinating the entry and settlement of refugees and refugee policy, but states that current policy is no longer influenced by the White Australia policy (DIMIA, 2002; DIMIA, 2005a; Neuman, 2004, p. 108). Multiculturalism replaced the White Australia policy in 1973 and the Government states that immigration policy is non-discriminatory (DIMIA, 2002, 2005a). Utility is met through the non-humanitarian migration program, as the majority of arrivals to Australia are now admitted on the basis of their ability to contribute to the Australian economy, rather than their family ties to Australia as before (DIMIA, 2005b; Mares, 2002, p. 102).

However, control over who comes to Australia as a refugee is still a feature (Neuman, 2004, p. 108). The offshore humanitarian program has a limited number of places every year, enabling the DIMIA to control which and how many refugees arrive (Jupp, 2002, p. 182). The Australian Government views onshore asylum seekers as a threat to their controlled program and Australian sovereignty, introducing a series of border control and reception measures to prevent and deter them from arriving, and controlling numbers by taking a place off the offshore program for every protection visa granted onshore (Brennan, 2003, pp. 5, 24-25, 46, 58-65 & pp. 84-118; DIMIA, 2003d; DIMIA, 2004c; DIMIA, 2003c; DIMIA, 2005d). As Hoffmann points out (2003, p. 17), the Government used border protection measures such as temporary protection to show that it was protecting Australia's sovereignty in the face of its support for economic globalisation, which was seen by sections of the electorate as a threat to Australian sovereignty. The

differing treatment of onshore and offshore refugees has produced several groups of refugees and asylum seekers with differing access to protection and rights.

2. Refugees and the Australian Labour Market

Employment and refugees

“Settling in Australia, the basis is having a good job, if you don’t, obviously you are not settled. If you have a good job you have the confidence that you are part of society” (Interview with African refugee service provider, 2005).

According to DIMIA, for newly arrived migrants and refugees, settlement is the process towards achieving participation in society and self-reliance and it can be measured by economic and social participation and wellbeing, and physical wellbeing (DIMIA, 2003e, p. 63). According to Jupp (1986, cited in Leach & Mansouri, 2004, p. 97) the aim of settlement is the full and equal participation in Australian society. “UNHCR Refugee Resettlement: An International Handbook to Guide to Reception and Integration” emphasizes the importance of economic autonomy to refugee integration and therefore the centrality of employment strategies to any settlement program (UNHCR, 2002c, p. 173).

For refugees, employment is a critical issue, but for different reasons at different times. A job is necessary to fulfil the often urgent need to send money to friends and family overseas (Akuei, 2004, pp. 2-6; Barnes, 2003, p. 36; Service provider b; Iredale et al, 1996, p. 67). The pressure on refugees in industrial countries to send money to family struggling in countries of first asylum is strong and Akuei (2004) tells of a Sudanese refugee in California directly responsible for supporting 24 relatives and indirectly a further 38 people in exile in Africa (p. 3). The need to earn money to sponsor relatives to leave dangerous situations and join them is also pressing (Iredale et al, 1996, pp. 64 & 70; Kyle et al, 2004, p. 5). Furthermore, the extreme poverty faced by many asylum seekers means that for them work is a way to earn money to survive (Service provider, c).

Employment is closely linked to regaining identities and control over lives (Colic-Peisker, 2003, p. 13). Identities are lost through the refugee experience, and earning money to bring relatives to Australia and thereby rebuilding ethnic communities can be a strategy to regain them (Colic-Peisker, 2003, pp. 4 & 7). For skilled refugees, identities are linked to occupational status and failure to find suitable employment can result in “resettlement

trauma” (Colic-Peisker, 2003, pp. 13-14; Field observation). For many TPV holders, their perceived forced dependence on Centrelink payments constitutes a further threat to their identities and self-images of self-reliant and hard working people (Leach & Mansouri, 2004, p. 89). All of the service providers interviewed for this paper made the point, also supported in the literature, that employment was a prerequisite for participation in Australian society for refugees and asylum seekers, which is the crux of the settlement process (DIMIA, 2003e, p. 63; Service provider a, b & c; Leach & Mansouri, 2004, p. 89; UNHCR, 2002c, p. 173).

Refugees in the Australian labour market

“Everyone has the right to work, to free choice of employment, to just and favourable conditions of work and to protection against unemployment” (UNHCHR, 1948 article 23).

There is a general consensus that refugees are disadvantaged in the Australian labour market and that this trend is increasing with recent waves of arrivals (DIMIA, 2003e, p. 66; Kyle et al, 2004, p. ii). Historically, refugees have fared worse than migrants, even when they had higher education and participation rates than migrants (Iredale, 1994, pp. 248-250; Iredale et al, 1996, p. 60; Iredale & D’Arcy, 1992, p. 7; Stevens, 1998). There has been little empirical or qualitative research into refugees in the labour market since the demise of the independent research bodies such as the Office of Multicultural Affairs and the Bureau of Immigration Research, and neither Job Network or Centrelink data are disaggregated. (Jupp, 2002, pp. 77-78; Kyle et al, 2004, p. 10).

There have, however, been some studies. The DIMIA Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants to Australia (LSIA) measured settlement outcomes, including employment for two nationwide groups of refugees and migrants with permanent residency who arrived in Australia between 1993 and 1995 and between 1999 and 2000 (DIMIA, 2003e, p. 63). Waxman (2001) surveyed refugees from Afghanistan, Iraq and Bosnia who arrived in Sydney between 1994 and 1996, and Colic-Peisker and Tilbury (2005) looked at the experiences of skilled refugees in Perth from Africa, the Middle East and Ex-Yugoslavia. A report commissioned by the Bureau of Immigration, Multicultural and Population Research into refugee settlement was published in 1996 (Iredale et al, 1996). There have also been general studies into the experiences of asylum seekers and refugees

with TPVs that have looked at employment (Barnes, 2003; Hoffmann, 2003; Hotham Mission, 2003; Job Futures, 2004; Leach & Mansouri, 2004; Mann, 2001).

Findings from these studies point to evidence of low participation rates, extremely high levels of unemployment, significant downward occupational mobility, labour market segmentation in low skill casual jobs and unfavourable working conditions for refugees in Australia. The LSIA found a participation rate of 50% for refugees who arrived between 1993 and 1995 eighteen months after arrival, this dropped to 28% for the second group, who arrived from 1999 to 2000 (DIMIA, 2003e, p. 67). This contrasts with participation rates of 73% and 77% for Iraqis and Afghanis respectively in Waxman's study, which were 10-14% higher than the Australian national rates for that year (Jamrozik, 2005, p. 155; Waxman, 2001, p. 487). Despite these high participation rates, Waxman (2001, p. 487) found an unemployment rate of 77% for the group of refugees from Afghanistan, Iraq and Bosnia, and the DIMIA survey showed unemployment rates of 43% after eighteen months for refugees who arrived between 1999 and 2000 (DIMIA, 2003e, p. 67).

DIMIA Community Information Summaries show that education and employment outcomes for overseas-born communities with high proportions of refugees have high unemployment rates, 46.9% for Somalia-born, 34.2% for Iraq-born and 16.8% for Bosnia-born (DIMIAb). Further data from Perth suggest unemployment rates of 32% and 38% for skilled African and Middle Eastern refugees respectively after an average on seven years in Australia (Colic-Peisker & Tilbury, 2005, pp. 3 & 7). In 2004, almost half of refugees with TPVs were receiving Centrelink unemployment benefits (Centrelink, cited in Job Futures, 2004, p. 4). Unemployment rates amongst asylum seekers in the community with permission to work are also high, with many relying on charity for everyday survival (Hotham Mission, 2003, p. 19; Service provider c).

Refugees have traditionally had problems in utilising their overseas skills in the Australian labour market (Iredale, 1994, p. 250; Iredale & D'Arcy, 1992, p. 8). That this trend continues is strongly supported by various studies and interviews with refugee and asylum seeker service providers (Colic-Peisker, 2003; Colic-Peisker & Tilbury, 2005; DIMIA, 2003e, p.68; Service provider a, b & c; Leach & Mansouri, 2004, p. 88). The LSIA shows that only 3% of refugees were working in a skilled occupation eighteen

months after arrival, compared to 21% in their former country (DIMIA, 2003e, p. 69). Colic-Peisker and Tilbury (2005, p. 8) show that refugees from the Middle East, Ex-Yugoslavia and Africa have difficulty in finding work related to their overseas skills, with only 24% employed at in a related area after an average of seven years in Australia.

Colic-Peisker and Tilbury (2005, pp. 11-12) and anecdotal evidence suggest that many refugees and asylum seekers are only able to get low skilled, low paid insecure jobs mainly in the service sector (Field observation Australia & Ireland; Service provider a, b, & c). Common jobs include cleaning, taxi driving, aged care, security, building and food processing (Colic-Peisker and Tilbury, 2005, pp. 11-12; Field Observation; Service provider a, b & c). ABS data supports this view, with lower incomes for individuals from countries of origin with a high proportion of refugees (Taylor, 2004, p. 7). In 2001 the Somali-born community had average weekly incomes of \$258, 53% of the national average (Taylor, 2004, p. 7).

Pressures to work and barriers to employment ensure that refugees and asylum seekers get jobs with bad pay and conditions that no one else wants (Barnes, 2003, pp. 37-38; Field observation, Service provider b & c). TPV holders have had to bribe sub-contractors to get work paid at below the minimum wage (Barnes, 2003, p. 38) One service provider remarked that getting a full time job was almost impossible for refugees (Service provider b). Conditions at work were sometimes unfavourable, with racial harassment from colleagues and African aged care workers receiving racial insults from patients, (Colic-Peisker & Tilbury, 2005, pp. 9-11; HREOC, 1999, p.24; Field observation; Service provider a, b & c). TPV holders have had to bribe subcontractors to get work paid at below award wages, wages have been unpaid, and there have been inadequate Occupational Health and Safety measures and attention to work injuries (Barnes, 2003, p. 38; Field observation).

Barriers to satisfactory employment

Issues affecting all Australians, the changing labour market

The Australian job market has changed significantly since the mid 1960's in terms of the industries and occupations in which people work and the number of people out of work (Jamrozik, 2005, p. 155). The unemployment rate increased from 1.6% in 1966 to 6% in 2002, after reaching a peak of 11% in 1992-1993 (Jamrozik, 20005, p. 155; Stromback & Dockery, p. 2). The current rate is 5% (ABS, 2005). The most dramatic change has been the average length of unemployment, which has gone from three weeks in 1966 to 56.6 weeks in 2002 (Jamrozik, 20005, p. 155). Older people have a high unemployment rate and are likely to be out of work for longer than the average (Encel, 2000 & Kerr et al, 2002, cited in Perkins & Angley, 2003, p. 8).

The participation rate is the percentage of the population over fifteen years of age working or available to work, and the unemployment rate is the percentage of this group who did not work for one hour during the week preceding the survey (HRM Guide, 2005; Jamrozik, 20005, p. 156). With the rise of casual jobs³, this has led to the view that the real level of unemployment may be more than double than the official figure (Nicholson, 2004, cited in Barrett et al, 2005, p. 136).

The period has also seen a change in working conditions, especially the rise in part time and casual work, predominantly in lower skilled occupations in the new service industries and amongst women (Jamrozik, 2005, pp. 160-162; May et al, 2005, p. 3). Those in full time work are also working longer hours (Barrett et al, 2005, p. 140, Perkins & Angley, 2003, p.2). Australia has a system of industrial awards negotiated through trade unions to provide minimum standards for each occupation (May et al, 2005, p. 8). Those with casual work do not enjoy many of these conditions, they are not guaranteed regular work, a notice period or paid leave (May et al, 2005, p. 1). It is thought that many

³ In Australia, "Casual' jobs are commonly understood as jobs that attract an hourly rate of pay but very few of the other rights and benefits, such as the right to notice, the right to severance pay and most forms of paid leave (annual leave, public holidays, sick leave, etc), that are commonly associated with 'permanent' (or 'continuing') jobs for employees" (May et al, 2005, p. 1).

people with casual and part time work would prefer full time, permanent jobs (Field observation; Jamrozik, 2005, p. 174; May et al, 2005, p. 7).

Industries and occupations have also changed, with a shift from industries producing material goods to those providing services (Jamrozik, 2005, pp. 157-158). Over the last 30 to 40 years, the percentage of the workforce in material production has almost halved, whilst the percentages working in management/administration and services have almost doubled (ABS, cited in Jamrozik, 2005, p. 158). With the demise of these material industries, many labouring jobs have disappeared, with most new jobs being created in professions and similar occupations or low skill jobs in the service sector (ABS, cited in Jamrozik, 2005, p. 155).

Current Government welfare policy looks to individual rather than structural causes of unemployment (Jamrozik, 2005, pp. 165 & 175; Perkins & Angley, 2003, p. 7; Ziguras et al, 2003, p. 7). The system is characterized by government control of unemployed people (Jamrozik, 2005, p. 176). Unemployment benefits must be earned through extensive job search activity, fulfilling administrative requirements and participation in community work (Ziguras et al, 2003, pp. 8-11). Those who fail to comply see their benefits cut for extended periods (Ziguras et al, 2003, p. 9). This 'mutual obligation' regime does not include any obligation on the part of the government or companies to ensure that there are sufficient jobs or that unemployed people have the skills to fill them (Jamrozik, 2005, pp. 175).

The causes of changes to the labour market

The restructuring of Australian industry has occurred in the context of globalisation, whereby industries with low skilled manual labouring jobs have moved to poorer countries with lower wages (Jamrozik, 2005, p. 70). This combined with the neo-liberal policies since the late 1970s favouring deregulation, economic growth and control of inflation over full employment and social protection, have contributed to unemployment and the erosion of wages, conditions and public services (Jamrozik, 2005, pp. 172; Perkins & Angley, 2003, pp. 1 & 3-5).

The impact of changes to the labour market

Opportunities and incomes have increased for those with high levels of education (Jamrozik, 2005, pp. 162-163 & 172; Perkins & Angley, 2003, p. 1). However, there is a section of the population with low levels of education stuck in a series of low paid, insecure employment, or long periods of unemployment, whose lives are increasingly the subject of control by the welfare system (Jamrozik, 2005, pp. 163, 164, 172; Perkins & Angley, 2003, p.8, Richardson, cited in Horin, 2005). The view that their predicament is their own fault reduces public support for their welfare payments (Jamrozik, 2005, pp. 172-173). This group is likely to grow in size and become more marginalised with the increase in university fees and the Government industrial relations reforms eroding collective bargaining, the award system and unfair dismissal (Buchanan, 2005; Jamrozik, 2005, p. 177; Lansbury et al, 2005, pp. 1-4). The Government is also introducing its 'Welfare to Work' policy, whereby single parents and people with disabilities will be moved off their pensions to NewStart allowance, reducing their payments and forcing them to look for work (Conference of Leaders of Religious Institutes, Queensland, 2005, p. 5). This will also increase the number of vulnerable workers (Conference of Leaders of Religious Institutes, Queensland, 2005, p. 5).

Migrants and the Australian job market

Migrants from culturally and linguistically diverse backgrounds (CALD) have traditionally been viewed as disadvantaged in the Australian labour market (Ho & Alcorso, 2004, pp. 237-238). However, immigration policy has been increasingly dominated by the human capital approach, Since 1996 the majority of migrants have been selected for their qualifications, experience, age and English ability at the expense of family migrants and humanitarian entrants (DIMIA, 2005b; Jupp, 2002, p. 146). Since then, studies into migrant and refugee settlement have focused on labour market experiences and results have been largely positive for migrants in the skilled category (Ho & Alcorso, 2004, p. 238, Jupp, 2002, p. 78). The DIMIA Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants to Australia (LISIA) data has been analysed by several academics (Ho & Alcorso, 2004, p. 238). Richardson et al's (2005, p. 27) analysis of the data sees little difference between the experience of the group of migrants who arrived from 1999 to 2000 in the labour market and that of the Australian born population.

However, this period has seen a lack of independent research on migrant settlement issues (Jupp, 2002, pp. 77-78). Current studies are conducted or commissioned by DIMIA and have been questioned for their emphasis on the human capital approach and optimistic view of migrants' labour market experiences to justify the current focus on skilled migration (Ho & Alcorso, 2004, pp. 237-255; Junankar & Mahuteau, 2004, p. 17; Jupp, 2002, p. 78). The human capital approach views education and English language as the main determinants of labour market outcome (Ho & Alcorso, 2004, pp. 239-240). Alternative analyses of LSIA data have shown that additional factors such as gender, country of origin, and employer attitudes also influence migrants' labour market experiences and have analysed labour market outcomes in a more negative light, showing considerable downward occupational mobility, even for highly skilled migrants (Ho & Alcorso, 2004, pp. 240-251 & 253-254; Junankar & Muhuteau, 2004, pp. 15-16; Junankar et al, 2004, pp. 15-16).

These views are supported by community organizations working with migrants and qualitative research. These organizations state that migrants, particularly from industrially developing countries, encounter structural and individual barriers when trying to enter the labour market and encounter discrimination in the work place (Coad et al, 2005, p. 2; DIMIA, 2003e, p. 118; HREOC, 1999, pp.; Wagner, 2003, pp. 25-41). Structural barriers include employer discrimination, problems with recognition of qualifications and recruitment practices that disadvantage migrants (Coad et al, 2005, pp. 5-7; DIMIA, 2003e, p. 118; HREOC, 1999, pp. 20-23; Junankar et al, 2004, pp. 14-15; Wagner, 2003, pp. 25-27, 29, 30-32, 34, 39 & 40-41; Wallace, 2002).

Discrimination is perpetrated on the grounds of differences in appearance or culture, and by employers viewing overseas qualifications and experience as inferior to Australian skills (Coad et al, 2005, p. 7; Ho & Alcorso, 2004, pp. 253-254; Junankar et al, 2004, pp. 14-15; Wagner, 2003, pp. 30-32, 40-41 & 44).

Barriers to formal qualification recognition include discrepancies between pre and post migration assessments, prohibitive costs, lack of information, and downgrading of qualifications, requiring further training (Coad et al, 2003, p. 5; HREOC, 1999, pp. 22-23; Wagner, 2003, pp. 25-27).

The use of recruitment agencies and networks to fill vacancies also disadvantages migrants as recruitment agencies do not practice EEO and migrants' social and professional networks are not as developed as those born in Australia (Coad, 2003, pp. 6 & 8; Field observation; Junankar & Mahuteau, 2004, pp. 9 & 14, Wagner, 2003, p. 30). Moreover, cross-cultural issues are not taken into consideration in interviews or psychometric tests (Wagner, 2003, p. 40; Wallace, 2002).

Lack of knowledge about the Australian job market and workplace, level of English, and communication skills act as individual barriers to entry into the labour market (Coad et al, 2005, pp.; DIMIA, 2003e, p. 118; Wagner, 2003, pp. 27, 37-38 & 44). Coad et al (2005, p. 8) state:

Many skilled migrants come from job markets where qualifications are the main criterion used for selection. In some countries...it is the responsibility of the government to find jobs for new graduates leading to different job search and employment expectations. The idea of selling yourself in a resume and interview can also be culturally alien, which makes it difficult for employers to assess the potential of migrants from some cultures.

The competitive job application process requires excellent communication skills and a high level of written and spoken English, which is often higher than the level needed to do the job being applied for (Coad et al, 2005, p. 9; Wagner, 2003, pp. 27 & 37-38). Failure to use or understand the jargon associated with the occupation and industry can also disadvantage migrants (Coad et al, 2003, p. 9).

These barriers, coupled with a two year waiting period for unemployment benefits, lead to many skilled migrants working in low skilled, low paid casual jobs such as cleaning, retail, security, taxi driving, aged care and factory work (Coad et al, 2005, p. 7; Field observation; HREOC, 1999, p. 25; Wagner, 2003, p. 1). Consequently, these jobs can be perceived as migrant jobs, despite the fact that most migrants are selected for their high level of skills and experiences to meet skills shortages and contribute their skills to the economy (DIMIA, 2005g; DIMIA, 2005b; Ho & Alcorso, 2004, p. 253). ABS data show that 63% of cleaners in NSW from North East Asia had a post school qualification in 1996, compared to 10% for Australia-born (ABS, 1996, cited in Ho & Alcorso, 2004, p. 252). Discrimination in the workplace is also experienced in terms of harassment and

being passed over for promotion or permanent positions (HREOC, 1999, pp. 24-25; Wagner, 2003, pp. 30-31).

Refugees and the Australian Job Market

It is clear that many refugees have unsatisfactory experiences in the Australian labour market. To come up with a solution it is important to understand why. What follows is a series of barriers faced by refugees in the Australian job market, which compound those listed above. Refugees are a heterogeneous group from a wide variety of countries, socio-economic backgrounds, ages, gender, religions and occupations. Each individual will encounter different combinations of barriers, barriers may interact to compound each other, and different barriers may produce similar results. For example an unskilled refugee may find himself unemployed because he has no English and a large family to support. However, a highly educated academic with excellent English may find herself out of the workforce because, her qualifications are not recognised by Australian employers, she does not understand the Australian job market, and she suffers from the effects of trauma. For asylum seekers and refugees with temporary protection, their visa restrictions act as barriers to employment and fair working conditions.

Pre-arrival barriers

"... special problems faced by refugees affect almost all aspects of their labour market activity; acquiring English language skills; job search; qualifications recognition and training and employment" (Iredale & D'Arcy, 1992, p. 8)

DIMIA suggests that worsening pre-arrival experiences of recent humanitarian entrants account for lower labour market outcomes (DIMIA, 2003e, pp. 65, 66 & 85-86). The literature and interviews agree that pre-arrival factors affect refugees' employment chances. Low levels of English impede the chances of getting a job (Service provider a, b & c; Iredale et al, 1996, p. 60; Iredale & D'Arcy, 1992, p. 7; Iredale, 1994, p. 249; Waxman, 2001, p. 491). After six months 80% of cohort 2 humanitarian entrants from the LSIA did not speak English well or at all (DIMIA, 2003e, p. 80).

The physical and psychological effects of torture and trauma can also impact on refugees' ability to find and keep a job (Iredale & D'Arcy, 1992, p. 7, p. 8; Kyle et al,

2004, p. 6). Symptoms of Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder⁴ include intrusive memories, flashbacks, distress at exposure to cues, sleep problems, irritability and difficulty concentrating (Allden, 2002, p. 124; Service provider c). Some African women exposed to blood whilst working in nursing homes in Australia experience flashbacks due to their traumatic pre-arrival experiences (Nkrumah, 2005). Torture does not always lead to morbidity and symptoms will depend on what torture means to each individual and culture, but torture generally produces more severe symptoms than other trauma, particularly PTSD and depression, and recovery is more difficult (Allden, 2002, pp. 119-120 & 125; Silove et al, 2002, pp. 51 & 53).

However, notions of PTSD may not be sufficient to understand the effects of trauma on refugees. Silove (1999) sees the refugee experience as a series of highly stressful experiences that can threaten the individual and community adaptive systems of safety, attachment, justice, existential meaning and the identity/role system. PTSD looks solely at the threat to safety (Silove, 1999). Broader symptoms are experienced by individuals and communities, as a result of their experiences of persecution, war, flight, detention, uncertainty and hostility in host countries and include personality change, somatization, cognitive difficulties, instability, anger, guilt, shame and motivational problems (Silove, 1999). These will also have an impact on work.

Poor health can affect English and employment (DIMIA, 2003e, p. 83). The LSIA showed poor physical and mental health for cohort 2, which was compounded by poor English (DIMIA, 2003e, p. 83). Also not having chosen whether and where to migrate and not having had the chance to prepare can make a difference to employment (Hannan, 2004, cited in Kyle et al, 2004, pp. 5-6; Lamb, 1996; Iredale & D'Arcy, 1992, p. 7 & 8).

Disruption to education and work may also produce less favourable outcomes (Iredale & D'Arcy, 1992, pp. 7 & 8; Kyle et al, 2004, p. 5). Waxman (2001, p. 486) found that those refugees who had spent time in camps were less likely to find work related to their overseas occupation. Other pre-arrival factors that may make a difference include a lack of education and work experience and occupational differences in refugee countries and

⁴ Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder or PTSD is a psychological condition that may follow a traumatic experience

Australia (Iredale, 1994, p. 249; Iredale & D'Arcy, 1992, pp. 7&8; Waxman, 2001, p. 495).

Post-arrival barriers

Refugees also face considerable post-arrival factors that impact on their job market experiences. These include the barriers for all migrants and all Australians mentioned above including, a lack of labour market knowledge, lack of Australian work experience, and a casualised job market (Kyle et al, 2004, p. 5; Service provider a, b & c; Iredale & D'Arcy, 1992, p. 7; Waxman, 2001, p. 493). Settlement problems such as poverty, cultural adjustment, access to transport and unemployment are mutually reinforcing (Iredale & D'Arcy, 1992, p. 7; Iredale, 1994, p. 255-6; Kyle et al, 2004, p. 5). The inability to get a job through formal channels forces many refugees and asylum seekers to rely on community networks to find work (Service provider a & b; Iredale, 1994, p. 257; Kyle et al, 2004, p. 6). Networks of small and emerging refugee communities often lack the resources to assist members to find suitable work and they often have high rates of unemployment and underemployment (Kyle et al, 2004, p. 6; Waxman, 2001, pp. 495-496). Concentrations of members in low paid, low skilled jobs may prevent upward occupational mobility.

English language proficiency and education and training are important in the Australian job market. However, obstacles to employment can also impact on access to education, for example, trauma, low self-confidence, and an urgent need to earn money (Aroche & Coello, 1994, p. 4; Colic-Peisker, 2003, p.13 ; Service provider b; Iredale, 1994, pp. 254-255 & 257). The casual, on call nature of many employment opportunities makes it almost impossible to work and study at the same time, with studies often losing out to work (Field observation; Service provider b). Without English and education, refugees are likely to get trapped in low skill casual work. Knowledge of the educational system and training courses, education providers' understanding refugee issues and the reduction of hours under of the Adult Migrant English Program from 900 to 610 also contribute limiting employment opportunities (Service provider a & c; Iredale, 1994, p. 254-55).

Employer discrimination has been put forward as a barrier to employment (Iredale & D'Arcy, 1992, p. 7; Iredale, 1994, p. 249; Kyle et al, 2004, p. 5). Migrants face

discrimination, as shown above, but evidence suggests that refugees face higher levels of discrimination and harassment in the workplace due to recent Government anti-refugee rhetoric, community perceptions of Muslims after 9/11 and discrimination against black Africans (ABC, 2001; Colic-Peisker & Tilbury, 2005, pp. 20-11; DIMIA, 1999; Field observation; HREOC, 1999, pp. 21-22; Service provider b; Iredale et al, 1996, pp. 63-64; Refugee Council of Australia, 2002, p. 54). As part of the wider community, employers will reflect community attitudes to refugees. In Colic-Peisker and Tilbury (2005, p. 14) employers deny discrimination, but acknowledge that applicants from certain cultures may not fulfil customer criteria or may not fit into the workplace.

Evidence suggests that the current legislative framework to protect refugees from discrimination, racial harassment and exploitation in the workplace is inadequate (Barnes, 2003, pp. 36-38; Colic-Peisker & Tilbury, 2005, pp. 9-11; HREOC, 1999, p. 22 & 23-24; Field observation; Service provider a, b & c; Lamb 1996). Many refugees and asylum seekers are not aware of their rights at work or cannot afford to risk losing their jobs by making a complaint or do not have confidence in the system (Barnes, 2003, pp. 37-38; HREOC, 1999, p. 24; Service provider a, b & c; Lamb, 1996). There is also a lack of understanding of trade unions and enterprise bargaining (Iredale et al, 1996, p. 70; Lamb, 1996). This has led to exploitation by some unscrupulous employers, lack of redress for discrimination and harassment, and occupational injuries sometimes with no compensation (Barnes, 2003, pp. 36-38; Colic-Peisker, 2005, pp. 15-16; HREOC, 1999, pp. 22-24; Service provider c; Lamb, 1996).

In attempting to utilise their overseas skills in the Australian labour market refugees encounter the same barriers as migrants, and these are compounded by additional problems with having qualifications recognised, the pressure to accept any job and low levels of self-esteem and confidence. The pressure to bring family members to live in Australia and send them remittances forces refugees to accept unskilled work (Iredale, 1994, p. 257; Kyle et al, 2004, p. 5). Pressure to take any job can also come from community members, and skilled refugees from Bosnia have talked about being encouraged to prioritise buying a house over finding a professional job (Colic-Peisker, 2003, p. 15).

In terms of recognition of qualifications, a lack of documentation may impede recognition (Iredale, 1994, p. 253-254 & 257). Some may be discouraged by the failure of others from their country to get equivalency recognised, or the failure of those with equivalency to find work in their occupation (Service provider c; Iredale, 1994, p. 258). Qualifications from refugee camps may be less likely to be accepted. A loss of self-esteem is common among refugees, but may be especially important for those hoping to re-enter their occupation (Service provider a & b; Colic-Peisker, 2003, p. 13). An inability to gain skilled employment and perceived discrimination can in turn impact on self-esteem and psychological well-being (Colic-Peisker & Tilbury; 2005, p. 10).

Refugees with Temporary Protection Visas

“If we were sure that we could stay here, everybody would study and get a job and buy a house or do something, we are just living day by day” (TPV holder, mother of two, ex-Iraq, quoted in Hoffmann, 2003, p. 44).

Visa conditions produce additional barriers to satisfactory work for TPV holders. They are denied free English classes, orientation and employment services (Barnes, 2003, pp. 36-37; Leach & Mansouri, 2004, p. 87; Mann, 2001; Table 3.1). Their temporary visa is unattractive to employers and many who have found work do “bad hours for bad money” (Community worker cited in Barnes, 2003, p. 37) (Hoffmann, 2004, pp. 21-22; Leach & Mansouri, 2004, p. 90). Lack of time, the distress caused by an uncertain future, fees and no access to benefits if they study have prevented many from upgrading their overseas qualifications (Hoffmann, 2004, p. 21). However, some have found skilled work related to their overseas professions and trades (Barnes, 2003, p. 37; Field observation, Hoffmann, 2004, p. 21). The barriers, combined with the pressing need to earn money,

have made this group extremely vulnerable to exploitation (Barnes, 2003, p. 37). Moreover, the periods spent in detention and on temporary visa have served as a further period of disruption to education and careers caused by pre-arrival experiences related to being refugees.

Asylum Seekers

Many asylum seekers are denied both work rights and welfare payments, leaving many homeless and reliant on charity (DIMIA, 2003b; Hotham Mission, 2003, p. 19; Service provider c). Penalties are stiff for those who work without permission, they can be detained in immigration detention (Brotherhood of St Laurence, 2002, p. 5). Those with work rights also face additional barriers to employment. The bridging visa is unattractive to employers and the requirement to report to DIMIA offices weekly, fortnightly or quarterly is also disruptive (Service provider c). Those with overseas skills and work rights may initially intend to work in their professional field, but quickly lower their expectations and become willing to accept any job for survival, making them another vulnerable group (Service provider c). Anecdotally, most asylum seekers are skilled and a skills audit, undertaken as part of a work rights campaign, supports this with 71% surveyed so far identifying skills listed on the Skilled Occupation List for the Skilled Migration stream (Service provider c; NCCA, 2005).

Gender

The employment difficulties for refugees are also compounded by gender and age (Refugee Resettlement Working Group, 1994, cited in Iredale et al, 1996, p. 70). Women refugees face barriers for migrants, refugees in addition to gender barriers (Lamb, 1996). They find it more difficult to get a job and are impacted by family planning and childcare issues (Service provider b & Lamb, 1996). Their husband's careers are often given priority and they are less likely to access employment programs (Field observation; Lamb, 1996). As a result they experience even higher rates of downward occupational mobility than men and many are often only able to find work as care assistants in nursing homes (Field observation; Service provider b, 2005; Iredale, 1994, pp. 250-251). It has been observed that skilled refugee women often end up working in low skill jobs, and unskilled women are unemployed (Pittaway, cited in Iredale, 1994, pp. 250-251).

With high instances of rape among refugee women, having to deal with male bosses can also be an issue (Lamb, 1996).

Age

Age is also a factor. Young refugees are making an important life and cultural transition simultaneously, often without their families (Kyle et al, p. 6). There is a lack of information for young refugees about career pathways and an absence of social networks, which can impede their access to traineeships and apprenticeships (Coventry et al, 2002). Older people find it difficult to find work in Australia and are unemployed for longer (Encel, 2000 & Kerr et al, 2002, cited in Perkins & Anglely, 2003, p. 8). Older refugees also have lower participation and higher unemployment rates (Service provider a; Waxman, 2001, pp. 4487-488). Refugees with disrupted education who choose to finish their studies in Australia may find it hard to break into the job market at entry level (Field observation).

3. Past experiences – impact on livelihoods in Australia

To understand refugees' experiences in accessing employment in Australia it is important to see these as part of the wider refugee experience of exile and resettlement (Aroche & Coello, 1994). Refugees often face a series of extreme human rights violations, the effects of which compound each other (Silove, 1999). What follows is an overview of the experiences refugees may have had that may impact their livelihoods in Australia. It includes access to employment experiences that led to people becoming refugees, and experiences during flight. The experiences of refugees from Afghanistan, Iraq, Sudan, Sierra Leone and Sri Lanka are examined. These countries of origin have been selected to reflect recent humanitarian arrivals to Australia. Refugees from Africa still dominate the offshore resettlement program accounting for 70% of places, so two countries, Sudan and Sierra Leone, were selected from this region (DIMIA, 2005d). Refugees from Sudan constitute the largest group of arrivals (DIMIA, 2005d). Most refugees with Temporary Protection Visas are from Afghanistan and Iraq, but these countries are also represented in the resettlement program and among asylum seekers in the community (DIMIA, 2005c&d). Over the past year Sri Lankans have been the largest group of asylum seekers in the community receiving protection visas and are also represented among TPV holders (Barnes, 2003, p. 5; DIMIAa). However, the experiences described are in no way exhaustive or applicable to all refugees.

Livelihoods in country of origin

The following section explores refugees' experiences of livelihoods before they become refugees. It briefly examines the economy, development, labour force, education and livelihood opportunities in Afghanistan, Iraq, Sudan, Sierra Leone and Sri Lanka.

Economy, labour force and development

Informal economy

Most employment in industrially developing countries occurs in the informal economy, and accounts for 50 to 75% of non-agricultural employment (ILO, 2002, p. 7). Work in this sector is unregulated and is generally insecure and lacking in benefits, social

protection or worker representation (ILO, 2002, p. 12). The informal economy encompasses work in informal unregistered businesses, which can be home-based (ILO, 2002, p. 12). Also included is informal employment with formal employers, such as domestic work, casual labourers and outworkers (ILO, 2002, p. 12). A higher proportion of women than men work in the informal sector and the work comprises agriculture, street vending, home-based work, repairs and making clothes (ILO, 2002, pp. 8-9). The informal economy has been shown to expand during times of economic hardship (ILO, 2002, p. 10).

Afghanistan

There are few statistics about Afghanistan's economy, but civil war has made Afghanistan one of the poorest countries in the world despite its natural resources (ILO, 2001). The informal sector is dominant, with most people working in subsistence farming and there is a large illegal economy based on opium (ILO, 2001, Poppelwell, 2002, Ward, 2002, p. 45). In Australia many refugees from Afghanistan are Hazaras or urban educated elite, both targeted by the Taliban (Leach & Mansouri, 2004, p. 28). In Kabul, many Hazaras work in menial jobs that no one else wants (Melikian, cited in Leach & Mansouri, 2004, p. 28).

Iraq

Historically oil made up 95% of Iraq's revenue and the economy was dominated by the state (Chanaa, 2003, UNDP, 2005). The effects of war, mismanagement and economic sanctions had a disastrous impact on the economy and plunged much of the population into dire poverty (Chanaa, 2003, ILO, 2000a). Before the first Gulf War Iraq had four million economic migrants, but after the war financial pressure prompted the Sunni dominated government to force Shia employees into early retirement (ILO, 2000a, Leach & Mansouri, 2004, p. 22). Most professionals were forced to undertake menial work to survive and the informal sector and child labour grew (ILO, 2000a). By 2000 the unemployment rate was estimated at between 50% and 60% (ILO, 2000a).

Sudan

Most Sudanese refugees in Australia come from the South where subsistence farming predominates (US Library of Congress, 2005). This activity has been severely disrupted by war (US Library of Congress, 2005). There is also an urban educated elite in the South that fills some senior political and public sector posts (US Library of Congress, 2005). Unemployment and underemployment levels are high (US Library of Congress, 2005).

Sierra Leone

Poverty and unemployment were both a cause and consequence of civil war in Sierra Leone (ILO, 2000b). The country is rich in natural resources, but subsistence agriculture dominates the economy, with two thirds of the population working in the sector before the war (New Internationalist, 2001, p. 482, US Department of State, 2005b). Sierra Leone ranked last in the Human Development index table for 1998 (UNDP, 1998).

Sri Lanka

The Sri Lankan economy has also been adversely effected by civil war as well as corruption and inconsistent policy (Siskandarajah, 2004). Agriculture makes up the largest sector, but there is also an industrial sector comparable in size to that of Australia (US Department of State, 2005c).

Australia

The Australian workforce is largely in the services sector in the formal economy, however, the informal sector comprising of casual, temporary workers is growing (Horin, 2005, ILO, 2002, p. 10, US Department of State, 2005a). Agriculture makes up only 5.5% of the workforce in sharp contrast to the refugee producing countries examined (New Internationalist, 2001, p. 93). Consequently, many refugees on arrival in Australia are confronted with a job market radically different to those they have encountered at home and in exile. For many, formal application processes, Occupational Health and Safety, grievance procedures and rights at work are new concepts (Field observation; Service provider a, b & c).

Opportunities for women

“I wish I had gone to school so that I could learn how to read and write.... I want my daughters to study so that they can learn something that could be of use to them, for example, to become doctors” (Afghani woman, quoted in Human Rights Watch, 2001b, p. 19).

Women in Sri Lanka, Sierra Leone, Afghanistan, Sudan and Iraq have less access to employment than men. The country with the highest female proportion of the labour force in 1998 was Sierra Leone at 37% (New Internationalist, 2001, p. 482). Women were removed from the workforce by the Taliban in Afghanistan, leaving many destitute, and opportunities for women in Iraq were restricted by the government in the wake of the Gulf War (Human Rights Watch, 2001b, pp. 6-7; Human Rights Watch, 2003a, p. 4). Sri Lankan women enjoy one of the highest literacy rates in the world at 87%. However, since the late 1970's women have moved from secure formal sector employment into unstable, low paid work in the informal sector (Asian Development Bank, 1999, p. x; FAO).

War, persecution and displacement

There are some common experiences across refugee producing countries. These examples below are by no means exhaustive or experienced by all refugees but, they do give an idea of the types of experiences refugees in Australia or their families may have had. Civil war and despotic regimes have featured heavily in the refugee-causing situations in Afghanistan, Iraq, Sri Lanka, Sudan and Sierra Leone. Civil wars often have complex causes and dynamics, but many have been characterized by competition over natural resources and power, ethnic, racial or religious tensions, the targeting of civilians, and the involvement of external actors (Moyo, 2003, pp. 1, 45, 50 & 55, Siskandarajah, 2004). Atrocities have been committed by all sides against civilians to terrorise them into submission (Amnesty International, 2005, p. 1, Amnesty International, 1999, p. 8, Amnesty International, 2001a, Human Rights Watch, 2001b, p. 2). Civil war has not yet occurred in Iraq, but Saddam Hussain's government implemented a reign of terror against Kurds and Shias who make up 80% of the population and perceived political opponents (Leach & Mansouri, 2004, pp. 16-18, Human Rights Watch, 2002c).

Mass killings of civilians

During Saddam's rule in Iraq, 290,000 people "disappeared" and hundreds of thousands of Kurds and Shias were massacred (Human Rights Watch, 2002c). Thousands of Hazara civilians were massacred by the Taliban and aerial bombings of villages were carried out in Sudan and Sri Lanka (Amnesty International, 2005, p. 1, Human Rights Watch, 2001c, Human Rights Watch, 2004). Total death tolls include large numbers of civilians who also died from hunger or disease caused by conflict or sanctions, numbering up to 2 million in Southern Sudan (Amnesty International, 2005, p. 8).

Intentional displacement of civilians

Government and rebel forces have pursued a strategy of displacement to terrorise populations and to access natural resources. In Iraq and Sudan people have been cleared from oil producing areas (Amnesty International, 2005, p. 9, Human Rights Watch, 2002c). In Iraq between 4-5,000 Kurdish villages were cleared and thousands of Shias expelled (Human Rights Watch, 2002c). In Sri Lanka half of all Tamils have been displaced and half the population of Sierra Leone was displaced during the war (Siskandarajah, 2004; Ward, 2002, p. 35). Displacement can be repeated and protracted in nature and in Sri Lanka people have been displaced up to five times and for periods of up to ten years (Reliefweb, 2004).

Torture

"I witnessed the torture of my father and grandfather, simply because we were Hazara" (Habib, TPV holder, quoted in Leach & Mansouri, 2004, p. 32).

Torture is employed to break a person, to create a general atmosphere of insecurity and terror and to disrupt social cohesion (Allden, 2002, p. 119; Mclvor & Turner, 1995, pp.1-2). It has been used in each of the countries profiled (Amnesty International, 2005, pp. 13-14, Amnesty International, 1999, Amnesty International, 2001a, Human Rights Watch, 2002c, Limbo, p. 31). Methods include rape, beatings, electrocution, having plastic bags with chilli and petrol placed over one's head and amputations (Amnesty International, 2001a, Amnesty International, 1999s, Amnesty International, 2005, p. 13, Human Rights Watch, 2002c).

Gender Based Violence

"I was still a virgin.... I was raped by the ten rebels, one after another.....I can no longer control my bladder or bowels as I was torn below. Before I got a catheter in 2001, I had

no friends as I smelled too bad. I am still in pain.... I also have nightmares and feel discouraged” (R.T., raped in 1997 when she was 16 years old in Sierra Leone, quoted in Human Rights Watch, 2003b, pp. 28-29).

Gender based violence against women has long been a feature of war and is often indicative of their position in society (Ward, 20002, pp. 7-9). Women are targeted because of their ethnicity, class, politics, race and gender (Bartolomei, 2002, p. 146, Ward, 2002, p. 9). Rape can occur as a by-product of war, but is also used systematically as a war strategy to terrorise individual women and girls and entire communities, and in ethnic cleansing (Human Rights Watch, 2003b, p. 4, Ward, 2002, pp.7-8). It is often committed in public in the presence of male relatives to demonstrate their inability to protect their women and women who have been raped are sometimes rejected by their husbands (Bartolomei, 2002, p. 154). Women and girls have been abducted and forced to endure sexual slavery in Sudan, Sierra Leone and Afghanistan (Amnesty International, 2005, p. 11, Human Rights Watch, 2001b, pp. 8 & 19, Human Rights Watch, 2003b, p. 3, Ward, 2001, p. 36).

Other forms of gender based violence against women can occur during war such as forced marriage, domestic violence or extreme poverty, which is worse for women especially if they are widowed and excluded from employment (Human Rights Watch, 2001b, p. 8, Ward, 2002, p. 7). Gender based violence is also perpetrated against men and boys who may be forced into the traditional male role of soldier (Ward, 2002, p. 8).

Child soldiers

“They took away my younger brother the other day. He was coming home from the market and he was taken away. I went and begged them saying, “I gave you years of my life and I gave you my health. Please let me have my brother back- he is the only one who takes care of me...”. They didn’t release him....They also told me I had to re-join” (girl who was recruited by the LTTE at age sixteen and severely disabled in combat, quoted in Human Rights Watch, 2004, p. 20).

Child soldiers have been mobilised in all the countries profiled, often by both rebel and government forces (Amnesty International, 2005, p. 10, Amnesty International, 2001a, BBC, 2001, IRIN, 2004, Human Rights Watch, 2004, pp. 4-5). Boys and girls are made to commit atrocities such as massacres and rape (Human Rights Watch, 2004, p. 6, Human Rights Watch, 2003b, p. 4).

Country of first asylum

People fleeing from the persecution outlined above become refugees when they cross an international border to find safety (UNHCR, 1951, article 1). Conditions for Afghans in Pakistan, Iraqis in Jordan, Sudanese in Kenya and Uganda, Sri Lankans in India and Sierra Leoneans in Guinea are highlighted below. Guinea, Kenya and Uganda have signed the Refugee Convention and therefore are obliged not to return or 'refoule' a refugee to a country where their life is threatened on convention grounds (UNHCR, 1951 article 33). Further rights outlined in the convention include access to the legal system, the right to work, to practice liberal professions and self-employment, the right to primary education, housing, freedom of movement, identity papers or travel documents, (UNHCR, 1951, articles 16-19, 21-22 & 26-28). Under international customary law Pakistan, Jordan and India are also obliged not to refoule refugees (UNHCR, 2005c, p. 25). Jordan and India have signed the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights and all UN Member states have accepted human rights principles by signing the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UNHCHR, 1948).

Insecurity and uncertainty: Access to civil and political rights

However, crossing the border does not always guarantee safety or access to human rights for refugees. In Pakistan, Jordan, Guinea, Uganda and Kenya proximity and the involvement of neighbouring countries of asylum in the situation in a refugee's home country can facilitate access to them by their persecutors, leave them vulnerable to persecution by local actors or prevent them from approaching UNHCR offices for protection (Bernstein, 2005, p. 22, Human Rights Watch, 2002a, pp. 21-23, Human Rights Watch, 2002b, pp. 90-100, Ward, 2002, p. 47). Thousands of Sierra Leonean and Liberian refugees in neighbouring Guinea were killed, raped and abducted by rebels from their countries and by local police and civilians after 2000 (Amnesty international, 2001b, pp. 1-3).

Refugee camps in themselves can be extremely dangerous and violent places, as can urban areas, especially for those without legal status (Chatelard, 2002, pp. 15-16, Crisp, 2003, p. 17). Refugees lose the civil and political rights tied up with citizenship and those without legal status are extremely vulnerable with no redress for crimes committed

against them (Bernstein, 2005, p. 40, Chatelard, 2002, p. 15, Pittaway & Pittaway, 2004). Refugees' freedom of movement is often breached by host countries, which affects access to livelihoods (Crisp, 2003, p. 11). With restricted access to local integration or resettlement, those refugees unable to return home endure many years of insecurity and uncertainty (Amnesty International, 2001b, p. 1, Refugees International, 2004).

Destitution: Access to economic, social and cultural rights

Material assistance and services in refugee camps are often grossly inadequate, as is the case in camps in Kenya, India and Pakistan. Food and water rations do not even come close to meeting basic needs and restricted access to freedom of movement, work permits and markets impedes self-sufficiency (Philips, 2004, pp. 7-8, Pittaway & Bartolomei, 2002, p. 6, Refugees International, 2004, Ward, 2002, p. 47). Housing is often squalid, overcrowded or unsuited to the climate (Pittaway & Bartolomei, 2002, pp. 5, Refugees International, 2004). Access to education varies from camp to camp. (Human Rights Watch, 2002b, p. 133, Refugees International, 2004, Ward, 2002).

Refugees in cities in countries of first asylum receive little or no material aid. In countries with camps, UNHCR sees them as "irregular movers" plus denies assistance and government policy often prevents them from receiving aid from NGOs (Bernstein, 2005, p. 15; Chatelard, 2002, pp. 7 & 18; Human Rights Watch, 2002b, p. 164). Access to employment and self-employment is hampered by legal status, language barriers, discrimination, access to credit, the effects of trauma, health and insecurity (Bernstein, 2005, pp. 29-30, Chatelard, 2002, p. 15). Lack of legal status also leads to exploitation in the work place (Chatelard, 2002, p. 15, Macchiavello, 2003, p. 11). Half of the refugees surveyed in Kampala were self-sufficient or on their way, and most Iraqi refugees in Amman work, even if their jobs were irregular and menial (Macchiavello, 2003, p. 9, Chatelard, 2002, p. 11). However, many urban refugees are struggling to survive and are unable to access health, education or adequate housing (Bernstien, 2005, pp. 31-36, Chatelard, 2002, pp. 12-13). Social integration is hampered by discrimination and hostility expressed by local people and their governments (Bernstein, 2005, pp. 37, Chatelard, 2003, p. 7, Human Rights Watch, 2002b, p. 84)

Gender Based Violence

Rape and domestic violence are prevalent in camps in Kenya and Pakistan (Pittaway & Bartolomei, 2002, pp. 7-8, Ward, 2002, pp. 47-48). Gender based violence in refugee settings often has complex causes; unemployment, the break down of social structures, ethnic rivalries and high levels of uncertainty compound patriarchal power structures to make women vulnerable (Bartolomei, 2003; Pittaway & Bartolomei, 2002, pp. 7-8, Ward, 2002, pp. 47-48). Refugee girls and women are forced into marriages in India, Pakistan and Kenya as a means of economic survival for their families (Human Rights Watch, 2002b, p. 132, Pittaway & Bartolomei, 2002, pp. 7-8, Reliefweb, 2004, Ward, 2002, p. 47). Women and girls are more vulnerable to poverty and some are forced to resort to selling sex to survive (Ward, 2002, pp. 8, 37 & 47).

Journeys

With protection elusive for many refugees in their region and only 0.8% or 81,900 refugees securing resettlement places, many are forced to leave countries of first asylum and search for effective protection elsewhere (UNHCR, 2005a, pp. 27-28). These journeys are often characterised by vulnerability and fear of being intercepted and returned (Leach & Mansouri, 2004, pp. 34 & 42). Due to the lack of legal entry options, refugees are often at the mercy of unscrupulous people smugglers (Leach & Mansouri, 2004, p. 34). On the whole refugees from Afghanistan, Iraq and Sri Lanka who arrived without visa undertook a dangerous boat journey from Indonesia to Australia (Leach & Mansouri, 2004, p.33). The boat journeys from Indonesia lasted up to several weeks, in cramped conditions with inadequate food and water (Leach & Mansouri, 2004, pp. 44-45 & 48). 353 people drowned when the boat SIEVX sank in 2001 (Leach & Mansouri, 2004, p. 46).

Immigration Detention

Asylum seekers who arrive in Australia without a valid visa are detained in immigration detention centres, mostly in remote desert locations, until their claim for asylum has been processed, or if unsuccessful, until they are deported (DIMIA, 2004c). The conditions, punitive regimes and uncertainty of detention centres have caused much distress to detained refugees (Leach & Mansouri, 2004, pp. 60-81). The climate is often harsh in the desert, centres overcrowded and education and health services inadequate. Many refugees felt that the authorities running the centres were punishing them as they were humiliated, dehumanised and treated like criminals (Leach & Mansouri, pp. 65-67). Treatment at the hands of centre officials such as interrogations, searches, constant surveillance, incarceration, and the use of riot gear reminded some of their treatment by the regimes they had fled (Leach & Mansouri, 2004, pp. 65, 68, 72 & 76). Above all, not knowing how long the detention would last, lack of access to information about their case and administrative delays caused distress and drove detainees to self harm and even suicide (Leach & Mansouri, 2004, pp. 62, 66-67, 70-72 & 75).

Impact of unemployment, “downskilling” and unfavourable working conditions in Australia

Competition over access to livelihoods contributes to the causes of many refugee producing civil wars or actions of despotic regimes, and refugee livelihoods are often disrupted at all stages of the refugee experience. Refugees in Australia are a heterogeneous group with differing levels of education and occupational backgrounds, ranging from illiterate subsistence farmers to academics. Many have survived prolonged and multiple traumatic experiences and adapted to survive in hostile environments. Despite similar traumatic experiences of persecution and violence they are treated differently in Australia depending on their method of arrival. Those resettled by the Australian government are offered full protection, but, refugees exercising their human right to claim asylum in Australia encounter reception conditions designed to punish them and deter others from doing likewise.

Refugees' unfavourable experiences of the Australian labour market can generate negative settlement outcomes and even prolong or exacerbate the effects of their refugee experience (Service provider b; Iredale et al, 1996, p. 71). Poverty is common among refugees, with incomes for those surveyed by the LSIA averaging at \$204 per week after 18 months in Australia (DIMIA, 2003e, p. 72; Iredale et al, 1996, pp. 66 & 71). Many asylum seekers are without a source of income if they are denied work rights and the Asylum Seeker Assistance Scheme and are homeless, forced to rely on charity (Hotham Mission, 2003, pp. 19-20 & 26). Exclusion from the workforce and low incomes leads to social exclusion (Jamrozik, 2005, pp. 172-173). For some groups, such as refugees with temporary protection visas and asylum seekers this is an objective of government policy and they feel that by being prevented from working they are prevented from being part of society, as do unemployed refugees with permanent residency (Barnes, 2003, p. 22; Service provider b; Leach & Mansouri, 2004, p. 91).

Self-esteem is lowered and identities are threatened by perceived discrimination, being unable to use overseas skills, and dependence on Centrelink payments (Barnes, 2003, p. Colic-Peisker, 2005, p. 13; Leach & Mansouri, 2004, p. 89; Tan-Quigley, 2004, cited in Colic-Peisker & Tilbury, 2005, p. 10 & 13). Domestic violence is experienced by families where traditional roles are upset, with men unable to fulfil their traditional role of provider or women forced into the workforce for the first time (Service provider b; Lamb, 1996). Finally, lack of information on Occupational Health and Safety and skilled refugees undertaking labour jobs for the first time results in work place injuries (Colic-Peisker, 2003, p. 13; Field observation; Service provider a). As part of the ongoing refugee experience, failure to recognize refugees' qualifications, denial of the right to work for asylum seekers, lack of social support, negative statements by the Federal Government about asylum seekers, separation from family, detention, temporary protection and perceived discrimination may compound past traumatic experiences and prolong or exacerbate the effects of trauma (Barnes, 2003, pp. 23 & 39-40; Mann, 2001; Silove, 1999; Silove et al, 1997, pp. 8 & 10; Steel, 2003; Sultan & O'Sullivan, 2001, pp. 593-596).

4. Refugees and employment programs in Australia

The importance of finding a good job to refugees, their pre-arrival experiences and barriers to employment have important policy implications for services providers assisting refugees to make the transition to life in Australia.

Australian settlement programs

Settlement services for migrants and refugees are founded on the Galbally Report of 1978, which outlined the policy of multiculturalism in Australia (Jupp, 2002, pp. 86-89). Up until then, migrants were expected to “fit in” to the predominantly white English-speaking Australian culture (DIMIA, 2003e, p. 24). The report outlines the following principles for the provision of services for refugees and migrants.

“All members of our society must have equal opportunity to realise their full potential and must have equal access to programs and services;

Every person should be able to maintain his or her culture without prejudice or disadvantage and should be encouraged to understand and embrace other cultures;

Needs of migrants should, in general, be met by programs and services available to the whole community but special services and programs are necessary at present to ensure quality of access and provision; and

Services and programs should be designed and operated in full consultation with clients, and self-help should be encouraged as much as possible with a view to helping migrants become self-reliant quickly” (DIMIA, 2003e, p. 28).

Thus, settlement programs in Australia concentrate on the on-arrival needs of migrants and refugees, assistance to access mainstream services and community capacity building to facilitate advocacy and self-help, rather than creating alternatives to mainstream services (DIMIA, 2003e, pp. 33 & 89).

The main target groups are humanitarian entrants and family stream migrants with low levels of English as they are seen to have the greatest need for assistance (DIMIA, 2003e, p. 34). Programs aim to offer early intervention to prevent long-term social problems (DIMIA, 2003e, p. 340). They include the IHSS, on-arrival services for humanitarian entrants comprising of initial orientation, accommodation, household goods, health and torture and trauma counselling, information, orientation and referral through the CSSS and migrant resource centres, English language training, translating and interpreting services, support for community capacity building, and input by DIMIA into mainstream service planning and delivery to ensure that migrant and refugee needs are met (DIMIA, 2003e, pp. 89 & 169). The Refugee Council of Australia has stressed that in meeting practical settlement needs such as housing and employment, service providers must also consider the emotional needs of refugees, such as trust, restoration of dignity and self-worth, safety and control over their environment (RCOA, 2002, p. 5).

Mainstream government services and the services they fund have an obligation to ensure the needs of people of culturally and linguistically diverse backgrounds are met through service planning and delivery under the Charter of Public Service in a Culturally Diverse Society of 1998 (RCOA, 2002, p. 13). However, government departments' self-assessments on their performance against the charter are mixed and community organizations and DIMIA have been critical of many government departments for failing to meet the needs of migrants and refugees (DIMIA, 2003e, p. 111). They have criticised their failure to allocate sufficient resources to meet their commitments such as providing interpreters, and to keep sufficiently disaggregated client data (DIMIA, 2003e, pp. 119-120).

Employment services for refugees are provided through mainstream Australian programs. Most assistance is provided through the Job Network, the national employment service delivered by community, private and government organizations (DIMIA, 2003e, p. 118). Refugees can also access Jobs, Placement, Employment and Training (JPET), a federally funded program targeting at risk young people, assisting them to access education, training and employment (Kyle et al, 2004, p. 8). The Personal Support Program is a program that provides assistance to those with substantial barriers to workforce participation and there are specialist providers who work with torture and trauma survivors (DEWRd; Kyle et al, 2004, p. 8). "Diversity

Works!" is the government's strategy to promote the benefits of a culturally diverse workforce to Australia's employers and consists of case studies of good practice and cross-cultural training tools (DIMIA, 2003a). These services require permanent residence to meet eligibility and therefore are not available to asylum seekers or refugees with temporary protection. At a state level, there are some employment programs targeted at people from CALD backgrounds, but few that target refugees specifically, though TPV holders are eligible for some (Kyle et al, 2004, pp. 9 & 16).

Employment programs in Australia

Labour market policies enable governments to manage the balance between the supply of labour and the demand for it in the labour market (ILO, 2003, p. 3; Stromback & Dockery, 2000, p. 1). Their aims are to increase employment, manage change in the labour market, reduce poverty and facilitate equity (ILO, 2003, p. 1). To achieve this they employ strategies such as job placement, skills development, job creation, decreasing or increasing labour supply and redressing the balance to benefit disadvantaged jobseekers. They are often targeted to disadvantaged sections of the population (ILO, 2003, p. 3). Administered by the Department of Employment and Workplace Relations, the Job Network consists of programs to assist unemployed people in Australia to find work as quickly as possible (DEWRe).

The framework of the Job Network is the "Active Participation Model", which emphasises activity on the part of the client (DEWRe). Receipt of NewStart unemployment payments is dependent on participation in job search activity and compliance with 'mutual obligations' (Centrelink). Recipients can have their payments breached if they fail to undergo job search or mutual obligation activities such as Work for the Dole⁵, or if they fail to attend interviews or provide Centrelink with information about their circumstances (Welfare Rights, 2000, p. 1). Mutual obligation activities are an expression of the Government's view that welfare recipients should "earn" their payments through job search activity and by giving something back to the community (Yeend, 2004). There are different levels of employment assistance and activity depending on the length of unemployment or disadvantage faced by the client (DEWRb). Disadvantage is measured by Centrelink using the Job Search Classification Instrument (JSCI) (DEWRb). Country

⁵ Work for the Dole is a program which involves participants undertaking supervised projects to benefit community organizations (Yeend, 2004)

of origin, English language proficiency and torture and trauma are taken into account (Kyle et al, 2004, pp. 7-8). Unemployed people are matched with, or can choose one Job Network provider, who they stay with (DEWR_e).

Job Search Support is the most basic level of assistance and is provided for the first three months (DEWR_b). It involves creation of a resume and posting it on the computer system, which automatically matches resumes with job vacancies (DEWR_b). Clients are also able to use job search facilities (DEWR_b). After three months, or earlier depending on the JSCI, clients move to Intensive Assistance (DEWR_b). Individual assistance is provided; clients are assessed, a Job Search Plan is drawn up, and Job Search Training must be undertaken (DEWR_b).

The highest level of assistance is Intensive Assistance Customer Support after one year (DEWR_b). It involves more contact with Job Network staff and more resources are made available to assist people to address barriers to employment (DEWR_b). Clients can access interpreter services, a Job Seeker Account, which makes money available for transport, clothing, equipment or training or counselling, at the discretion of the Job Network staff (DEWR_b). In the new three year Job Network contract starting in 2006, a limited number of wage subsidies will be available for those unemployed for over three years (DEWR, 2005b). There will also be a new level of service “Employment Preparation” to assist single parents and people with disabilities to re-enter the job market 9 (DEWR, 2005b).

Asylum seekers are not eligible for Job Network services and refugees with TPVs must fulfil the job search activity requirements of mutual obligation, but are not able to access support services beyond resume creation and automatic job matching (Parliament of Australia, 2002). Refugees with permanent residency receiving NewStart⁶ and Youth Allowance⁷ are obliged to engage with the service. It is not possible to definitively evaluate the performance of the Job Network system in meeting the needs of refugees, as data is not sufficiently disaggregated (Kyle et al, 2004, p. 10). However, high refugee

⁶ NewStart is the payment received by eligible unemployed people whilst they look for work. It is administered by Centrelink (<http://www.centrelink.gov.au>).

⁷ Youth Allowance is the payment received by eligible young people whilst they are studying, undertaking a New Apprenticeship, looking for work or sick. It is administered by Centrelink (<http://www.centrelink.gov.au>).

unemployment figures suggest that Job Network services are failing to provide effective assistance to refugees. It is possible to draw together elements of good practice in employment services for refugees from the UNHCR guide to integration services, field observations, and the views of community organizations working with refugees contained in the settlement services review, the interviews undertaken for this paper and Kyle et al's (2004) work on refugee employment programs (DIMIA, 2003e, pp. 116-124; UNHCR, 2002c, pp.176-190). The Job Network, JPET and "Diversity Works!" can then be measured against these benchmarks.

Employment services for refugees – elements of good practice

- Partnership approach (UNHCR, 2002c, p. 190). Refugees should feel that they have ownership over the job search process (UNHCR, 2002c, p.190). Employment services should take time to understand individuals' needs, establish trust and a relationship, and work with refugees to restore confidence, self-esteem and hope (Service provider a & b; Kyle et al, 2004, p. 14). Services should understand past experiences of refugees and their settlement experience (UNHCR, 2002, p. 177).
- Early intervention, including an assessment of refugees' skills (Service provider a & b; UNHCR, 2002c, p. 176). Long-term approach to establish a career pathway, with assistance to access appropriate training, qualification recognition and re-certification (Service provider a & b; Kyle, 2004, p. 14; UNHCR, 2002c, pp. 181-182).
- Services should enable refugees to promote themselves by providing training on the Australian job market and workplace culture, including job search techniques, the taxation system, Centrelink, and industrial relations (Service provider a & b; Kyle et al, p. 14; UNHCR, 2002c, pp. 179). Mentoring programs and work experience are recommended (UNHCR, 2002c, p.180). Given their vulnerability to exploitation, they should be given information about trade unions (UNHCR, 2002c, p. 189).
- It is essential to engage employers to market refugees skills, promote anti-discrimination and EEO initiatives (Service provider b; Kyle, 2004, p. 14; UNHCR, 2002c, pp.184-185 &187-188).

- There should be strategies to target youth, women and older refugees in recognition of the additional barriers they face on account of age and gender (UNHCR, 2002c, p.190).
- Practical barriers should also be addressed by services providers, such as childcare and lack of equipment, for example, tools or protective clothing (UNHCR, 2002c, pp. 182-183).
- If refugees are accessing mainstream services, additional strategies are also necessary to ensure that refugee needs are being met. These include:
 - Translating and interpreting services (UNHCR, 2002c, p. 176).
 - Staff training on pre-arrival experiences, settlement needs and different cultures to ensure they are sensitive to refugees (UNHCR, 2002c, p. 177). This is extremely important where receipt of income support is dependent on participation in the service (UNHCR, 2002c, p. 177).
 - Intensive support in the early settlement period, at times through special services for refugees (UNHCR, 2002c, p. 177).
 - Employing bi-lingual and bi-cultural staff (UNHCR, 2002c, p. 177).
 - Regular review of placements to address any problems (UNHCR, 2002c, p. 177).

Employment programs for refugees in Australia

Case study

Peter⁸ was resettled in Australia two years ago and is from a Horn of Africa country embroiled in civil war. He is passionate about community work, and volunteers to assist his community in Australia and in his home country. When he completed the Adult Migrant English Program, he went on to study Community Welfare at TAFE. He struggled because of language and literacy problems, although he is extremely eloquent, he is illiterate in his mother tongue.

Centrelink referred him to a Job Network agency while he was studying. The staff told him to use the newspapers and computer to look for a job. When he told the staff that he couldn't read or use a computer they laughed at him. He felt angry and humiliated. When he failed to attend a subsequent appointment with the Job Network, his Centrelink payment was breached and he lost his concession card, making travel to TAFE difficult to afford. Peter is desperate to work, and has approached settlement workers on several occasions for assistance with finding a job.

Establishing trust with refugees is crucial for successful service provision (RCOA, 2002, p.5). However, the emphasis on compliance in the Job Network system can hinder the establishment of trust or a partnership approach and therefore prevents the restoration of self-confidence and self-esteem. The Job Network aims to get people into jobs as quickly as possible (DEWRe). Many refugees feel that Job Network members take a short-term approach and do not take the time to understand them, some tell of being forced to accept a full-time lower skilled job, despite skills or aspirations, and without being provided with information about a career pathway (Cambodian-Australian Welfare Council of NSW Inc, cited in DIMIA, 2003e, p. 117; Field observation; Service provider b). Some are discouraged from studying and do not receive information on skills recognition (Field observation; Service provider b).

Recognising that refugees need an orientation to the Australian job market and workplace, the Job Network conducted a national pilot project to assist refugees and humanitarian entrants, with eighty participants in eight agencies across Australia (DEWR, 2005a). Participants received five weeks training on the Australian labour market, assessment of their skills through a skills audit, additional short courses and a

⁸ Name changed to protect confidentiality

ten week work experience placement (DEWR, 2005a). 30% of participants were working six months after the end of the program, and the program cost \$2,200 per participant (DEWR, 2004). However, as the evaluation of the project has still not been released, it is difficult to draw conclusions about the program (DEWR, 2005a). The existence of the project suggests that this level of assessment and orientation is not available as standard service. Many refugees talk of being obliged to attend Job Network offices and then being left to their own devices to look for a job (Field observation; Service provider b). Work for the Dole is not seen as work experience, but as a compliance measure by Job Network staff surveyed by the Brotherhood of St Laurence (Brotherhood of St Laurence, 2005, p. 4).

Strategies such as the refugee pilot program allow for the promotion of refugee skills to employers. "Diversity Works!" is the Government's strategy to promote workforce diversity to all Australian companies (DIMIA, 2003a). However, a recent diversity and equity survey conducted by the Equal Opportunity Network of Australia, found low numbers of non-English speaking people on boards or in senior management, and that the companies surveyed had not introduced any diversity or EEO initiatives addressing race and ethnicity during the past two years (Equal Employment Opportunity Network of Australia, 2005, pp. 24-25 & 27).

Refugees make up 4% of the federally funded JPET program targeting at risk youth (Kyle et al, 2004, p. 10). The program is not successful at assisting refugees to find work and has more success with homeless and ex-offenders (Butlin et al, cited in Kyle et al, 2004, p. 10). There are no longer any employment programs targeting refugee women, and initiatives to assist older workers do not take into account the compounding issues of refugee background (DEWRc).

Refugee women, without extended family to care for children, are particularly impacted by current shortage of childcare places (Liquor, Hospitality and Miscellaneous Union, 2005). Other practical barriers can be addressed through the Job Seeker Account for clients on Intensive Assistance Customized Assistance. However, access to this level of support depends on Centrelink's assessment of the client's disadvantage and funds are spent at the discretion of staff (DEWRb).

The fact that interpreting is paid for through the Job Seeker Account means that is discretionary, mainly provided to clients receiving ISCA and, when purchased, it uses funds that could have been spent on training and equipment (DEWRb). Community organizations have been critical of Job Network agencies for failing to use interpreters. One service provider from an African community commented that people who did not speak English were ignored or told that the agency did not deal with people unless they speak English (DIMIA, 2003e, p. 119; Service provider b). Training for staff on refugee issues is clearly not widespread, it is not even clear whether staff that undertook the pilot refugee program received training on refugee issues. There are specialist Job Network providers working with clients from CALD backgrounds, but in 2000-2001 only 13% of CALD jobseekers in Intensive Assistance accessed them (DEWR, 2003, cited in Kyle et al, 2004, p. 14).

Job Network staff can access a 'Culturally and Linguistically Diverse Employment Services Toolbox', which contains some basic information on refugees and recommends collaboration with community organizations providing services for migrants and refugees (DEWRa, pp. 3-5, 8-9 & 31). It is possible that productive partnerships have been formed, however, these occur on an ad hoc basis and take time. The view that pressure for outcomes means that Job Network staff do not have the extra time to spend with refugees has been expressed by community organizations (Community Information Whittlesea, VIC; Melaleuca Refugee Centre, Torture and Trauma Survivors Service of the Northern Territory; Migrant Resource Centre of Newcastle and the Hunter region, Inc, cited in DIMIA, 2003e, pp. 117 & 119; DEWR, 2002, cited in Kyle et al, 2004, p. 10; Service provider a). In a Job Network staff survey, 52% of staff felt that the Job Network was poor to fair at assisting CALD jobseekers, and 80% thought that administration was "excessive and counterproductive", reducing the time spent with clients (Brotherhood of Saint Laurence, 2005, pp. 3 & 5-6). In the forthcoming Job Network contract commencing in 2006, Job Network organisations will have their contracts reviewed every six months, and poor performers will lose their business, further increasing the pressure for outcomes (DEWR, 2005b).

Specialist employment programs for refugees

There are employment programs funded at state level targeting migrants and refugees in Victoria and Queensland (Kyle et al, 2004, pp. 9 & 16). The Skilled Migrant Placement Program, which catered for migrants, refugees and those with Temporary Protection Visas with overseas skills was defunded by the NSW government in 2004 (Macarthur Diversity Services Inc, 2004, p. 3). However, apart from one specialist JPET program in Melbourne, Kyle et al (2004, p. 16) could not find any other refugee employment programs other than the Given the Chance program run by the Ecumenical Migration Centre in Melbourne. This program meets many of the good practice benchmarks set out above, and has had considerable success in providing employment assistance to refugees.

Given the Chance

Given the Chance targets all refugees and asylum seekers regardless of visa (Carr, 2004, p. 37). The program employs a case management model and tailors assistance to individual needs (Carr, 2004, pp. 34-35). The case manager can call on job search training, mentoring, work placements, career planning and individual assistance with job applications and accessing education (Carr, 2004, pp. 35). Training specifically addresses the restoration of self-confidence and self-esteem and draws on the skills developed through the refugee experience (Carr, 2004, pp. 35 & 38). The case manager and refugees draw up individual education and career pathways, and in contrast to the Job Network humanitarian pilot program, education is seen as a successful outcome of the program (Carr, 2004, pp. 39; DEWR, 2005a).

Information on the Australian job market and workplace culture is provided through the training, the mentor relationship and work placements. The fact that the work placements and training are undertaken concurrently is significant, as participants are able to put what they learn into practice straight away (Carr, 2004, p. 38). The program also recognises that most jobs are found through networking, and training develops networking skills (Carr, 2004, p. 36). Employers are engaged through mentors, as most work experience occurs in mentors' workplaces (RCOA, 2005, p. 9). Post-placement support is provided by staff (Carr, 2004, p. 35).

Practical barriers are addressed through the program, but it is unclear what resources are available for assistance with fares, equipment and training. The program coordinator has negotiated with employers for changed working conditions when they have acted as a barrier, and mentors have provided resources to their mentees (Carr, 2004, p. 39). Staff understand the refugee experience and provide training to mentors on refugee and cross-cultural issues and information on mentees' countries of origin (Carr, 2004, 37).

Refugee employment rates are 43% after eighteen months in Australia (DIMIA, 2003e, p. 67). An additional \$2,200 spent through the Job Network humanitarian pilot project resulted in 30 % of participants in work six months after taking part in the project (DEWR, 2005a, DEWR, 2004). This compares with 68% of participants in employment or education through Given the Chance, with a total cost of \$1,642 per successful participant (Carr, 2004, p. 39).

5. Findings

- Employment is very important to refugees and integral to the settlement process. The psychological well-being of refugees seems to be partly both dependent on and necessary for successful employment outcomes. However, in terms of service provision, refugee settlement and employment are dealt with separately.
- There is a lack of research into refugees' experience in the labour market. There have been several studies on the experiences of TPV holders, but few on resettled refugees and asylum seekers.
- However, it can be concluded that refugees experience high levels of unemployment and low participation rates. Refugees who do find work seem stuck in lower skill, lower paid, insecure jobs without assistance to establish a career pathway. Therefore, refugees are often unable to utilize their skills in the Australian labour market or to realise their potential.
- Some refugees encounter discrimination, harassment and unfavourable conditions at work. The pressure to find a job interacts with the difficulty of finding a job, language barriers and lack of knowledge about rights, to make refugees and asylum seekers vulnerable to exploitation (UNHCR, 2002c, p. 188). Studies have shown that TPV holders have experienced exploitation and harassment at work. Anecdotally this is also the case for resettled refugees and asylum seekers (Field observation, Service provider b & c).
- Subsequently, refugees' and asylum seekers' right to work with favourable conditions are often not realized in Australia (UNHCHR, 1948, article 23). The impact causes hardship and for refugees impedes settlement. For asylum seekers, many are left destitute without permission to work or a safety net.
- In the Australian labour market, education and English proficiency are prerequisites for stable employment. It is also difficult for people from industrially

developing countries to access skilled work, and ethnicity and nationality are currently low on the EEO/diversity agenda.

- Refugees face many barriers to satisfactory experience in the Australian labour market. These relate to their pre-arrival experience, and the structural and individual barriers they encounter in Australia. Barriers are compounded by other issues such as gender and age.
- TPV holders and asylum seekers face additional barriers and problems due to visa restrictions, but these difficulties are anticipated by policy makers.
- Despite similar pre-arrival experiences, refugees are an extremely diverse group with different occupational and educational backgrounds.
- The current intake of refugees have more traumatic pre-arrival experiences. Despite similar pre-arrival experiences to resettled refugees, onshore refugees are treated less favourably by the Federal Government. This treatment compounds past traumatic experiences.
- Refugees' pre-arrival experiences also distinguish them from migrants, but aside from the Job Network refugee pilot program, Centrelink and the Job Network place refugees in the "CALD" category. Refugees's misunderstanding of the system and inappropriate behaviour of service providers can lead to payments being breached unnecessarily.
- Although mainstream employment services do not seem to be meeting the needs of refugees, the barriers to satisfactory employment are not insurmountable. Positive outcomes can be achieved by providing a long-term service sensitive to refugee issues. This can be achieved at a cost below that of current Job Network service provision.
- Refugees with temporary visas and asylum seekers cannot access any national services to assist them to find work

6. Discussion

Discussions of refugees' experience in the Australian labour market can start with the assertions that refugees experience high levels of unemployment in the context of low national unemployment rates and the positive experience of migrants in the job market (DIMIA, 2003e, pp. 64 & 66). This can result in an emphasis on pre-arrival barriers as an explanation of high unemployment rates (DIMIA, 2003e, p. 66). Pre-arrival barriers are extremely significant, but the context of refugee employment can be questioned. Real unemployment rates may be higher than official figures and many people with low levels of education who are working are trapped in a series of low skill, low paid, insecure, casual jobs. The positive labour force outcomes for skilled migrants are also questioned by community organizations, who claim that many skilled migrants from industrially developing countries are only able to find unskilled work unrelated to their overseas skills. Refugees do have additional barriers, such as the impact of their pre-arrival experiences, but they also face the problems encountered by migrants and all Australians.

One such additional barrier is anti-refugee sentiment, which has resulted in part from the Federal Government's anti-refugee rhetoric in response to the arrival of 'boat people' (RCOA, 2002, p. 54). For Muslim refugees, the fear and mistrust of Muslims in the wake of recent international terrorist attacks has compounded their situation (RCOA, 2002, p. 54). The Federal Government has suggested possible links between boat people and terrorists (Reith, 2001). On requesting work experience for Muslim skilled refugees in Sydney, I have been turned down because the job seekers were Muslim (Field observation). Other job seekers have been asked their religion by recruitment agencies when calling to inquire about vacancies (Field observation).

Measures to deter refugees from exercising their right to seek asylum in Australia have had their intended effect, and made life difficult for them in Australia. However, they have also had an impact on all refugees (RCOA, 2002, p. 54). Anti-refugee sentiment has impacted all refugees in the labour market, arguably outweighing any community harmony or productive diversity initiatives by the Government. Consequently, people are reluctant to identify as refugees, which may have impacts for service provision (Field observation).

The provision of settlement services is based on the fact that refugees and migrants require assistance and advocacy to negotiate appropriate services from Government agencies (DIMIA, 2003e, p. 197). Therefore refugees and asylum seekers are likely to become even more vulnerable to exploitation at work under the Industrial Relations reform, which favours individually negotiated work agreements over awards (Buchanan, 2005).

The pre-arrival experiences of refugees have implications for service providers. Refugees are often viewed as CALD clients by mainstream agencies with little understanding of their situation. At best this can mean refugees do not receive the assistance and support they require. At worst this can have harmful consequences when refugees are breached as they do not understand the welfare system, and Centrelink and Job Network staff do not understand their circumstances.

The barriers to successful employment faced by refugees are imposing, but not insurmountable. The Given the Chance program demonstrates that a long-term approach that understands the refugee experience and that is tailored to individuals' needs can be successful. Service providers need to understand past experiences and present concerns to provide an appropriate service (UNHCR, 2002, p. 190).

The pre-arrival experiences of refugees with TPVs and some asylum seekers are the same as resettled refugees. Australia receives low numbers of asylum seekers compared to countries such as the UK and over 90% of 'boat people' who arrived in the period were assessed to be refugees (RCOA; RCOA, 2004; UNHCR, 2002d). This, along with the elusive nature of protection in refugee regions of origin makes the policies difficult to align with the spirit of refugee protection.

Australia's refugee policy may not be free from its utilitarian past. The Government refuses to resettle refugees with disabilities and the softening of its policy towards TPV holders in 2004 was influenced by their contribution to rural areas rather than the distress caused by the visa (Browne, 2002; DIMIA, 2004e). Some TPV holders took hard to fill jobs in industries such as meat processing in regional towns such as Young (Stilwell & Grealis, 2003). It may be seen as beneficial to have a pool of flexible

(vulnerable) workers in the labour market to take the jobs that no one else wants, but there are several reasons for the Government to take measures to ensure that refugees and asylum seekers are not disadvantaged in the Australian labour market (Hoffmann, 2004, pp. 13-14).

Presently the Australian Government is failing to live up to its human rights commitments to refugees and asylum seekers. Many asylum seekers do not have work rights, and those that do, along with TPV holders, lack the rights which are prerequisite to work rights, such as an adequate standard of living, including sufficient food, clothing, housing, medical care, and access to English tuition (Al-Breihi, 2003, pp. 169-170, UNHCHR, 1948, article 23). Many refugees and asylum seekers are vulnerable to exploitation in the workforce, a situation which will worsen with the impending requirement for workers to negotiate individual contracts with their employer (UNHCHR, 1948, article 23; UNHCHR, 1966, article 8). Asylum seekers and refugees with TPVs will be less prepared for a durable solution, either settling in or leaving Australia.

Unemployment, discrimination, harassment, and unfavourable working conditions compound the trauma experienced by refugees and impede settlement. Settlement and multicultural policy are about more than just access to services. Settlement should enable refugees to participate in society, but refugees feel that they are unable to do so without a “good job” (Government of Australia, 2003, p. 6; Service provider b). Access to public services and employment can also be mutually reinforcing, as in implementing programs to recruit refugees, Government agencies enhance the accessibility of their services (Waxman, 1998, p. 771).

DIMIA states that the whole of Government approach to social policy is “early intervention and needs-based targeting” (DIMIA, 2003, p. 33). However, failure to allow some asylum seekers to work or to provide adequate strategies to enable all refugees to enter the labour market seems to contradict this approach. In addition to preventing social problems in the future, Australia can benefit from the refugees’ skills and the “innovation and creativity” that comes from a culturally diverse workforce (Government of Australia, 2003, p. 8). Putting mechanisms in place to integrate people from various cultures into the labour market, would also put Australia in a competitive position in the future global competition for skills and reduce discrimination in the job market (Chanda,

2005).

7. Recommendations

1. Given the long time taken to process asylum applications and the severe hardship faced by many asylum seekers in the community, that as a matter of urgency, asylum seekers are given work rights and access to welfare payments.
2. Given the anti-refugee sentiment produced in part by government that the Government conducts a public campaign to redress anti-refugee sentiment and promote the welcome of refugees.
3. Given the centrality of employment to settlement and the failure of mainstream service providers to address refugee needs, that employment assistance be delivered by community organizations, already delivering services to refugees. Such organizations have already proved their capacity to run employment programs and develop relationships with employers through programs such as Given the Chance in Melbourne, the former Skilled Migrant Placement Program in NSW and the ANCORW Job Skills program. Asylum seekers and refugees with temporary protection should be eligible. Specialist programs should target women, youth and older refugees. These programs could act as a bridge for refugees to mainstream employment services and assist those services to cater for refugees.
4. Given the importance of English proficiency for employment and the low levels of English among many recent arrivals and literacy issues, that the number of hours of English tuition under the Adult Migrant English program be increased. Given the urgency of finding work for many refugees, that English tuition is delivered flexibly, with opportunities for work experience and part time work (DIMIA, 2003e, p. 124).
5. Given that companies give low priority to ethnicity and nationality in terms of EEO and diversity, and given the difficulty faced by people from industrially developing countries in utilizing their overseas skills, that "Diversity Works!" encourages companies to put race and nationality on the EEO / diversity agenda and implement EEO / diversity programs. These programs should be linked to community based employment programs. Positive messages about the resilience and strength of refugees should be communicated to employers. Given that the recruitment of

refugees to government departments makes services more accessible to refugees, and that this is an aim of settlement services, the public sector and Government departments should lead by example and initiate EEO/diversity programs.

6. Given the vulnerability of refugees to exploitation at work, which will increase under the Industrial Relations reform, that information on work rights and industrial relations legislation be integrated into pre-arrival orientation programs and the Adult Migrant English Program. Information should be available in refugee community languages, including in oral form through videos and settlement workers.
7. That government departments and the services they fund view refugees as a distinct group with different needs to migrants. For the area of employment, the compliance measures of NewStart and the Youth Allowance are particularly significant. Staff should be aware of refugees issues.
8. Given the lack of qualitative research into the settlement experiences of refugees and asylum seekers, that such research be carried out and disseminated by the community sector to inform the provision of settlement services and Federal, State, Territory and local government policy makers and service providers (RCOA, 2002, pp. 54-55). With regards to employment, research should be conducted into the experience of refugees and asylum seekers in the job market, their experience of the Job Network, what type of jobs they get, working conditions and the impact of unemployment on an individual and community level.

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Appendix

Abbreviations

CALD	Culturally and Linguistically Diverse
CSSS	Community Settlement Services Scheme
DIMIA	Department of Immigration and Multicultural and Indigenous Affairs
EEO	Equal Employment Opportunity
JPET	Jobs, Placement, Employment and Training
LSIA	Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants to Australia
NCCA	National Council of Churches in Australia
PTSD	Post-traumatic stress disorder
RCOA	Refugee Council of Australia
TPV	Temporary Protection Visa
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNHCHR	United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNHCR EXCOM	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees Executive Committee ⁹
USCRI	US Committee for Refugees and Immigrants

⁹ EXCOM is the Executive Committee of UNHCR made up of representatives of UN member states. It reports to the UN General Assembly and determines policy and the allocation of funds (<http://www.unhcr.ch/cgi-bin/texis/vtx/excom?id=400e3c86a>).

